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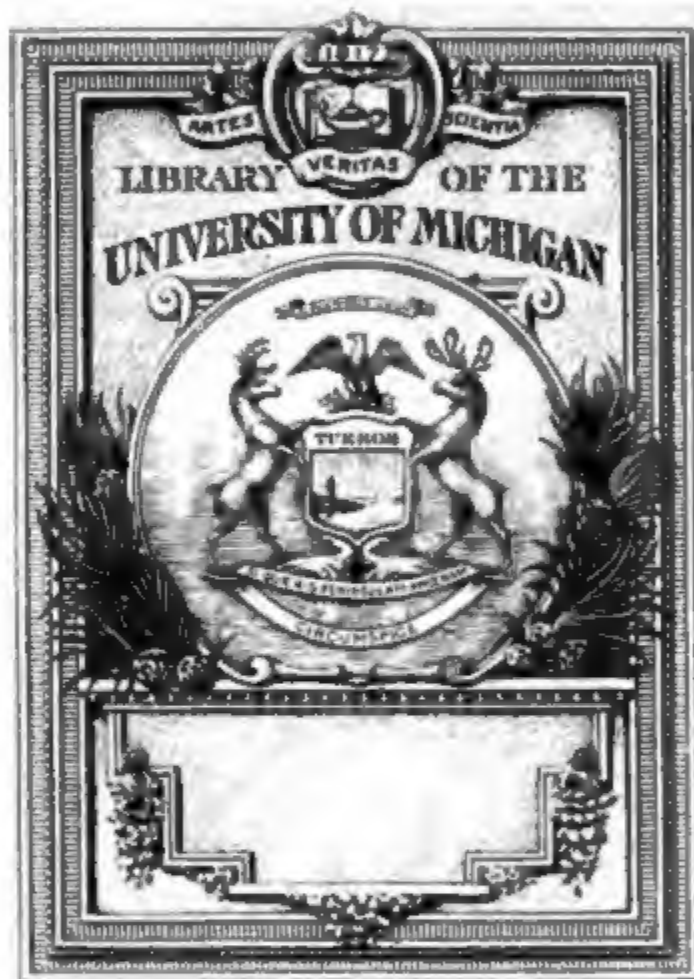
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A HANDBOOK FOR THE STUDENTS OF CLASSICAL
AND CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITY IN THE
ITALIAN CAPITAL.

BY

CHARLES ISIDORE HEMANS.



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How profitless the relics that we cull,
Troubling the last holds of ambitious Rome,
Unless they chasten fancies, that presume
Too high, or idle aspirations lull !

Heaven out of view, our wishes what are they
Our fond regrets, insatiate in their grasp,
The Sage's theory, the Poet's lay ?
Mere fibulæ without a robe to clasp ;
Obsolete lamps whose light no time recalls ;
Urns without ashes, tearless lachrymals !

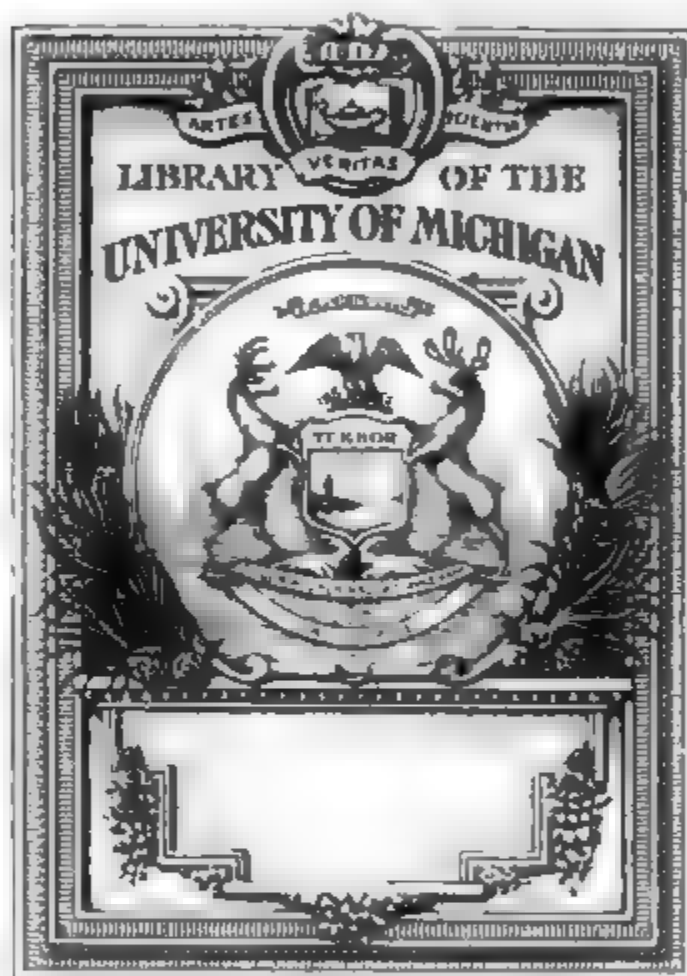
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P R E F A C E.

HAVING been urged by friends and acquaintances to prepare a second edition of a work in two small volumes: *The Story of Monuments in Rome and its Environs* (Florence, 1865), I have, seeing how much the aspects of the subject have changed and its field become enlarged within late years, not only amplified but entirely re-written my former work—and have incorporated in these pages, with more or less alteration, several papers read before the British and American Archæological Society in Rome. The ground of Christian antiquities in and near that city is one I have gone over, with fuller treatment than is here attempted, in another volume: “Ancient Christianity and Sacred Art in Italy.” Having quitted Rome in the Summer of 1873, and not returned thither since, I refer in these pages to the state of things there existent up to that time, alluding to Monasteries and Convents, where I have occasion to mention ruins on their premises, as though the cloisters were still inhabited by their former inmates. The law for suppressing such institutions had been enacted by the Italian Parliament, but not carried out, before the end of the month (June, 1873) in which I last saw the “Eternal City” after residing there for many years.

C. I. H.







**HISTORIC AND MONUMENTAL
ROME.**

A.D. 425—expresses, when obliged to quit the charmed scene and return to the cold North, the sorrow of an exile blent with an enthusiasm of admiration for the imperial City, her temples, theatres, aqueducts, and all the sunlit splendours of her seven hills, which he was leaving for ever.

Embarking on the Tiber in the evening, he rejoices that adverse winds delay his voyage; and a cherished melancholy of sentiment, more familiar in modern than ancient poetry, gives a colouring that one is somewhat surprised to find in these records of the visit of a foreigner to the capital already shorn of her olden glories by Gothic invasion. Among Christian contemporaries of the above-named writers was the more popular and richly productive poet, Aurelius Prudentius, whose hymns are still sung at Catholic worship. He, too, supplies occasional glimpses of classic sites, with many details of Pagan usages; but the chief interest of his devotional and narrative poems consists in their testimony to the singular social conditions of the Empire whilst two Religions were struggling for mastery—the *old* still restlessly alive, the *new* advancing rapidly in power and pomp, though yet far from being universally dominant.

Later in the IV. century were compiled the *Notitiæ Urbis*, topographic notices of the buildings and public establishments of this City by Sextus Rufus and Publius Victor, called the *Regionaries*, on account of the civic division according to which their reports are drawn up, as maintained to the present day, into fourteen regions, or wards. With these mere catalogues may be classed the ampler *Notitiæ* of the Western Empire, compiled under Theodosius II. A.D. 450.

On the night of the 24th August, A.D. 410, the Imperial Metropolis was captured by barbarians, the spell of her

invincibility was broken, her inviolable crown lost, when Alaric led his Gothic host through the Salarian gate, whose shattered arches still bear traces of the shock then sustained.*

The first memorable book produced after that catastrophe was the *Civitas Dei* ("City of God")—a work indeed forming an epoch, for its author may be said to have founded therein a Philosophy of History from the Christian point of view. St. Augustine does not dwell on the monuments or arts of the vanquished city for their own sake, but for the moral and religious realities of which those external things are the expression or product. Taking a high standpoint, and rising above olden prejudice, he dispels the illusion, long prevalent alike among Heathens and Christians, that the Empire of Rome was an actually Divine Institution, destined to endure for ever, because necessary to the well-being and organization of the civilized world. In the VI. century, we find the subject in question treated from a different point of view in the somewhat inflated, but valuable, Epistles of Cassiodorus, secretary to the Gothic kings at Ravenna, and who ended his life as a monk. This writer supplies many particulars respecting the public works, the political circumstances and administration of Rome at that period; and his pages are a source of much useful matter for the historian.

We have to traverse ages of darkness, but faintly dispelled by a few ecclesiastical writers, in the centuries next ensuing.

The letters and sermons of St. Gregory the Great afford glimpses, mournful indeed, of the conditions of the depressed city, now perpetually exposed to Longobardic invasion, impoverished, left without aid from the feeble despots of Con-

* Written before the much to be regretted demolition of that ancient gateway under the new Government.

stantinople, who still affected to rule over the Seven Hills; but Rome was preserved from ruin by the beneficent action of the Church. Anastasius, in his "Lives of the Popes," carried down to A.D. 867, is our best authority for this period; and it is probable that several of the biographies included in the series under his name are by writers contemporary with the respective Pontiffs.

A less qualified, though noticeable, guide through the gloom of the earlier mediæval periods is the German Pilgrim, who visited Rome in the IX. century, perhaps before the close of Charlemagne's reign, and who is known as the Anonymous of Einsiedlin, from the fact that his MS.—a brief topographic notice of edifices, with the transcript of epigraphs from their fronts—had been found in the library of that Swiss Monastery shortly before it was first edited by Mabillon.

Arrived at the X. century, we find ourselves in darkness that may be felt, the portentous result of moral disorders, general ignorance, and anarchy. Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona, in his Chronicles of his own time, may be quoted as authority, though open to the charge of exaggeration and scandal-seeking, particularly with regard to high-placed personages at Rome. But the distinguished Benedictine above-named, Mabillon, lights up the gloom, even in this "double night of ages," by the luminous intellect and comprehensive learning whose vast results are gathered up in his colossal "Annals of the Benedictine Order."

For the XI. and XII. centuries, we are supplied with information as to the eventful history of the Roman Pontificate by several contemporary writers, edited in the great series under Muratori's name: "*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores.*"

In the XII. century, we meet with the first of that long-drawn array of monographs (illustrative of particular

churches, especially the great basilicas), namely, "a Description of the Vatican Basilica," by Mallius, Canon of that Papal Cathedral; also a similar work on the Lateran Basilica, by John the Deacon, both dedicated to the reigning Pope, Alexander III. Twenty-three years after the devastating conflagration caused by the Norman troops of Robert Guiscard, A.D. 1084, Rome was visited (in 1107) by Hildebert, Bishop of Tours, who records his impressions in elegiac verse, and not only dwells on the dismal realities before him in the yet unrepaired consequences of the scathing fires, but also on the art-treasures which impressed him most (few indeed can we suppose to have been at that time visible)—observing, with enthusiasm somewhat singular in one of his sacred office—that the gods seem here to breathe in their beautiful images, and that one honours them *rather* for the sake of the artists than for their own divinity.

A most curious document, perhaps in its nucleus at least as old as the XI., but probably developed into its actual form in the XII. century, is the *Mirabilia Urbis Romæ*, a tissue of Romance, embodying popular legends and visionary notions as to this City's antiquities and monuments, without any knowledge of her History or ancient Literature—a curiosity in its way; scarce an ancient edifice that is not assigned to some fantastic or impossible origin in these dreamy pages. The writer's conjectures as to the few classical sculptures he refers to, are most amusing; his notions of the Pagan Priesthood are derived from Mediæval Catholicism; and the whole work may, in fact, be considered as a childlike expression of wonder at the grandeur of Ruins here beheld, but utterly without comprehension. Not the least singular circumstance as to this book is its publication in Rome by authority, as a recommendable guide for Pilgrims, A.D. 1470!

To the same class of writings coloured by phantasy, without any basement of knowledge, pertain the Travels of Benjamin Tudela, a Rabbi, arriving here about A.D. 1173, and who (an Israelite in heart and soul) sees Jerusalem, her destinies, her memories, reflected in the whole world. He entertains us with an account of 80 palaces built by as many emperors at this wonderful city! In his eyes the Maxentian Circus is the Palace of Titus, which that Emperor was obliged to build at such extramural distance, on account of the disgrace incurred by him for not having taken Jerusalem in *two* years, but (contrary to senatorial orders) spent three years on the enterprise of that siege.

Martinus Polonus (a Polish Bishop of Cosenza), in a chronicle written about A.D. 1320, retails many legends from the *Mirabilia*, and (a strange mistake in the pages of one who could report from ocular inspection) hazards the statement that the circuit of Rome's walls measured 42 miles! On occasion of the first Jubilee, appointed by Boniface VIII. 1300, Dante arrived here as envoy of the Florentine Republic; but the sojourn left few traces on his immortal page,—if in his mind—other than a bitter hostility against that Pontiff, whom, however, he is generous enough reverentially to pity for the cruel wrongs suffered by him at the hands of the myrmidons hired by Philip le Bel.

Reminiscences of spectacular occasions—the splendours of the Lateran—the thronging of Pilgrims on the S. Angelo bridge, and the exposition of the *Volto Santo* at S. Peter's, are all that relates to Rome in other passages of the "*Divina Commedia*," where Boniface, or some other reprobated Pope, is not in question. Dante remembers Rome as the metropolis of the Church and the seat of the spiritual power whose corruptions he denounces.

The more genial and impressionable Petrarch, whose

visit to Rome for his coronation on the Capitol, A.D. 1341, was the second occasion on which he saw this city, gives most interesting records of his thoughts and feelings, whilst here, in his Latin Letters. There, in many delightful pages, we have the pleasure at last of contemplating the reflex (so to say) of monumental Rome in a richly gifted intellect—one of those “with mind that sheds a *light* on all it sees”—who lost nothing of the Present and appreciated all in the Past.

This eminently representative man of his time accepted every thing in the range of mediæval belief, whilst far above the level of contemporary intelligence. His enthusiasm alike warms among the ruins of the Forum and on the site where, as he repeats the legend of the Ara Cœli church, Augustus beheld the vision of the Virgin Mother and Divine Child, interpreted by the oracular Sibyl! Nor does he doubt the tradition that the Temple of Peace (meaning the Basilica of Constantine) was preternaturally overthrown—one part at least sinking into sudden decay, of which neither time nor earthquake was the cause—at the advent of the true Prince of Peace!

It is pleasant to accompany Petrarch on his long walks through this then depopulated city, as in the evening hours, when he used to ascend the vaulted roofs of the Diocletian Thermæ, thence to contemplate the wide prospect of neglected antiquities, or while away the time in talk with a congenial companion on ancient and modern History, or on Philosophy and Religion. But even this Child of Genius, disposed as he is to see the brighter side of the picture, does not shut his eyes to lamentable realities—the ignorance and social degradation here too evident during the sojourn of the Papal Court at Avignon. “Who (he asks) are at this day more ignorant of Rome than the Romans? Unwillingly do I say it—nowhere is Rome less

known of than at Rome." See also his eloquent appeal, addressed, A.D. 1362, to Urban V., urging him to restore the Holy See to its ancient metropolis. A mournful picture of the desolation and anarchy here prevailing at that period is found in the contemporary life of Cola di Rienzo, edited by Muratori, and later (with valuable annotations) by Zefferino Re. Interesting and graphic report of what took place in Rome during the Jubilee year, 1350, is given as well by that anonymous writer as by the younger Villani; and for further particulars of the deplorable social state in the XIV. century, we may consult, in Muratori, the chronicler Monaldeschi, who describes what he had seen within Rome's walls.

On the 17th January, 1377, Pope Gregory XI. made his solemn entry into Rome, restoring the Papal residence to the Capital abandoned by its sovereign Priests during 72 years.

Nothing could have surpassed the pomps or enthusiasm of his reception; for, amid whatever depression and gloom, the Church could always command the homage of magnificence. As to this festive occasion we have a very curious report, "*Itinerarium Gregorii XI.*" in somewhat ponderous Latin verse by an eye-witness, Amelius Alecensis, a prelate who rode in the Papal procession which entered by the Ostian gate early on the morning of that day. The long cavalcade could not reach the silent halls of the Vatican (henceforth the residence preferred to the ruinous Lateran Palace) till the hour of Complines, that is, after Vespers.

The XV. century was one of progress, promoted by new and potent influences in almost every walk. Yet at the beginning of this epoch one chronicler describes this City as so desolate that she resembled rather a village of cowherds than a civilized metropolis! This was during the long schism of the Antipopes, eventually put down by the

memorable Council of Constance, A.D. 1414. The fall of the Byzantine Empire drove away many exiled Greeks, and among them many *savans*, to seek refuge in the West, thus contributing to revive the studies of classical literature and appreciation for the intellect of antiquity.

Such Popes as Martin V., Nicholas V., and Pius II., must be remembered among benefactors of their age and metropolis. In 1467 was issued the first printed book from a Roman press, namely, the "Familiar Epistles" of Cicero; but the German typographers, who opened that establishment here, had already brought out an edition of Lactantius at Subiaco. The writer first claiming notice in the walk I am now considering, at this period, is Flavio Biondo, engaged between 1431 and 1447 in investigating and describing Roman and Italian antiquities, the fruit of which labours is contained in his "Roma Restaurata" and "Italia Illustrata." In the first of those volumes we become acquainted with the then condition of monuments, many of which have since vanished, or been so maltreated that, as they now rise before us, they are but the shadows of a shade compared with the picture presented to us in Biondo's pages. Ciriaco of Ancona, who came to this city first in 1424, afterwards (in the suite of the Emperor Sigismund) in 1433, was almost the first Italian traveller who made the search for, and collecting of, antiques a primary object. He has left in a Latin Itinerary some gleanings obtained (not indeed very copious) by those labours on his diligent journeys. Another learned traveller, Ambrogio Traversari, the beatified Father-General of the Camaldulense Order, wrote a most curious work under the pedantic title of "Hodeporicon," describing his official visits to monasteries, and the state in which he found them, both in the Roman and Tuscan provinces, A.D. 1432. Next in order of date appears a distinguished *savant*,

Poggio Bracciolini, the Florentine secretary to Nicholas V., and author (besides many other works) of the “*De Varietate Fortunæ*” (about A.D. 1447), which commences impressively with meditations on the fate of Empires, suggested by the scene before him as he sat thoughtful on the Capitoline Hill, where the Tabularium, still so conspicuous and majestic in ruin, was then utilized as a salt magazine. His testimony is valuable, for his brief allusions inform us with regard to the actual state of decay and the deliberate injuries inflicted on the monumental wealth of this city. Pomponio Leto, another *protégé* of Nicholas V., succeeded in reviving theatrical performances here, on a stage with classical sock and buskin, where were produced comedies of Terence and Plautus, in prelatic palaces. The same writer contributed a Latin treatise (but meagre indeed) on the local antiquities. The learned Platina, librarian of the Vatican under Sixtus IV., produced the first comparatively modern biographic work on the Popes, carried down to his own time, A.D. 1471; and though far from a discriminating—sometimes indeed an amusingly credulous historian—his account of ecclesiastical buildings and restorations adds to the interest of his still celebrated work. The social conditions of Rome towards the end of this century are displayed in occasional glimpses through the tissue of court details and scandals, compiled by two chamberlains of the Vatican, Infessura and Burckhart, —both apparently accurate in their elaborately minute diaries; but it is suspected that the one by Burckhart, chamberlain to Alexander VI., has been interpolated so as to make the picture (if possible) darker than the original. Relevant to this social picture is one fact here stated, that between the last illness of Innocent VIII. and the election of his successor, Alexander VI. an interval of seventeen days (July to August 1492), were perpetrated in this holy city 220 assassinations!

Before turning from the XV. century, I may recommend an admirable illustration of monumental Rome at this period, due not to the pen but to the pencil, by Giuliano Giamberti (better known as Sangallo), a series of drawings, ably executed, A.D. 1465, and now to be seen in the Barberini Library.

In the XVI. century we may hail with pleasure the new developments of archæology as an organised science, resting on (or at least beginning to find) a firm basis of evidences and learning, but still far from the accuracy since attained. Nowhere more than at this centre was encouraged the spirit of that *renaissance* which led to results beyond all that could have been anticipated by the Popes.

Among writings of the class I have to notice, now appear the several descriptions of *the* City and her Mirabilia by Raffaele Maffei (1506), by Andrea Fulvio (1527) etc., the "Discourses" on Antiquity by Scamozzi; also, more important, the "Topography of Rome" (Latin) by Marliani—the first to cast aside untenable tradition and pedantry, the first to illustrate his text by engravings. Another such work, *Antichità di Roma*, by Lucio Mauro, is furnished with an Appendix by Aldroandi on the statues then extant here—the earliest notice of such art relics, scattered over public and private buildings at this period.

Two architects who describe Roman antiquities at about the same time, are Bernardo Gamucci (1552) and Pirro Ligorio, the latter being one of those professionally engaged at St. Peter's. Designs, which are more to be relied upon than his text, illustrate the volume by Ligorio, many of whose theories might raise a smile; yet amid much wild guess-work, he sometimes lights upon a truth confirmed by later authorities. One of his strangest fantasies is that which absolutely *translocates* the Roman Forum, and places the Mamertine Prisons among the ruins of the three

temples over which stands the Church of S. Niccolo in Carcere! and this after promising, in a chapter well entitled "Paradoxes," to rescue the whole world from the darkness of antiquarian error!

Raphael's memoir, addressed to Leo X., on the means of preserving or restoring classic monuments, is a precious, though brief, document; and the *Libro dell' Architettura* by Labaco, director of antiquarian researches under that pontificate, is also valuable. A learned Dominican, Leandro Alberti, compiled with much diligence an antiquarian and historical description of all Italy—its cities, monuments, "mountains, lakes, rivers, fountains, baths, mines, and all the marvellous works of Nature here displayed"—as his quaint preface sets forth.

This work seems to me the best of its description hitherto produced; and it is remarkable that, ages before Niebuhr, this erudite monk disputes the claim of Romulus to be considered the Founder of Rome, assuming far higher antiquity for the *Roma quadrata* on the Palatine, which he thinks must have given its name *to*, and not received it *from*, that hero, whose very existence has since been doubted!

Onofrio Panvinio, a very learned Augustinian, commenced (about 1550) a colossal work on Rome's Ancient History—"Antiquæ Urbis Imago," which he did not live to finish, but which must be prized even in its fragmentary state; and in another work, a Latin description of the Seven Roman Basilicas, we may appreciate his learning in sacred archæology. In 1588 appeared the *Stazioni di Roma* by Ugonio; and in 1600 the most complete account of the Christian as distinct from the Pagan metropolis—I mean, the *Tesori Nascosti* ("Hidden Treasures of the August City") by Ottavio Pancirolli. More important was the publication, in 1586, of the first volume of the great work,

finished in 1605, by Cardinal Cesare Baronio, which won for him the designation: "Father of Ecclesiastical History." Its incorrectnesses have been pointed out, its merits fully recognised. The striking presentment of facts, the vast accumulation of antiquarian evidences in this work entitle it to its high place; and he who desires mentally to behold and estimate the most eventful eras of mediæval Rome, as laid before us in this History of the Church up to the year 1198, should not fail to study Baronius.

The last antiquarian work I have to notice within the XVI. century, is that by the sculptor Flaminio Vacca (1594), whose off-hand notes, mostly jotted down from personal observation, were not intended for publicity, and are therefore the more welcome, being spontaneous, simple, and free from all attempts at rhetoric. In those pages we learn the extent to which Roman antiquities had been despoiled and classic statuary dispersed through ignorance, or avarice, before the years in which Flaminio Vacca wrote.

Arrived at the epoch of great religious struggles, we find this illustrative literature still keeping the even tenor of its way, undisturbed by polemic tempests. Every imaginable battery of attack was directed against the "Niobe of Nations," yet none of her foes could affect to despise her,—*that* being impossible. Even among all the tragic shocks suffered by her in the stormy past, nothing can be paralleled to the hideous Saturnalia of atrocity and license in the siege, sack, and massacre by the mercenary troops of Bourbon, who fought under the banner of the Catholic Emperor Charles V., and here achieved their diabolical victory on the 6th May, 1527.

The terrific sequel to their ingress on that day is described by two eye-witnesses, by Benvenuto Cellini in his characteristic and amusingly vain autobiography, and by a writer known under the name of Jacopo Buonaparte, but supposed

to be no other than the historian Guicciardini, who was here at the time.

In 1510 arrived in Rome a German Augustinian Friar, who laterwards became celebrated as Dr. Martin Luther. Even he saw something to praise in this City—especially the severities of the police, who used strongly to patrol at night, and summarily hang, or drown in the Tiber, suspicious persons found with arms in their hands about the streets.

Classical ruins spoke not to the mind of that Saxon Reformer, who has only to say (mark the elegance of the simile!) that he saw such things piled up as high as three spears of a German *Lanzknecht*—see *Storia Documentata di Carlo V.*, by De Leva, for particulars of this biographical episode.

Rabelais, that Prince of Buffoons, describes his visit here, and his presentation to Clement VII. under a veil of comic allegory, indicating, without even naming, this City of Churches and church bells, as *l'Isle Sonnante*—see his “Pantagruel,” which sheds the gall of intensest sarcasm over everything.

Ariosto does not describe, but rather satirizes the Roman life of his day; and Machiavelli (in his *Legazioni*) gives attention to political aspects alone.

Montaigne, a sceptic too calmly philosophical to be illiberal in any cause, makes us feel interested in his Italian travels during 1580. He allows that Rome, in spite of many deficiencies, is a pleasant place, though without a single respectable street of shops like those in Paris! Crossing the Campagna, he sees only a repulsive and dreary solitude, but finds the aqueducts worth noticing. As to local antiquities in general, he observes (I translate his words): “that those who say the *Ruins* of Rome are here before us, affirm too much—for it is, in fact, her *Sepulchre* that we behold; the world, weary of her dominion, having broken

“ up and reduced to dust that wonderful body, which mankind hastened to bury, fearing to contemplate her even when dead and prostrate !”

To the same century belongs (though later published) one of the most truly monumental historic works ever produced, and of the highest value for the illustration and study of Christian Rome, its institutions, the pontificate, the lives and characters of Popes and Cardinals : *Vitæ et Res Gestæ Pontificum Romanorum et S. R. E. Cardinalium*, by Alfonso Ciaconius, a Spanish Dominican who, being sent by his monastic superiors to Rome, was here promoted to the Patriarchate of Alexandria, and died in this city, A.D. 1601, in the 59th year of his age. He left his great work to be finished by his nephew, who published it in two folio volumes, 1601-1602. An enlarged edition was commenced by Wadding, and completed by Vitorelli, 1630. Finally appeared from a Roman press, 1676, in the fully developed form in which we now possess it, the work in four folios, carried down to the pontificate of Clement IX., through the labours of the continuators of Ciaconius, the above-named Vitorelli, Ughelli, Martinelli, Oldoini, a Jesuit, and Becillo, an Oratorian priest. Here we find not only the biographies, but the most important documents, bulls and briefs issued by the several Popes, engravings from their coins, and from the monuments originally erected to them, many of which have been destroyed or dispersed. In many instances the continuators are content to supply comments or amplifications to the text of the learned Dominican.

In the XVII. century appears a new and very interesting form of antiquarian literature, in which the religious aspect is dwelt on almost exclusively ; in which the Metropolis of the Church almost effaces her Pagan predecessor, and all the monuments of the Heathen Empire became dim in the shadow of the Cross. This direction of mind and

study becomes conspicuous in the local literature—a result of great changes after great conflicts, and affording proof that agitations which shake society to its depths have their beneficial consequence in intellectual spheres. Remarkable indeed was the devotional spirit, the elevation of tone attained since the semi-Paganized age of the Medici had been held up to highest admiration, and left long lingering influences.

Next to the able work on Sacred Archæology by Pancirolli, above mentioned, was brought out (1632) the first complete illustration of the Christian Cemeteries, called Catacombs, so far as then known or accessible, *Roma Sotteranea*, edited by Severano from the MSS. left by the indefatigable Bosio (a Maltese), who spent thirty years in exploring those hypogæa, but was prevented by death (in 1600) from publishing the fruit of his courageous labours. This posthumous work was afterwards amplified in a Latin version by Arringhi, of deserved repute. *Roma ex Ethnica Sacra* (“Rome from Heathen made Sacred”), by Martinelli (1653), is a small volume full of matter, that serves to keep the promise of its title, most carefully compiled. A similar aim is pursued, with feeling and learning, by Marangoni in his *Cose Gentilesche e Profane* (which may be translated as “Profane and Heathen Objects applied to the uses of the Church”), being in fact a study on the external relationships and interior contrasts between Pagan and Christian Worship. A work by the same author, “Sacred and Profane Memories of the Flavian Amphitheatre,” may intensify our interest (even after we have read all subsequent contributions on this theme) in the marvels and vicissitudes of the Colosseum.

Later appeared several important works on sacred architecture, considered with regard to liturgic applications and as an expression of faith, the *De Sacris Ædificiis*, and *Monu-*

menta Vetera by Ciampini, referring to the principal basilicas and other old churches, as well those of Rome as of Ravenna. Among the many monographs illustrative of particular churches, and profusely supplied from the Roman press, may be distinguished those on the Lateran and *S. Maria in Cosmedin*, by Crescimbuci, that by Mgr. Nicolai on the Ostian Basilica, and, by Padre Casimiri, the history of Franciscan churches and convents in the Papal States. Among many volumes of which St. Peter's is the subject, its "grotte" (or crypt-church) is ably illustrated in two works by Dionisi and Torrigio; its more modern buildings by Fontana and Cancellieri—the former of whom tells us that up to 1694 had been spent on that Basilica the sum of 46,800,000 scudi. The series of complete studies, produced in adequate form, on classic Roman antiquities, scarcely begins before this period; and the *Roma Vetustate recens* by Alessandro Donati (1638), forms an epoch in this literature, its writer being profoundly learned and thoroughly familiar with his theme, which he treats with power and breadth such as few predecessors had displayed in the same walk. The *Roma Antica* by Nardini (1666) may be placed in the same class, though inferior to Donati's work; more voluminous than the former, and tediously diffuse in the modern Italian style. With respect to one most interesting group of monuments—the Sepulchral—Roman and Etruscan, which reveal so much of the inner life, the religious hope and belief of the ancients—two writers of ability and learning, Ficoroni and Santi Bartoli, may be consulted and relied on. "Roma in ogni Stato," by Gasparo Alveri (1664) is a well-conceived, but not well-executed attempt to unite with the locally descriptive a complete historic picture of this city from Romulus to the reigning pontiff, Alexander VII. I may class with this a much abler work (though not published till a century later), the *Storia*

Diplomatica--"Diplomatic History of the Roman Senate,"—most valuable for the light it throws on mediæval government at this centre, by the Abbate Vitale. Two extraordinary men and two eventful periods in Rome are portrayed by Gregorio Leti in his Lives of Sixtus V. and Cesare Borgia—biographies that are entertaining, but much marred by the romancing tendencies of a writer bent on attacking the hierarchy of the Church whose communion he had renounced.

Throughout the XVIII. century this illustrative literature maintained its reputation, indeed may be said to have reached its zenith; both from the Roman and foreign press many noticeable works from time to time came out, among which must be distinguished the "Topography and Description of Rome," by the Marchese Venuti (1765); the *Magnificenze di Roma* by Vasi; and (still more valuable) the "Description of Rome and the Campagna," by Eschinardi, a Jesuit Father, whose style is lucid and pleasing, and who introduces the picture of ancient manners in the background of the monumental scenes. He is the best guide (hitherto presenting his subject) for the environs of this city, for the historic sites of Latium and Sabina. Between 1720-1754 appeared works that comprise a wide range of sacred antiquities, and ably illustrate the life of the primitive Church at this city.

The "Cemeteries of the Holy Martyrs," by Boldetti, the "Sculptures and Paintings of the Roman Cemeteries," by Bottari, and the "Manners and Customs of the Primitive Christians," by Mamachi, a Dominican of very extensive learning, are most valuable in this interesting class. Conspicuous among writers who interweave the memories of classic antiquity with the sanctities and beneficent aspects of Catholicism, is the Abbate Piazza, author of the *Sacre Stazioni*, the *Emerologio Sacro*, or account of the religious

observances of every day in this city, besides several other works of analogous character. A small volume of another class by Filippo Leti (1721) describes the Vatican Museum in its nucleus state as a collection of sculptures in the gardens of that palace—different indeed from the sanctuary of art now open to us.

In the latter years of the XVII. and earlier of the next century, appeared many admirable and learned works on Roman and Italian antiquities by transalpine authors: the *Iter Italicum* and *Musæum Italicum*, by the truly great Mabillon; the vividly worked-up *Diarium Italicum* (1707) by another French Benedictine, Montfaucon, author of the celebrated volumes, *L'Antiquité expliquée par les Monuments*. Cluverius, in his "*Italia Antiqua et Sicilia Antiqua*," undertakes to solve the difficult problems of ancient history with regard to the origin of all the renowned cities in this peninsula and its adjacent island. To this class of elaborate and somewhat ponderously learned illustrations of the subject belongs the "*Corpus Antiquitatum Romanarum*," by Thomas Dempster, first published at Paris, with dedication to King James I., 1612. In ten books this Scottish *savant* goes through a wide range of Rome's antiquities—the city, the people, the gods, priests, temples, altars, magistrates, public spectacles, laws, and customs—the usual encyclopediac aim of the learned at that period.

Now appeared (in Italian and Latin) another, the ethical, class of works on ancient Rome, fruit of a new direction happily given to thought and learning, and whose aim is to portray the daily life, the habits, and social conditions of antiquity—a high and moral object, the newly-attained predominance of which forms an epoch in the history of the literature here considered. First among those who contributed ably in this walk was the Belgian *savant*,

Justus Lipsius (see his *Roma Illustrata*) ; next the learned Fabricius, a high authority, and the Flemish Nieupoort, author of the *De Ritibus Romanorum*. Similar in scope, but more genial and entertaining, is the careful study of the "Private Life of the Romans," in two volumes so entitled (produced both in Latin and Italian), by Amato ; also another work on the same subject by Ventimiglia. Those writers, leaving no retreat of ancient life unexplored, shew us the Roman in all his daily occupations, at the toilet, in the Thermæ, in the Temple, the Lararium, the Amphitheatre, the Circus, and at the supper-table, that chief rendezvous for convivial pleasures and amazing gastronomic achievements. Their task is well performed. Pictures like these, bringing the remote past into the daylight of modern civilization, gain in historic value, often in startling effect, by such elaborate minuteness. Such realities as are brought forward by these writers serve strikingly to confirm the views of heathen society mentioned in writings far above the level of my present subject—the Epistles of S. Paul. The XVIII. century aimed at the encyclopediac in erudition and literary achievement ; and although certain tendencies of the time were objectionable, although bad taste reigned tyrannically in Art and Letters, as in the fashions of dress, we cannot forget the intellectual energies which dignified the pursuits of Learning at this period.

Northern literature, grasping vigorously and earnestly the subject of Rome and her place in world-history, developed the treatment of that theme into one of those monumental works that enhance our respect for human intellect so applied—the *Thesaurus Antiquitatum*, 13 double-column folios on Greek and Roman Antiquities, on their historic and moral bearings, as well as their material aspects, compiled by the celebrated German *savants*, Grævius and Gronovius.

We may turn to other explorers, and to the pilgrims from other lands at Rome in these days.

One evening, A.D. 1764, an English traveller was meditating (like Poggio) among the ruins on the Capitoline Hill, whilst the chant of vespers reached his ears from the adjacent church of Ara Cœli. Little did the Franciscan friars think what impressions they were then contributing to deepen in the richly-stored mind whose thought at that moment was designed to fructify in a creation of immortal renown, but alike hostile to the Roman Catholic as to all other forms of Christianity. Under such circumstances, at the evening hour of that day, was conceived by Gibbon the idea of his "Decline and Fall," which I need not either praise or blame. One chapter in that work (the 71st), on the Topography and Monuments of Rome, is not only impressive in its gravely sustained eloquence, but among the ablest essays yet produced on the local theme there treated.

I may allow myself a retrospect to consider the tourist literature which so soon degenerated into frivolity, and which scarcely became prominent (save in the case of Montaigne) before about the date 1600.

English and French take the lead in this walk.

Lord Herbert of Cherbury (see his autobiography) gives no attention to Art or Monuments, but to social conditions alone during his stay in Rome.

Balzac, a French celebrity of the XVII. century, is roused to poetic enthusiasm by the marvels of this city. Next in order of time comes the genial diarist, Evelyn, who was here in 1644. Bishop Burnet in his "Letters from Italy and Switzerland" (1685), hazards the absurd and bigoted theory, scarce worthy of refutation, that the entire range of Roman Catacombs are the burial places of heathen slaves alone, that the wealth of sacred antiquities, paintings,

sculptures, epigraphs, therein contained, are but the "forgeries" (I quote his words) "of a few monks." The French President, Misson, may be classed among the *esprits forts* who anticipated Voltaire; yet even he could feel a certain degree of enthusiasm for Rome when he visited it in 1688.

The more distinguished Addison made in 1700 the journey recorded in his "Italian Travels," a work which fails to fulfil the promise implied in his name, and in reference to which Macaulay justly observes that "spots made memorable by events that have changed the destinies of the world and been worthily recorded by great historians, bring to his mind only scraps of some ancient versifier." This esteemed author travels through Italy like a schoolmaster bent on bringing out a new edition of Horace or Suetonius; and while in Rome affords little attention to anything, monumental or practical, of Christian origin or purpose. The "Letters from Italy" by the poet Gray (1739-41) are genial and graceful; and a German traveller—Keyser (1730)—contributed ably to the same tourist literature. In the Italian travels of Smollett (1764) we recognise the humorous novelist—shrewd, keenly observant, but without elevation of thought or aim, and so habitually ill-humoured, so querulous at the shortcomings of innkeepers, postilions, cooks, that, arriving with him at the end of his tour, we may conclude Smollett to have been one of the travellers who had better have stayed at home.

Far higher is the character of the voluminous "Voyage d'un Français en Italie," describing experiences of travel in 1765-66, published anonymous, but known to be by the famous astronomer Lalande; and this is, I believe, the very best work of its class produced in the last century, dwelling as it does on art, antiquities, society, institutions, on all that must interest a cultivated mind, which Italian regions had then to display.

Next should be favourably mentioned the Travels of a Spaniard, Juan Andres, a good authority with respect to art-collections in Italian cities as they were before the onset of despoilers ;—also the “Society and Manners in Italy” (1775) by Dr. Moore, and the truly classical “Discourses” by Sir Joshua Reynolds, who visited Rome in 1748. The tragic Alfieri leads us to infer (see his autobiography) that his sojourn here (from 1767 to 1780) was about the happiest period of his restless life ; but gives no proof of any interest in the antique. Though usually preferring themes from Roman history for his tragedies, this sternly-tempered poet betrays disregard for the local knowledge suitable to his self-chosen tasks—forgetting that the imaginative writer who neglects such knowledge is so much the less powerfully imaginative.

Two other French tourists, also of literary renown—Duclos (who succeeded Voltaire as historiographer of France), and the President de Brosse recorded their impressions of Rome at about the same time. The latter, learned and brilliant, singularly represents the temper of the XVIII. century, with some touches which amount to self-betrayal. He complains that one cannot reach any of the villas around Rome without traversing that *devilish Campagna (cette Diable de Campagne de Rome!)*, where there is nothing worth seeing but some aqueducts in ruin!! Elsewhere he suggests that the less damaged portions of the Colosseum should be restored to serve for spectacular entertainments, observing that it would be better to have half a Colosseum in good condition than a whole one in rags and tatters!!

In 1777 arrived here another accomplished French writer and archæologist, Seroux d’Agincourt, who for a long time kept his portmanteau continually packed up for the departure he never could resolve upon, till at last fairly yielding

to the fascinations of the Eternal City, he settled himself here for the rest of his life, and died here, an octogenarian, in 1814. During those years he dedicated himself to his great work, amply illustrated by engravings, "The History of Art," from the period when Winckelmann had left it, that, namely, of the Fall of Western Empire.

Agincourt appreciates the importance of the primitive records found in Catacombs, where he carried on explorings at his own risk. He felt the power, the opulence, and sentiment of mediæval genius. His greatest merit consists in his successful revival of the appreciation and taste for the Art of those Middle Ages which the XVIII. century had obstinately ignored, or ignorantly decried. Among the many works in which the text is subordinate to plates, I may mention the splendid, perhaps too imaginative Restorations by Piranesi (a creative genius) in his *Magnificenza ed Architettura dei Romani* (1756), where are represented both the actual state of ruin and the restored completeness of monuments, as this artist grandly conceived them in their majestic integrity.

Other works, which collaterally pertain to the series here considered, are the admirable History of Art by Winckelmann, and the History of Mosaics by Furietti; the *Libro Straordinario* on Roman Architecture by Serlio, and the *Antichità di Roma* by Palladio (1747), the two latter of that class in which the now perfected skill of the engraver is brought to bear on the subject undertaken, and in which the text is alike subordinate. The "Edifices Antiques de Rome," by Desgodetz, who was sent hither to study and compile his illustrated work by Colbert, Minister of Louis XIV., was brought out in France, 1682, and is one of the first of its character thus early produced in superior style. In the latter years of the past century Rome was perhaps still more distinct from other European cities than at

present : a centre of erudite leisure, magnificent fêtes, academic *réunions* for declamations in prose and verse ; the social state calm, without prescience of coming tempests, under a Pontiff (Pius VI.) of cultivated mind, munificent in his patronage of Art and public works, long on the sacred throne. In 1786 arrived here a gifted stranger who threw all literary competitors into the shade—one on whom Heaven had bestowed the power to succeed pre-eminently in *all* he undertook, to charm by *all* creations of his fertile mind, to extend the sceptre of Genius over almost all realms of Thought and Speculation — John Wolfgang Goethe—then in his 37th year, and at the zenith of his fame.

Greatly should we be disappointed were we to seek for any thing like elaborate description, or systematic criticism in what he has told us of his travels in the “Italian Letters” and “Roman Elegies.” Those writings are full of his individuality ; and the poems, in hexameter blank verse, dwell rather on his private life and feelings than on external things. Yet, whilst yielding to the charm of surrounding influences, that life is intensely Roman : classic memories, local impressions, a perspective of graceful antiquity gleam in the background of the daily scene ; the feeling of the Past pervades all present realities. Madame de Stael says correctly that, in reading those Elegies, we might fancy ourselves in intercourse with Tibullus or Propertius. For *Christian* Rome, however, Goethe had least sympathy—perhaps none beyond the threshold of the picture gallery and museum. What appreciative regard for mediæval monuments, for Catholic institutions or Pontifical solemnities could be expected from the writer who tells us how, when at Assisi, his sole object was to inspect, measure, and describe (as he does with most critical accuracy) the well-preserved Temple of Minerva in that town, while he did

not think it worth his while even to walk up to the great Basilica containing the shrine of S. Francis, and sanctified by the art and genius, the devotions, and memories of 600 years?

In Italian Literature the illustration of monumental Rome was at this time ably carried out from points of view now somewhat modified. Ennio Quirino Visconti, appointed, when but 18 years old, to succeed to Winckelmann as superintendent of the Vatican and Capitoline Museums, began in 1785 his great illustrated work on the Pio-Clementino Museum, which, together with his "Iconografia," or "Portrait Sculptures" of Greek and Roman Antiquity, forms the most complete and attractive series of studies on the Art Collections in this city—aided by learning, illuminated by enthusiasm, and free from pedantry.

Gaetano Marini, an indefatigable antiquarian, has left few published works to attest the extent of his knowledge, except the "Acts and Monuments of the Arval Brethren," suggested by the discovery of two epigraphs (now in a corridor of the Vatican Sacristy) relating to that ancient Priesthood. His erudition was great. Most of Marini's other writings still remain inedited MSS. in the Vatican Library. About 1790 began the long literary career of Carlo Fea, a Nestor among Roman Antiquarians, who lived till 1836, and whose reports on discoveries and explorings enable us to follow the progress of such works after the Papal Government had undertaken a systematic prosecution of them. Indefatigable to the last, Fea poured forth his pamphlets in endless profusion, but without plan or unity—in all, 118 publications. A walking Encyclopædia with respect to the *Mirabilia* of Rome, and one of the most entertaining writers of his class, was the Abbate Cancellieri, whose published works amount to 161, the inedited to 79. His method is to start with some theme

more or less promising, and thence strike out into infinitely varied episodes.

We sometimes become bewildered under such guidance, but are sure to be led at last to some goal where the pursuit is rewarded.

The titles of his volumes scarce convey any hint of their multifarious contents. The one most carefully wrought out is a work throwing much curious light on the mediæval city, as well as on the Pontifical Court—the *Storia dei Possessi*, or “History of the Installations of the Popes at the Lateran Basilica.” The decline of ecclesiastical architecture in Rome since the XVI. century, now so deplorably manifest on every side, was an evil which elicited a reaction, or, at least, the denunciations of criticism deservedly severe.

In 1787 Milizia brought out his *Roma delle Belle Arti*, noticing every remarkable building here, from the Cloaca Maxima to the sacristy erected at S. Peter’s by Pius VI. He is a clever, unsparing, and epigrammatic castigator, in whose sight even Rome’s grandest Basilica finds no favour. St. Peter’s he considers a splendid failure, which, intended to be greatest among the great, has had the destiny of Cassandra : *no one believes it to be what it really is !* I may cite one specimen of his laconic judgments : referring to the façade of S. Marcello on the Corso, he says : “Shut your eyes !” The “Lives of Architects” and “Dictionary of the Fine Arts” are other works by Milizia, creditable to his talent and industry ; but the critic who sedulously teaches us to blame rather than to praise, does not prove a genial companion.

The Periodical, a new form of literature in Rome, began to promote antiquarian interests so early as 1750—see the *Mercurio Errante*, compiled by one Rossini, but now, I believe, out of print. With better success were set on foot

two other publications, like the former for weekly issue: the *Memorie di Belle Arti* and *Monumenti Inediti*, the latter kept up for several years by the Abbate Guattani, who has been called the "Father of modern guide books," owing to his descriptive and useful work upon Rome, 1805, the first on a plan like (yet unlike) that of such manuals of later date.

Other literature, not referring so much to monuments themselves as to their effect on feeling or imagination, had its birth towards the end of the last century; and at about the same time appears that taste for idealizing description peculiar to the Romantic School. Few writers had hitherto expressed that poetic feeling for the solemnity of ruins, which craves an answer to thought or an accord with the emotions of the soul in their desolate grandeur; nor was the mind of the age yet familiar with anything like the fourth Canto of *Childe Harold*, or any such refinements of sentiment as are eloquently uttered in *Corinne*.

The first work of this tendency, and of the class alluded to, is the *Notti Romane*, by Count Alessandro Verri, who was inspired for his task by the discovery, in 1780, of the long forgotten sepulchre of the Scipios on the Appian Way. Never, perhaps, did an author imagine for himself a grander situation than does Verri in communing with (as he describes), and escorting over the historic sites of their earthly experiences, even into the penetralia of the Vatican, the spirits of Rome's great ones—rulers, sages, bards, and warriors—who in the silence of midnight appear to him, in fitful gleams of mysterious light, amidst the dark recesses of that cavernous tomb, thence to revisit those scenes where they desire to learn the deep lessons of the historic drama evolved since they made their exit from life's stage in the Eternal City. The conception is fine, but the execution of this work inferior. Awe-striking and poetic

ghost stories are an offspring of northern, not southern, fantasy. The shadowy *Dramatis Personæ* of the "Notti" remind us of spectres on the stage—too rhetorical for the supernatural, too erudite in discourse to impress as awful or spirit-like—yet, with whatever defects, Verri's work bears the stamp of a cultivated, fervid, and religious mind.

After the subsidence of the political convulsions amidst which the XVIII. century expired, the speedy reappearance of the same theme in the literary arena affords striking proof of the enduring power in its attractiveness. Dynasties passed; ideas changed even more than did governments; but the charm that draws so potently towards this centre still acts as in ages passed. Within the limits to which I must confine myself, I can but glance at the intellectual revolution in antiquarian literature (brought about within comparatively recent years) which has led to rejection of almost all theories respecting the origin, dates, even designations of the temples and other ruins in Rome.

The importance of the proofs supplied, and the dates attested, by construction had been hitherto almost ignored by archæologists.

One work of the present century which I may mention, the German "Description of Rome" by Bunsen and other celebrated collaborators (who concentrate, and reproduce with new colouring what is best in almost *all* the writings I have named) supplies statistics of this Illustrative Literature, up to the date (some thirty-five years ago) when that *Beschreibung* appeared.

On the Topography of this City had been produced enough to fill 10 folio volumes; on the Christian Antiquities (without including the many monographs on particular churches) enough for 20 folios; on the Art Collections (exclusive of guides and notices of the Vatican Museum) enough for 40—in all, 70 folio volumes relating to Rome!

It is melancholy to observe, in glancing over this wide range, how much fruit of toil and learning has been almost forgotten—owing (I believe) to the failure, on the part of many writers, to concentrate regards on general and permanent interests in their antiquarian pursuits. As other Sciences seek the vestiges of creation in the cosmic universe, the Archæological should seek, as its paramount aim, the traces of moral and intellectual life in relics of the far-off Past.

Unless the studious find such treasure hidden in the dust of Empires their labour is thrown away, and they remain, like those described by Wordsworth—

“Lost in a gloom of uninspired research.”

The dawn of the XIX. century found this city immersed in disastrous confusion and social evils of every kind, though just beginning to recover from the first shocks of a revolutionary onset, by which all its institutions and systems, political and ecclesiastical, had been overthrown. The Papal See had been vacant since the death, in exile and captivity at Valence, of the much-tried octogenarian Pontiff, Pius VI. Few among the historic vicissitudes which have caused the “ancestral fabrics of the world” to sink down in ruin, seem so awful as the almost instantaneous collapse before the aggressive spirit of revolt, unbelief, antagonism against all that was ancient and time-honoured, at this centre so especially the home of venerated tradition and conservative principle. The banner which waved over the Vatican and the S. Angelo Castle in the year 1800, symbolized Atheism and Regicide; and the triumph had been rendered bloodless only through the utter inability to resist. A reaction, however, against French ascendancy in this peninsula had recovered Rome for the Pontificate, but a few days before the deposed Pope's decease, and a Neapoli-

tan force occupied this city, whilst provisional government was proclaimed in the name of King Ferdinand on behalf of the sacerdotal sovereignty. Not long afterwards was welcomed with exulting joy the ingress of one of the most estimable among those who have worn the tiara—Pius VII., who was elected in the monastery of St. Giorgio at Venice, 14th March, 1800.

At this period the social state of Rome was perhaps more exceptional, compared with that of other European capitals, than at any time subsequent—though indeed the abnormal has been more or less the characteristic condition of the metropolis of the Church at all times; presenting a picture full of strongest contrasts, splendour and rudeness, superfluous luxuries and deficiency in the common comforts, not to say the decencies of life. Munificence in public works, it is true, had signalized the very long pontificate of the sixth Pius. Learned societies and intentionally poetical *accademie*, (“Arcadians” and others), were in full bloom; but as to the literature entitled for any endurance, it was but in one walk that it showed signs of life here—the Archæological, which indeed has never suspended its activities in Rome.

The citizens were pleasure-loving frequenters of the café, and eager to enjoy fêtes of whatever description. They had glimpses, though not very often (at least through official channels), of the great world beyond the Campagna and beyond the Alps; for political journalism had now an infant existence among the Romans—a tiny *Diario di Roma* having begun its career, for weekly publication, in 1710.

Religious celebrations were at this period most splendid; and public amusements various, though not exactly conformable to modern tastes—as the bull and buffalo baiting, (since prohibited) in the mausoleum of Augustus. On the stage (as in the days of Shakespeare) female characters

were acted by beardless youths. A change of circumstances, rather than opinions, had led to the discontinuing of the Passion Play, or Tragedy of the Crucifixion, with chorus and music, which used to be performed on Good Fridays in the Colosseum.

Experienced writers, of most different taste and temper, mainly agree in what they tell us about Rome in the last century. We may learn from Goethe, Goldoni, Alfieri, from the dissipated Casanuova, the scientific Lalande, and our countryman, Beckford, as well as our countrywoman, the vivacious Lady Mary Wortley Montague, many curious details of its social life and local peculiarities.

The first of the successive spoliations by which France, republican and imperial, enriched herself at the expense of Italy, was inflicted on Rome and the Papal Government on occasion of the armistice forced on the acceptance of Pope Pius VI. in 1796, when the Pontiff had to pay 15 million francs, to cede 100 MS. codes from the Vatican library, and 100 works of art, pictures and sculptures, from museums. In the February of 1797 was negotiated the treaty of Tolentino, which obliged the Pope to cede Bologna, Ferrara, Ancona, the whole of Romagna, also Avignon and its county (Venissin) to France; and in the next year the "Tiberine Republic," under French ascendancy, was proclaimed at Rome. As to the condition of monuments and classical ruins in this city at the beginning of the present century, we have the evidence of old engravings and a few illustrated books. Temples and triumphal arches were, in great part, buried under ground; columns, up to half or two-thirds the height of their shafts, concealed by the accumulated soil or debris.

In the Vatican and other museums 100 master-pieces of art, including 80 sculptures, and in the library of that palace, 500 precious MSS. were missing,—the spoils carried off to

Paris, from whence not more than 22 of the 8000 pictures taken from galleries in Rome and the Pontific States, ever found their way back to this city. During the few years that Pius VII. was left undisturbed on his throne, he showed interest in classical monuments and fine art ; passed a law against the exportation of antiques and art-works ; created a fund yielding 10,000 scudi per annum, for the purchase of objects to enrich galleries and museums—applicable, as finally determined, to the repair of churches and monuments. He also ordered excavations round the arches of Severus and Constantine, at Ostia and Tusculum.

It was in vain that this Pontiff travelled to Paris to propitiate and crown the Conqueror bent on further conquests. The next ensuing vicissitudes are well known : before the Pope's exile, 1809-14, the Roman States were annexed to the French Empire. Soon afterwards, at the dawn of a July morning, 1809, Pius VII. was carried away with violence, after the military seizure and escalade of the Quirinal Palace, to remain for five years in captivity. However unjust and unscrupulous, the usurping government in power at Rome during his absence acted with vigour and intelligence in the sphere of antiquarian research and civic embellishment. Now began to disappear certain mediæval characteristics of a city which, up to this date, did not possess the luxury of illumination at night, nor streets that were named saved by popular usage, nor houses numbered in those dismal streets, nor public gardens or promenades.

More remarkable is the impulse given, and subsequently acted on with similar plans or projects by the restored Pontificate (thus taking a lesson from its victorious foe), in the range of public works and for archæologic interests. The sudden breaking up and dislocating of the social system, during the French occupation, caused an extent of misery described as appalling. In order to save multitudes of

every class from extreme want, the foreign authorities organised an institution of Beneficence, providing work and daily pittance of food to all applicants. Hence, and with method evidently determined by taste and knowledge, many desirable undertakings were proposed and carried out. Excavating labours on the Capitol and on the several Fora laid open to their basements the buried columns and arches.

To an English Duchess we owe the full display and identification of the column dedicated to the Greek Emperor Phocas, a detestable tyrant. Other works now disencumbered the triumphal arches; obtained access to the labyrinth of subterranean cells and corridors under the arena of the Colosseum; also laid open the wide space around Trajan's column, where we now look down upon the attempted restoration and stunted shafts of the Ulpian Basilica. The Pincian Hill, hitherto, with exception of the Medici Villa, (a fashionable, frequented spot) all covered with enclosures and orchards (dangerous to travel by night,) was transformed into a public promenade. Other such grounds for recreation were planted with trees on the northern slopes of the Coelian.

All these plans were adopted, and much that had been left incomplete was finished, after the return of Pius VII., who re-entered his capital, with restored sovereignty and popular rejoicing, 24th May, 1814. Under his Pontificate the transformation of Rome continued.

The southern declivity of the Capitol, where were now discovered the substructions of the Temple of Concord, the principal Forum and that of Trajan, the restored arch of Titus, the Pincian gardens and their architectonic terraces above the Piazza del Popolo—all these scenes and objects still present to us proofs of well-directed activity under that excellent Pope, and also of the beneficial influences, the

seeds for civilising fruit, left in this classic ground by French ascendancy under the first Empire.

The restored Pope left many traces of his well directed cares ; for to him we owe the first systematic repair of the Colosseum, pursued continuously by his successors ; also the Protomotheca of the Capitol, and the splendidly enriched Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican Museum, commenced in 1847, the year after a great act of justice, had been demanded and carried out, through restoration to Italy of her lost art works, now sent back (though not without considerable deductions) from Paris.

Similar enterprise and intelligence were shown (though with less eminent results) in the shorter Pontificates next ensuing. Leo XII. (1823-29) spent 24,000 scudi on restorations, &c., at the Lateran Basilica, and enjoined on all bishops to urge the faithful to concur with offerings for the restoration of St. Paul's, after the fire in 1823 which reduced it to ruins. That Basilica is the subject of one of those valuable monographs, in which so many of Rome's ancient churches are studiously illustrated, by Mgr. Niccolai. Its restoration exemplifies the spirit, the devotedness to ideal and traditionary interests, of the Pontific government, which (with embarrassed finances) long continued to spend 50,000 scudi per annum on the works, though in no way necessary for religious uses or even popular worship, at a church which, in fact, serves only as a monument, a splendid sanctuary over the Apostle's tomb, visited but on a few anniversaries by crowds who assemble rather to gaze than to pray within its walls.

In Leo XII.'s time was projected, what we now rejoice to see on its way to accomplishment, the reducing of the entire Forum to its original level.

Pius VIII. reigned too short a time (19 months) for leaving traces of his good intentions in the state or localities of Rome.

Gregory XVI., elected in February, 1832, amidst political tempests very threatening to his throne, loved and patronized the fine arts; founded three Museums, the Etruscan, the Egyptian, and that of Antique Sculpture at the Lateran; also added to the Christian Museum in the Vatican the only valuable collection of mediæval paintings in Rome. Excavations now proceeded with some activity. In earlier ages antiquarian interests in the monumental range were occasionally promoted, habitually neglected, and sometimes remorselessly outraged by the Popes. The primitive (and not unnatural) bias of the Sacerdotal Power was to break up, or appropriate, classical antiques as trophies of the Church over Heathenism. Thus did Sixtus V. re-erect obelisks to place the Cross, set with relics, at their apexes.

If excavations or repairs were attempted, consecutiveness and consistency were wanting. At the present time we may congratulate ourselves on the *impossibility*, for the future, of such demolitions as that of the Temple of Pallas, (in Nerva's Forum) to supply marbles for a fountain, or of such vaunting records as that on the Pantheon, in which a Pope takes credit to himself for stripping the noble portico of its bronzes, that they might be cast into cannon for the St. Angelo fortress, and in part used for a cumbrous canopy over the high altar of St. Peter's. I have allowed myself this (perhaps too long) episode to the special subject now before me—the Literature illustrative of Rome—because so great a change as I have noticed in the action of the Pontificate concerning antiquarian and monumental things, forms a memorable fact in the history of that Power; also because the results of such newly directed energies have to a great degree altered the basement, whilst enlarging the field, of the studies and speculation to which that literature is devoted. Before

mentioning other contributions, I may name a few works which bring before us the picture of Roman realities at this transitionary period : the "*Etudes statistiques sur Rome et les Etats Pontificaux*," by Tournon, an official under French Government, who supplies much more than merely statistic details as promised ; also the Memoir of Cardinal Pacca, Secretary of State, and companion in exile to Pius VII., and the interesting biographies of that Pontiff and his successor, Leo XII., by Artaud, Secretary of the French Legation in Rome.

When peace and order were for an interval restored to the Seven Hills with their ancient government in 1800, archæological literature (never totally suspended here, save at great political crises) assumed somewhat novel forms. The *Memorie di Belle Arti* and *Monumenti Inediti*, were periodicals which, some time before that period, had begun to appear weekly—the latter not only edited but entirely written by the Abate Guattani, who has been called the "Father of modern guide books," having won that title by his *Roma Descritta* (published in 1805), a carefully compiled work, though not very like the manuals of later birth now in constant use. Most striking, in Guattani's above-named volume, is the opening passage, where he describes the grand panorama viewed from the summit of Trajan's Column. Other writers continued to maintain reputation of earlier origin—as the two Abbati Fea and Cancellieri. The long literary career of the former extends from 1790 to 1836 ; the number of his *brochures*, reports, &c., on antiquarian matters, amounting to no fewer than 118. The latter, almost as active, Cancellieri, has left 161 published and 79 inedited works, treating of his favourite themes,—ecclesiastical, traditionary, and historic—in short, of all things pertaining to and centering around Rome. But highest among competitors stands the distinguished scholar and critic,

Ennio Quirino Visconti, who commenced in 1785 that series of delightful works on classic sculptures and the Iconography of Greek and Roman antiquity, which are not, nor ever can be, forgotten.

Between 1800 and 1804 appeared the well illustrated volumes by the Abate Uggeri, (in French and Italian), *Journées Pittoresques des Edifices de Rome*, and *Journées des Environs de Rome*, with plans and outline engravings of monuments (in a restored, *not* the then actually ruinous, condition); also including ancient churches; the descriptive text commendable and interesting; one volume treating of the materials used in the construction of ancient buildings—among the first attempts I know of, to make such details serve as basement for conclusions, on the method carried out to fuller extent by Mr. J. H. Parker.

During the French occupation was resuscitated the *Roman Archæologic Academy*, founded in the XV. century by Pomponio Leto, but soon suppressed by Pope Paul II., who took alarm at certain platonic tendencies he deemed anti-christian, in the intellectual temper of its members.

Pius VII. not only sanctioned, but liberally endowed this academy; and its periodical “*Memorie*” continued long to supply valuable contributions from writers of mark, as the above-named Visconti, Antonio Nibby, and the illustrious Cardinal Mai.

The exaggerated and idealizing estimate of ancient Greek and Roman Republicanism, as alike of all emanating therefrom, fostered by the Revolution, was succeeded by a more temperate and calm, yet still enthusiastic, appreciation. And this tendency is now represented by writers in our language, whose reminiscences of Italy and of classic art in Italian galleries or palaces, still prove delightful and instructive. Among the first of this class, and still remembered, as he deserves, is the learned and tastefully critical

Forsyth, who agreeably dwells on the recollections of a two years' residence (1801-3) in Italian cities. Chetwode Eustace in his "Classical Tour" (1802) worthily fulfils his promise, linking the memories of ancient history, the images and sentiments of Latin poetry, with every attractive site in the cities, villages, the solitary ruins and majestic tombs of Italy. Matthews's "Diary of an Invalid" (1817), and Bell's "Observations on Italy," are both works evincing highly cultivated minds, possessed of a deep feeling and appreciation for art. Seldom does tourist literature make good any titles to enduring fame; but in reference to Rome, and to Italian regions generally, the exceptions are not few. Among such are the genial and entertaining *Voyages*, well defined on their title page as "literary, historic, and artistic," by Valery; also the same French writer's *Curiosités et Anecdotes Italiennes*; and the *Voyages dans Latium*, by Bonstatten, which dwell on sad and wretched social realities of the Present, amidst the memories and relics of the ever attractive Past; also the *Toscane et Rome* (more recent), by Poujoulat.

We should not forget Miss Eaton's "Rome in the XIX century," nor Lady Morgan, whose "Italy" (1819-20) contains much that had better not have been written; but at the same time many curious particulars respecting a period of violent and bigoted reaction against Republican revolution and French Imperialism; vivacity of style, and a generous love for freedom in its alliance with civil progress, giving a charm to this as to other works by that brilliant lady.

Here I may notice some contributions of later date: the *Promenades dans Rome*, by Beyle, who takes the *nom de plume* of Stendhal; and the "Six Months in Italy" by Hillard, whose genial discursive mind will, we may be sure, win the appreciation of enduring popularity for his volumes.

The crimes and tempests of the great Revolution were followed by other reactionary influences, the fruit of which we see in the literature of the ensuing period. Hence arose, a birth of modern feeling, the new Romantic School, expressing sentiments excited by the solemnity of ruin and by the memories of the remote Past, without at all entering into antiquarian questions. We may suppose that the weariness of politics, and perhaps the abhorrence against political crime, contributed to induce many minds to seek refuge, with hope for refined pleasure, in an intellectual world far apart from that troubled stage where so much of evil, such dramas of ambition, had been recently enacted.

Impressions of awe, or fascinating melancholy, received from the contemplation of the ruin or the tomb, now found utterance,—a voice speaking of new tendencies and of mental culture little known in previous times. Neither the classically antique, nor earlier modern writers, accord with this literary bias and spirit. A deeply felt sense of the mystery in man's career on earth enters into the tendency now manifesting itself, into the disposition which regarded the monuments of Antiquity rather with emotion than with scientific interest. To this sense all the precincts of classical and mediæval ruin become hallowed ground.

An eminent representative of this school, and first in order of date, is Chateaubriand, whose impressions of Rome and its environs (in 1803)—see particularly his letter to M. de Fontaines—are recorded in pages among the most characteristic written by him. Never yet had the Colosseum, the Campagna, the Villa of Hadrian near Tivoli, been so glorified by musical eloquence as in those pages. Next comes the most gifted woman yet known in the arena of any literature, Madame de Stael, who wrought up in her "Corinne" the reminiscences of a journey undertaken to beguile sorrow in 1804, and the secondary title of which

work, "L'Italie," is the best index to its proper subject, at least that which forms its groundwork—namely, the feelings and thoughts awakened by this land—most of all by Rome. The many local incorrectnesses in that book are the errors of the archæologists of her time, rather than her own. Throughout this biographic romance nothing is so evident as the strong bias of its writer to find a predominant human interest in all things—to place *that* (like the fairest flower on the ruin's wall) amidst the mouldering relics of the Past; and to clothe such interest in language which is true poetry, though not in metre. She often, indeed, loses sight of the material object, or so transforms it, in the intensity of the thought it awakens, that one forgets its claim to notice. More than half a century, since her death, has set the seal of enduring fame on all Madame de Stael's principal works. She never wrote (I believe could not write) anything that is not, in more or less degree, characterized by refinement of feeling and nobleness of soul. Still more superfluous than any criticism on *Corinne*, would it be to dwell, in addressing English readers, on the beauties or defects of *Childe Harold*, the first poetic illustration (see its 4th Canto) here to be noticed on the subject of Rome.

The most familiarly quoted passages,—those, for instance, on the Colosseum, the Forum, and the Tomb of Cecilia Metella—are striking examples of the modern temper and feeling brought to the contemplation of antique monuments, and which regard those objects from a standing-point essentially individual. The carelessness sometimes betrayed by this poet is curiously exemplified in a stanza which confounds and blends together into one architectural type, the Mausoleum of Hadrian with the Pyramid of Cestius!

The notes to the 4th Canto, by Lord Broughton, were

eventually amplified into a valuable work on Italy, supplying remarkable details of the vicissitudes from which classic monuments suffered during stormy and semi-barbaric mediæval periods.

I allow myself a glance at the pages of other poets. Next in chronologic order comes Rogers' "Italy," without originality or power, but with a quiet charm of its own, which still makes that poetic volume popular.

Nearer to the present time, and with deserved laurels round a venerable brow, comes the truly philosophic and religious Wordsworth. His "Memorials of a Tour in Italy" (1837), consisting of sonnets and blank verse effusions, pertain to the declining phase of his career, nor can rank among his master-pieces. His leading thought, in those poems, dwells on the then novel theories which rejected so much of the hitherto admitted in History; and while expressing natural regrets at such disenchantment, he owns the essential importance of a step secured, and a luminous point attained, for historic science. A beautifully situated mountain village, where he spent the last night before his arrival at Rome, inspired the Poet Laureate for a composition, "Musings near Acquapendente," which is more distinguished by his characteristic feeling, quiet yet profound, and by his moralizing strain of reflection, than all his poems evoked by the splendours and memories of the Eternal City.

Macaulay's magnificent "Lays of Ancient Rome," may be contrasted, but will not suffer from the contrast, with Wordsworth's very different effusions.

La Martine in his "Méditations" dwells comparatively little upon Rome; more on the fascinating shores of Naples and the South. Thomas Moore (*Rhymes by the Road*, 1819) gives but few pages to his reminiscences of the former city; nor are those pages lit up with the glow of his more fervid

inspirations; his vision of great painters, from Margaritone to Leonardo da Vinci, is indeed finely conceived, but feebly executed. *Il Pianto*, a French poem with Italian title by Barbier (1830), dwells on the social aspects, the present without the past in Rome; and Ampère (more celebrated for his prose than his poetical works) gives only a few extracts, one describing the Papal benediction at the Lateran, from his own *Épître sur Rome* in rhyme. It is the Northern more than the Italian genius that has found inspiration in ruins, and associated them with immortal verse.

Never, I believe, was so sublime an image associated with S. Peter's and the Vatican, as the vision of the avenging Archangel in the first Canto of the *Basvilliana* by Vincenzo Monti, a poem founded on the story of an intriguing emissary from France who was assassinated after an anti-republican tumult on the Corso, shortly before the deportation of Pius VI. and the overthrow of pontifical government. The Drama too, where it throws intense light on eventful epochs and leading characters, conformable with historic lessons, should be noticed in this reference; and there are two modern tragedies which deserve to class among powerful presentments of historic epochs, the chief scenes being laid in or near Rome: "Attila, or the Scourge of God," by the German Werner, and, in Italian, *Arnaldo da Brescia* by Niccolini, one of the noblest dramatic works in that language, illustrating the struggle of the Pontificate against the earlier mediæval antagonism—the anticipative reformation of that Arnaldo, who was the opponent and victim of the English Pope, Adrian IV.

It is in the historic walk that the literary illustration of Rome has put forth its greatest energies, and attained its most signal progress, during the period here considered. The publication (1811) of the Roman History by Niebuhr was

one of those events that leave enduring traces, and influence all subsequent treatments of the same theme — like a beacon lit on a height, which cannot escape the gaze of any traveller thenceforth undertaking the ascent. That work was regarded as a challenge, and somewhat violently opposed by writers who could not acquiesce in, and were startled by, theories calling into question the very existence of the traditionary founders and earliest kings of Rome, while throwing doubt on so many heroic episodes which have delighted alike the schoolboy and the riper student, the young and the old, wherever “Livy’s pictured page” has been incorporated in the *cursus* of education. Antagonists, as usual unjust, imputed, I believe, to the German historian more scepticism than he ever avows or is responsible for. We observe that, in the second edition of his work (1827), the views maintained in the first are somewhat modified; and might we not suppose that a residence of four years in this City, during the interval, had had its effect on his theories, as those two editions of his celebrated work enounce them?

Few examples of philosophic history, that I know, can be compared for power of reasoning and insight to the chapter where Niebuhr argues out the theory that, in early Roman annals, Romulus and Numa are not simple personalities, but representatives of distinct epochs in a self-developing state and nascent civilization—such contrast and sequence being in harmony with the moral order as apparent in the general historic drama. First, the genius of Conquest, defiant and aggressive—next, the legislative and sacerdotal spirit, with definite institutions, laws, established religion, and appropriate ritual.

This writer sees, however, the opening of a new epoch, and the dawn of credible history in the reign of Tullus Hostilius; but it is above all on that of Servius Tullius

that he dwells, as the most important period of incipient civilization and authentic traditions, now rising into distinctness from the twilight of uncertainties—"the most remarkable of the Kings of Rome (as he calls the latter) whom the history of the local constitution obliges us to consider as a real individuality, though in all the narratives hitherto supplied by historians he is made to appear quite as mythological as Romulus and Remus"—such are this learned writer's words.

In Niebuhr we see the imaginative faculty brought to bear on historic research, while sustained and guided by vast learning. Imagination assuredly has its legitimate office in History: its torch may give but a flickering light, and yet avail for those who have to traverse the deeply overshadowed realms of the far-off Past.

The theories of Niebuhr are not absolutely novel, nor unsupported by earlier writers. So long ago as the 15th century an Italian *savant*, Lorenzo Valle, and in later times Scaliger, Lipsius, Perizonius of Leyden, De Beaufort, had alike represented a reaction of critical discernment against unquestioning credulity, with regard to the primitive annals of Rome.

Subsequent writers—Michelet, Arnold, Mommsen, Ampère, and Cesare Cantù—have treated that History, if not from the very same point of view, yet with different conclusions from those formerly prevailing. Ampère (see his *Histoire Romaine à Rome*), whose theories are founded on accurate local observation, goes beyond Niebuhr in giving distinctness to pre-historic antiquity; and presents to view, with finely pictorial effect, the wild scene of fortified villages and forest-clad hills, eventually comprised within the Servian walls. On the Palatine alone, three colonies—Siculan, Sabine, and Pelasgian; on the Capitol, two colonies—Sabine and Etruscan; on the Janiculan, one;

on the Aventine, another such primitive settlement with a social state perhaps, little raised above the barbaric, till finally brought from chaos into order under rational restraints, unity of laws and interests.

I may cite Cesare Cantù (a living writer, and therefore beyond the range to which I confine myself), as truly entitled to represent the modern historic genius of Italy. His works are themselves monuments of vast research, marvellous comprehensiveness, and philosophy applied to the subjects grasped by his indefatigable intellect.

In the first volume of his *Storia degli Italiani* he presents a picture of the Seven Hills in their primeval colonized state—almost coinciding with the ideal sketch by Ampère, and essentially agreeing, if not in all points, with Niebuhr.

I can but rapidly glance at other historic works which undertake either the entire argument or some episodes of the all-attractive theme—Rome under the Empire, and Rome under the Popes. Among the earnest and high-aiming is De Champagny, author of *Les Césars* and *Les Antonins*, also De Broglie, author of *l'Eglise et l'Empire*. Some years ago, Tullio Dandolo commenced a great work—*Storia del Pensiero* ("History of Thought")—and left valuable portions of his performance (interrupted by death) in his *Nascent Christianity*,—*Monasticism and Legends*,—*The Rome of the Popes*, all evincing the thoughtful earnestness and deeply religious feeling of this Italian writer recently deceased. Cherrier treats ably of the momentous struggle between the Pontificate and the German Potentates in his *Luttes des Papes et des Empereurs*. Dr. Miley, in his *History of the Pontific States*, and his *Rome under Paganism and under the Popes*, supplies with pleasing style the results of wide research and ecclesiastical studies—only sometimes too decidedly in the tone of the theological champion and apologist. A superior place must be assigned

to Ranke's "History of the Popes," while we only regret that such a writer limits himself within the chronology of but two centuries, the sixteenth and seventeenth. In him we at once recognise historic power of the highest class, together with keen perception of goodness in character and of beauty in art. Ranke looks down from a height so far above party spirit and sectarian feeling, that it is difficult to admit bigotry or sectarianism in any studies of the same subject after reading his memorable work.

A valuable contribution, though from its largeness of scope necessarily sketchy, is Spalding's "Italy and the Italian Islands," which brings his narrative down to 1840, dwelling much on literature, antiquities, and art, especially in what relates to Rome.

The first writer of this period to undertake a complete History of Mediæval Rome, was a German, Pappencordt, who well executed the part he lived to finish, but left that pregnant subject to be fully worked out by living authors, among the ablest of whom Reumont and Gregorovius, have both treated it with admirable power. The History of Rome in the Middle Ages by the latter, recently brought down in a seventh volume to the year 1500, seems to me one of the first masterpieces in the whole range of the literature it belongs to, whether in the German or other languages.

The biographies which throw light on epochs, and acquaint us with the sources of eventful movements, should not be forgotten—as that of Gregory VII. by Voigt, that of Boniface VIII. by Padre Tosti (author of many valuable works), that of Savonarola by Villari, who lifts the veil before a dark picture displaying, unfortunately for the Church, unholy ambition and immoralities on the most revered of thrones, that of the Roman Pontificate, in the XV. century. The life of Leo X. by Roscoe is sufficiently

known and undoubtedly valuable, but somewhat too rose-coloured as regards the personal claims of his hero.

The "Hyppolitus" by Bunsen is a study of the ecclesiastical conditions of Rome in the third century, most carefully carried out. The "*Countess Matilda*," by the same reverend Padre Tosti, is one of the many works on the struggles between the Church and Empire in the XI. century. I may name but one other, which seems to me the great masterpiece of this class—and is, indeed, much more than mere biography—a complete picture of the polity, the mind and movements of Christendom at the end of the XII. and beginning of the XIII. century: the "*Life and Times of Innocent III.*" by Hurter, a Swiss Professor, who left the Calvinistic to join the Roman Catholic communion. I have not yet noticed save in brief allusion the writers whose career began in the last century, or their works bearing on those studies to which Archæology is dedicated. The archæological literature of this period in Rome announces vigour and progress. Its leaders generally reject the conclusions and condemn the scepticism of the German historic school. Among them appears first Antonio Nibby, who began his career, very young, in 1817; and the first guide to Rome compiled on the modern plan, or something like it, was produced by him in alliance with Vasi, an engraver as well as antiquary. The more important *Mura di Roma* and *Foro Romano*, by the former, soon followed; and in his earlier as well as later writings Nibby adheres to the now exploded error of transposing the Forum in the direction from north-east to south-west, whilst he designates the temples on the Capitoline declivity as those of Fortune and Jupiter Tonans!

In his *Viaggio Antiquario* (1819) he supplies the first complete, vivid, and pleasing description yet given in the Italian language, narrating also the historic traditions, of the ancient sites comprised within the Campagna limits. This

suggestive subject had indeed been treated with ability about seventy years before by the Jesuit father, Eschinardi, whose work, “*Descrizione di Roma e dell’ Agro Romano*,” is interesting and learned. Another work by Nibby comprises all that his own *Viaggio* contains, and eclipses his youthful performance, namely, the *Analisi* (1837), as he not happily calls it—or “*Analysis, antiquarian, historic and topographic of the Environs of Rome.*”

Surprising is the indifference of the earlier Roman Antiquarians and of tourists alike to the wealth of antiquities and memories, the wild and solemn or lovely scenes within the region called “Comarca of Rome.” Montaigne just glances at it, notices the Aqueducts which traverse it, expresses disgust at the undulating waste, all solitude and sterility, without finding anything to admire. The growth of an opposite taste and feeling is among the tokens of enthusiasm and sensibility distinguishing the Romantic, and reflected on the Archæological School in Literature. Among the last of Nibby’s publications came “*Rome in 1838*,” four large volumes, which may be highly recommended for vivacity of treatment and judicious condensation of knowledge—the best work yet produced in Italian on the subject of Rome Heathen and Christian, classical and modern. Besides some learned Germans, few antiquarian writers had hitherto attempted any *continuous* history of monuments, comprising the changes and shocks they have been exposed to and suffered from, in Rome. It is above all desirable to bridge over the mediæval gulf between the ancient and modern in a city where the revolutions of the social state and of the Pontificate so disastrously affected the conservation of antiquities, so often led to the destruction of classical ruins.

Nibby well supplies that *desideratum*; and I may signalise his monographs (so to call them) on the fortified

walls of Rome, on the Forum, the Palatine, the Flavian Amphitheatre. His pages reflect the multifarious associations, and evoke the many phantoms, strange, wild, and tragic, the records of conflict and crime, which haunt, to the historic eye, the scenes of classical antiquity in Rome. Byron's lines—

“Admire, exult, despise, laugh, weep, for here
There is much matter for all feeling”—

apply not less suitably to the Forum during the period of mediæval vicissitudes than while it was the chief political arena of the Republican and Imperial metropolis.

In vastness of design and extent of classical learning, the first among Roman archæologists is Luigi Canina, who surpasses, and often disagrees with, his predecessors.

His long literary career opens with his “*Topografia*” (Topography of Ancient Rome, 1831), followed by the *Foro Romano*, *Edifizii Antichi*, and many other highly finished monographs, among the best those on the sepulchres of the Appian Way, on the Cities of *Veii*, *Cære*, *Tusculum*, &c. His honoured name last appeared, soon after the close of a long life, in 1855,—see the posthumous publication, *Esposizione Topografica*, referring to Ancient Rome and its Environs, here considered in three epochs: the pre-historic, the kingly, and the consular. Canina beyond any of his forerunners availed himself, and magnificently, of the draftsman's and engraver's arts. What had been first accomplished with much imaginative power by Piranesi was more scientifically carried out by the staff of artists under Canina's direction.

It is unfortunate that his style exemplifies the extreme of that diffuseness, too often the bane of Italian prose—but we must forgive much to so well-qualified a master! His exhaustive treatment of Roman Antiquities seems to me

even less admirable than the ability with which he resuscitates the imposing Past, reconstructing many ancient and almost pre-historic cities crushed out by the dominant Power, and now only represented perhaps by a dismal farm-house rising amidst formless ruins, or by the track of streets and fosses in the solid rock, or by some sullen tower frowning in grim decay over the uncultivated plains of Latium. The process by which such skeletons are clothed with the flesh and blood of national life through the abilities and vast learning of Canina, is like a magic glass made to display the figures or groups once reflected on its surface from living forms long since mouldered into dust. Curiously characteristic of the Italian critical taste, is the conclusion *against* the most sublimely religious style of architecture, the Acute (miscalled Gothic), which Canina deliberately condemns in his volume on the "*Architecture of Christian Temples*."

In association with Nibby should be mentioned our countryman, Sir William Gell, who was some time his collaborator, and whose "Topography of Rome and the Campagna" is both useful and pleasing, carefully compiled, lucid, and efficient as a guide to the tourist.

Other English writers now appear, taking their rank among learned illustrators of Rome:—in 1818 Burton, and in 1831 Burgess, who surpasses the former—his "*Topography and Antiquities of Rome*" being the most complete English work on the subject hitherto produced. Both these authors belong, however, to the old school, several of whose theories have been rejected by later competitors. In 1818, whilst many distinguished German *savans* were assembled in this City, and whilst Niebuhr was envoy of Prussia to the Vatican, was projected in that circle the vast undertaking not made public till 1830, in which year appeared the first volume of the celebrated work, which I do not

hesitate to pronounce the most complete, splendidly conceived, deeply thought out, and ably executed among all in the literature I have to notice—the *Beschreibung* (“Description of the City of Rome”), as its modest title sets forth, being the joint production of Baron Bunsen, Platner, Gerhard, Röstell and Niebuhr. Bunsen contributes by way of preface a general *aperçu* of the literature relating to local antiquities, also the entire department of ancient churches, their history and artistic features. Platner supplies all else that relates to the Christian City and its other monuments besides those churches, and to the museums. Niebuhr illustrates the decline of the Ancient, and growth of the Modern Capital.

It would be superfluous to dwell further on the transcendent merits of this well-known work: but remarkable, among the gems of its contents, are the last-named writer’s “Historic Abstract” of Roman annals (a finished picture rather than a sketch); also the chapter on the Forum at different epochs, and those on St. Peter’s and the Vatican. Such treatment of mediæval aspects and memories as was undertaken by Nibby had been anticipated in the *Beschreibung*, and with striking success. It may be said that the leading argument and moral theme around which erudition and thought array their wealth so effectively in this work, is that wonderful revolution which transformed the seat of Pagan Empire and ancient Civilization into the concentrated centre of other influences that so long guided and dominated over Latin Christianity. A compendium of the *Beschreibung*, by Professors Platner and Urlichs, supplies for practical use all that can be briefly given in a narrow stream from such a copious fountain. In the original work many theories still contested by other writers are advanced by the German archæologists (and may be learnt through Urlich’s Manual)—that, for instance, advanced by Niebuhr,

who first concluded that the beautiful Corinthian columns below the north-east angle of the Palatine (where such important labours for discovery are now in progress) are the peristyle of the Curia Julia, or Senate-house built by Augustus.

It is interesting so to regard the graceful ruins in question, which other German authorities refer either to the Temple of Minerva or the Chalcidicum, both connected with the senatorial edifice; and these writers allow noble memories to be associated with those ruins under the Palatine. The Forum of Julius Cæsar is recognised by these writers partly inside the ponderous brick tower of the Conti (built by Innocent III.), partly in the massive walls serving as a background to the colonnade of the Forum of Nerva, and behind which stood the lost temple of Pallas. What Nibby called the Temple of Fortune, the Germans determine to be that of Vespasian; and *his* temple of Jupiter Tonans, on the Capitol, to be that of Saturn, which contained the State Treasury—an establishment we may suppose to have been in the Tabularium, behind that temple.

Arrived at this stage of our studies, we see before us the whole aggregate of Roman Monuments brought within the discerning eye of science, and explained on a basis of historic as well as literary experiences. A vantage ground is gained from which one can hardly anticipate in the future any necessity of receding; though we certainly may look forward to future contests among archæologists. Comparing, for instance, what we find in the letters of Petrarch, written from this City, with the information now at hand, we perceive how absolute the revolution in the method of interpreting antiquity at Rome. It will be no more possible to mistake, as does that great Past, the pyramid tomb of Cestius for that of Romulus, or the enormous arcades which

rise so imposingly near the Forum, and have no characteristic of a fane for Heathen worship, for the temple of Peace founded by Vespasian.

At this stage should be noticed the energetic labours of the German *savans* to promote antiquarian interests in other ways at Rome.

In 1829 was founded, with co-operation of Bunsen, Gerhard, Kestner, also with Italian collaborators, Fea, Nibby, and others, the Institution for Archæologic Correspondence, which has ever since held weekly meetings during the winter in its library on the Capitol, that *bibliotheca* for the gratuitous use of members, which is the first of its description, *i.e.* for archæological literature, in Rome. Two periodicals are issued by this Society,—a “*Buletino*,” monthly during the winter; and an annual of larger scale with plates, *Monumenti ed Annali*, alike in the Italian language. The liberality and unlimited publicity of this German Institute and its proceedings deserve all praise.

It does not confine its studies and researches within the walls of Rome, and at its sessions we may hear reports or discussions on the novelties of enterprise and discovery in all lands where relics of classical art exist.

Teutonic genius bears away the palm, it must be owned, in every race where I have now to notice its efforts.

An interesting and well-finished work by Christian Müller, *Roms Campagna* (1824), completes the cycle of recent illustrations in that long-neglected field. *Gallus*, or “Roman Scenes in the time of Augustus,” by Becker, is first-rate in another class. Most admirable is that studious analysis of the private life of the Ancients, often undertaken by *savans* in the XVII. century, and ably worked out by more than one Italian writer, as in the *Vita Privata dei Romani* by Amato. The Roman citizen of old time has been followed into all the retreats of his home

occupations ; the entire net-work of his daily life brought before us. Such is the task attempted by an earlier writer in French, the Baron de Theis—see his “*Voyages de Polyclète*,” or the imaginary travels of a young Greek, who visits Rome in the time of Sylla. Becker’s “*Gallus*” is more masterly and vivid ; and it is certainly a right direction which later archæology has taken in showing the human being as the central object, to which all the rest is but draperies or framework—remembering that the axiom, “The proper study of mankind is man,” is not less profoundly true because uttered in a truism.

A more recent and very pleasing work on Roman Antiquities, “*Museums and Ruins*” (German and English) by Dr. Emil Braun, is useful for the student’s guidance ; but its contents, characterized by fine taste, should be appropriated *before* one visits the sites and galleries referred to. The “*Italian Researches*” by Rumohr (1827) is a genial and indefatigably pursued study of Christian Art in its more recondite and unfrequented treasure houses, whether church, cloister, or palace, as well as in the generally known collections on Italian shores.

More comprehensive are the volumes on Art History, of course comprising though not limited to the Southern regions by Schnaase and Lübke ; the “*History of Sculpture from the earliest ages to the present day*,” by the latter being translated into English.

I cannot omit to mention but need not extol such a general favourite as Kugler’s *Handbook*, or the well elaborated *Histories of Sculpture*, ancient and modern, by Cicognara and of *Italian Architecture* by *Rici*.

The fervid love for and intense study of Sacred Art considered as an emanation from Christian faith, appears together with the power of communicating such feeling in other writers of superior mark.

Lord Lindsay dedicates mainly to Rome one volume of his interesting *Sketches of the History of Christian Art*, and supplies a well-finished compendium of those legends most often represented in mediæval treatment, without knowing which subjects we find much that is unintelligible.

This writer analyses to its depths that Christian mythology which is, in fact, the contemplation of theological subjects and saintly examples, by the popular mind in a devout but little educated age. Rio's works rank high in this class, dwelling especially on the mystic and ascetic aspects in Art. Mrs. Jameson, in her volumes on "Legendary Art," accomplishes a far-reaching task with conscientious carefulness, deep feeling, an ever serene and lucid style; her aim elevated and her success eminent, for she completely removes her subject from technicalities and connoisseurship to display its higher alliance with civilization, with the progress of popular ideas and religious thought. Other writers exclusively treat of Christian Rome, considering its ecclesiastical polity as well as its sacred monuments, and from a height where they stand above the mists of controversy as Gournerie and Gerbet, whose works may be classed together. The latter has, however, a different method from his competitors, and gives more sterling value to his "Rome Chrétienne" by preferring the chronologic order, treating each century apart, whilst interweaving Ecclesiastical History, the lives of Pontiffs and Saints, with other themes.

We observe the proofs of increasing depth, of more Catholicity of spirit and sympathies not merely in individual writers, but in the general characteristics of this literature as recently produced. It becomes in many respects superior to its own antecedents, to what earlier illustrators of analogous subjects, such as the unquestionably well qualified writers on art, Lanzi and Agincourt, had published—

the present century, at least with respect to life's closing years, being the period also of those two.

I may mention, but can hardly do more than enumerate by name, other works standing on the confines between two territories, the historic and fictitious, or the religious-antiquarian—as the “*Mores Catholicæ*,” by Kenelm Digby, which absorbs as into a focus, with great fascinations of style and genuine enthusiasm sustained by vast learning, all bright and pure, noble and affecting elements in the Catholicism of Rome, the historic grandeur of her hierarchy, the wonderful results of her influence on mind and genius.

Interesting also are such works, proceeding from like sympathies, as the “*Monks of the West*,” by Montalembert, and *Les Monastères Benedictins en Italie*, by Dantier. We may find in many ways useful, (though in literary merits far inferior to these) a compilation, the *Dizionario*, “*Dictionary of Historico-Ecclesiastical Erudition*,” ill-arranged and tediously diffuse, yet a mine of information respecting ecclesiastical traditions, rites, biographies, the Pontific Court, and the line of sacerdotal Sovereigns, by Gaetano Moroni, a laic official in the service of Gregory XVI., and who began in 1840 that publication reaching the enormous extent of 103 volumes, finished in 1859. If report be true he was assisted to some degree by so distinguished a collaborator as the same Pope Gregory himself, a learned theologian.

Fiction also comes within the scope of my subject, when (as in many instances) an imaginative tale is made the vehicle of illustrating principles, of acquainting us with a moral atmosphere, and with its effects on life and character. Out of this class a few works may be selected, each as a type under which may be ranged many others.

The early struggle between the vigorous youth of Christianity and expiring Paganism, presenting the inspired self-

devotedness of the faithful under persecution, is exemplified in Cardinal Wiseman's *Fabiola*, with thoroughly acquired knowledge of sacred antiquities well introduced; and the same epoch (but very differently treated) is brought before our minds in the "Valerius" of Lockhart. The picturesque aspects and traits of popular life, amidst a framework of beautiful scenes, appear in the ever-favourite *Improvvisatore*, by Andersen, admirably translated by Mrs. Howitt.

A philosophic study of the effects of moral atmosphere on character, and of guilt itself on mind and happiness, is supplied in Hawthorne's *Transformation*—where we feel ourselves in the veritable atmosphere of modern Rome. The novel founded on the life of Beatrice Cenci, by Guerazzi, is simply revolting, without even fidelity to facts; and that dreadful story, as well as the state of Rome at the time, may be better learnt from a non-fictitious and trustworthy *Storia di Beatrice Cenci e de' suoi Tempi*, by Dalbono, a living writer. The romance by Gilbert, founded on another guilty life and episode of horrors, "Cæsar Borgia," is full of picturesque grouping, and well sustained, without much transgression against historic fact. A splendid and dramatic portrayal of the manners and vicissitudes of the XIV. century, is made subservient to the effect of a central character, brought into the strongest relief, in Lord Lytton's *Rienzi*, with only too decided an aim at the apotheosis of his hero. After considering the *real* history of the Tribune through the unexaggerating medium of genuine documents and contemporaneous evidence, it seems to me to convey a lesson more instructive, while much more mournful, than the high wrought incidents and somewhat too melodramatic catastrophe of that brilliant romance.

The authentic biography of Cola di Rienzo is supplied in Muratori's great compilation of Latin and Italian chroni-

cles ; and more recently in an annotated edition by Zeferrino Re.

If we believed in Destiny we might suppose its power to have decreed that in all provinces of human affairs and interests, scientific pursuits, enterprise, movement, innovation and policy, memorable things should signalise the annals of the new epoch, which commenced for Rome with the Pontificate opening, after a quite unexpected choice by the Cardinals in Conclave, on the 16th June, 1846. During the first years of this period political change, agitation, and hopes so occupied the general mind that archæologic interests seemed forgotten ; and few paid attention to the first noticeable public works within the present pontificate, which completed the discovery of ancient, partly concealed by modern architecture, namely, all that remains of three temples (already indeed partially laid open, one being erroneously associated with the story of the Roman Daughter) under the church of *S. Niccolo in Carcere*.*

Nor much more (I believe) was heeded an important discovery on the Palatine, at the northern hill-side, of buttress walls in massive stone work, evidently belonging to the primitive city, whether founded by Romulus or any one else—therefore among the oldest relics here extant.

Pius IX. (as is well known) was induced to fly from his agitated capital in November 1848, and did not return, after long sojourn at Gaeta and Portici, till the April of 1850.

Subsequently were commenced those renewed energies of antiquarian research, and also the new activities of Roman literature on analogous subjects, which signally distinguish this Pontificate, and which have been munificently encouraged by his Holiness.

* This title is founded on the popular error assuming the subterranean cells under the central temple to have been used as prisons—another of the mistakes perpetuated in “Childe Harold.”

Excavations now undertaken led to the re-opening of the Julian Basilica, long buried in level ruin ; also the disencumbering (as directed by Canina) of the earth-embedded Mausolea on the Appian Way ; the bringing to light of the Ostian ruins, temples, thermae, tombs, and remains of streets ; on the Palatine such rich results as are known to have rewarded the labours ordered by the French Emperor, and intelligently carried out by Signor Rosa, in the Farnese Gardens, purchased by Napoleon III. Among the 258 successors of S. Peter, none has expended so much for restorations, for antiquarian interests and public works as Pius IX. Among the foundations due to his generosity are the chromolithographic press, engaged principally on works of sacred archæology, the Museum of Architectural Antiquities in the Tabularium, and the Christian Museum in the Lateran Palace. That last collection contains the choicest specimens of art and epigraphy from the Christian cemeteries called Catacombs, allusion to which leads me here to notice the progress of research in, and of literature referring to, those subterranean cemeteries.

After the death, in 1600, of Antonio Bosio, a Maltese, the Columbus of discovery in the so-called *Roma Sotteranea*, explored by him for thirty-three years, the fruit of his courageous labours first saw the light in 1632, through means of Severano (an Oratorian Priest), who in that year published the work so entitled, "Subterranean Rome," afterwards brought out with additions, translated into Latin, by Arringhi.

During the XVIII. century Boldetti, Bottari, Fabretti, and Mamachi produced, from the Roman press, the works above alluded to on Christian antiquity, which expand, interpret, and sustain the high interest felt for the monuments and themes comprised in this sphere.

Towards the close of the same century, and in the earlier

years of the next, the pursuit was comparatively neglected ; nor do we find any memorable contributions within that period to the literature on this subject.

Singular indifference is betrayed with regard to **Sacred Antiquities** by those who, in the interval between the opening years of those two centuries, visited Italy and Rome. Addison (1700) does not mention the Catacombs or their contents ; nor does the learned Lalande in his " Voyage " (1765-6) allude to such places. Beckford (writing from Rome in 1780) says, in his characteristic mood : " I think I shall wander soon in the Catacombs, which I try lustily to persuade myself communicate with the lower world "—but does not tell us that such wanderings were actually accomplished by him. Madame de Stael was under the error, common in her day, that those cemeteries served for the actual residence of numbers of the persecuted faithful ; and, struck by horror at this idea, declares (in the words of her *Corinne*) that she did not desire to visit them, whilst avowing her admiration for those who, sustained by enthusiasm, could endure such a living death : " le cachot près du sépulchre, le supplice de la vie à côté des horreurs de la mort." In our own time have been admirably completed the fuller literary illustrations of Christian Antiquity, after researches renewed in this sphere,—one intellectual consequence of the new bias given to thought and sentiment. Three contemporary French writers, Raoul Rochette, Gournerie, and the Abbé Gerbet, in their works on Christian Rome, have entered with erudition and earnest feeling on the treatment of the same theme : primitive Christian Art in the subterranean cemeteries.

Lord Lindsay also treats this subject with much ability and appreciation ; but since he wrote, in 1847, the permeable extent of those hypogæa has been much enlarged, the

range of their contents increased, requiring fuller illustration in consequence.

Most praiseworthy and efficient are the works from the Roman press, especially those more or less known throughout Europe, by the Chev. de Rossi, the third volume of whose inestimably valuable *Roma Sotteranea* is now (I understand) nearly completed. As I cannot criticise the living, and it would be superfluous to dwell on that writer's eminent merits, I need but name his principal publications:—first in importance, the one whose title I have given, a colossal work with chromolithographic plates and facsimiles from epigraphs; next the *Inscriptiones Christianæ*, the first volume of which comprises 1374 epigraphs, the plurality from Roman cemeteries, and now classified in the Lateran Museum; also the interesting periodical entirely from the pen of De Rossi, *Bulletino di Archeologia Cristiana*, alike illustrated by plates, which first appeared in January 1863, as a monthly, but is now continued as a tri-mestral publication, informing its readers of all progress made in the exploring works still under the learned author's direction, besides other memorable discoveries of Christian Antiquity in Italian cities, and occasionally of those in other countries. One other valuable work by a living writer I may name to praise: the *Vetri Ornati*, ("Glasses adorned with Figures in gilding") by Padre Garucci, a learned and complete treatise on those glass tazze (318 being edited and engraved in this volume), which the ancient Christians used both sacramentally and as gifts on domestic occasions; and the subjects in gilding upon which are usually religious, figures of saints, &c., though in some instances mythologic,—in such cases, no doubt, with a Christian meaning more or less recondite. In 1844 appeared the first and unfortunately last volume of a work, vast in conception, by the late Padre Marchi: "Monuments of primitive Christian Art"—in-

tended to comprise the entire cycle of such sacred antiquity, but in this, the sole published, instalment dwelling on the topographic part and peculiarities of formation alone, in the ancient cemeteries.

This writer hazards the conjecture that the aggregate extent of Roman "Catacombs" reaches the amazing amount of between 800 and 900 miles, and that the number of the Dead therein laid may be reckoned as from six to seven millions! As to the former conclusion he is corrected by Sigr. Michele de Rossi (brother to the Cavaliere), who, after applying planometric instruments in those cemeteries, ascertained that their measurement in length, exclusive of chapels and irregular areas, is 588 Roman miles! Padre Marchi entirely refutes the notion of identity between the underground Christian cemeteries and the *arenaria*, or sand-pits for procuring pozzolana, with which they, in some instances, communicate.

He shows that the former cannot be a mere continuance or enlargement of the latter, seeing the difference in the qualities of soil and rock, and in every method pursued in forming those two classes of excavations. The discovery of an entrance to the cemetery of S. Callixtus, the generally chosen place of interment for the Roman Bishops in the third century, and in which was found the tomb of S. Cecilia, led to a long continued series of works, crowned with most interesting results, during recent years. It was through studies made, in the society of Padre Marchi and De Rossi, on the site where explorations were carried on during 1847, that Dr. Northcote collected materials for his well-known and efficient volume serving as an excellent manual for those who desire to ascertain and examine leading facts and features in this sphere.*

* A more important later publication, by the Rev. Dr. Northcote and Mr. Brownlow, is a compendious version of the Chev. de Rossi's "*Roma Sotteranea*."

It is not surprising that many should have sought in the subterranean regions around Rome an arsenal for the weapons of controversy; for if the artistic works there found be indeed of the origin supposed, their silent witness to the mind and temper, or to the usages, of the primitive Church may be deemed almost oracular, and entitled to reverential regard from Christians of whatever communion. The artistic monument, the broken relief or chiselled line sometimes speak more impressively than does the historic page. In our studies of Roman History we might fail to be convinced of the reality of the anguish of remorse distracting the soul of a fratricide Emperor, had we not seen the arches raised in honour of Septimius Severus and his sons, Antoninus and Geta. As to the claims of the immature and rudely executed painting and sculpture in Roman "Catacombs," we must make large deductions, knowing that those retreats continued to be adorned, and their paintings to be from time to time restored, during *nine centuries*; their chapels to be frequented for devotion during about two centuries more, namely, till the XIII.

Yet, allowing for all this, we find internal proof of high antiquity not only in the artistic character of many works, but in what is still more telling, in the moral and spiritual order.

These proofs may guide us to the approximative determining of dates, otherwise so involved in obscurity. The selection of certain subjects and the eliminating of others, even those which eventually became most popular, indicate the difference between the devotional temper of the primitive and the mediæval Church; and where such evidence appears, we may conclude for correspondent antiquity in art-works. It is remarkable how carefully the entire cycle of the Passion, and its dread catastrophe on Mount Calvary are omitted in the range here before us. Nowhere is the

contrast between the primitive and the later religious Art so striking as in the presentment of the most sacred Personality ever seen in human form, around whom all others are like satellites round the central orb; and a more exalted, more just conception surely is that which regards His adorable Being in a light of benign beauty, clothed with attributes of power, grandeur, and love, rather than in aspects which appeal to painful pity, to compassion instead of feelings blent with religious reverence and awe. In their aggregate, I believe that these primitive monuments contain far more which confirms and accords with Truths embraced by almost all Christians, than any elements proper to the regions of controversy, or capable of being used for refutation or attack.

Arrived at the middle of the present century, I must leave my subject. All know how the last years preceding 1850 were crowded with events and conflicts.

The whole series of those vicissitudes, acted out at Rome and elsewhere within Italian limits, has been illustrated in quite a library of contemporary literature, mostly Italian, much (though not certainly all) deserving the attention of those desirous to understand the relations between this city and a newly-constituted kingdom, between the Vatican and the public life around it.

Many of the writings in question, which cropped up in every form, circumstantial History, Political Essays, the Drama, the Satire, the Novel and the Pamphlet, will assuredly perish. Among those deserving to live are: the "History of the Papal States" in the present century, by Farini, the *Rivolgimenti Italiani* by Gualterio, and the magnificently eloquent *Rinascimento Civile d'Italia* by Gioberti—his last work, 1851. With these may also be classed the section comprising that revolutionary period in the *STORIA DI CENTO ANNI* by Cesare Cantu, as well as the same subject,

treated with more largeness and depth, in the last chapter of his greater work, the *Storia degli Italiani*.

Never were the political claims and antecedents of the Papacy so boldly challenged or searchingly analyzed—at least by any Italian and non-Protestant writer—as in the “*Sovranità e Governo Temporale dei Papi*” (1846), by Leopoldo Galcotti, a member of the Tuscan Ministry in 1859. Deducing principles from facts, he seeks lessons for the guidance of the future from the errors and failures of the past. Without any irreligiousness or levity of spirit, he discloses the deep-seated abuses and incurable defects of ecclesiastical absolutism unchecked by civic or constitutional rights. Soon after the suppression of the reforms conceded by Pius IX, and the reaction in absolutist sense by his government, was published “*Rome et le Monde*,” by Niccolo Tommaseo, a volume glowing with patriotic as well as deeply religious feeling, and intense in its eloquent protest against the enormous evils inflicted by retrograde and illiberal policy on the throne and credit of the Supreme Pontificate. Another brief but impressive protest, from a truly Christian standing-point, against the fatally pursued policy of the Vatican in late years, is the “*Court of Rome and the Gospel*”—I translate the title—by the Marquis Roberto d’Azeglio. It is in the historic walk that the Italian mind has proved of late most fruitful, and given the most satisfactory signs of vigorous life—a life reawakened through political influences, memorable events, and generally felt national impulses.

Bringing this sketch to a close, I may refer once more to Archæology, the special subject of the literary range here considered, and of the most memorable literary activities in Rome.

I believe that science to be of little avail save for the sake of what it leads to; and that if we pursue it as a *finis*

lity, we shall be like travellers wending their way through rocky glens and dim forests, without heeding the verdant declivities, pleasant homesteads, and sunny mountain-tops which rise beyond, above, and around their path. It is in alliance with other pursuits that this science must fulfil its true mission.

So far as its regards are fixed on this centre, ancient and modern, on Heathen and Christian Rome, it may serve to us as a key for explaining the destinies and rank of this metropolis in the world's history. Thus applied, we may use archæological, together with kindred studies, for the object of interpreting the mystery of Life, and apprehending that resistless onward movement which from the philosophic point of view may be described as the progress of Humanity—from the religious, as Divine Providence on earth.

CHAPTER II.

SOURCES OF EARLY ROMAN HISTORY.

IN Ampère's interesting and learned work, "*Histoire Romaine à Rome*," nothing strikes me more as an example of vivid pictorial writing, than the manner in which that author brings before the mental eye the aggregate of ancient cities, or rather fortified villages, which stood in primitive times on the seven hills occupied in later ages by Imperial Rome ; their structures and earthworks, their rude mansions and fortifications rising (as we may suppose) in sternly picturesque distinctness amidst primæval forests and morasses—during a period which, of course, we can only contemplate in the dimness of pre-historic antiquity. No writers that I am acquainted with have so vividly presented that far-off Past to the imagination as those belonging to the modern historic school, impugned for its scepticism, and whose conclusions are rejected by several distinguished archæologists, especially those of Italian birth. I believe there is not such wide difference as is often affirmed between the still prevalent archæologic theories respecting Rome, and that comparatively new historic school alluded to ; and if the extremes of incredulity may be objected to in some instances, we should remember that the leaders of learned investigation in this walk are not *all* agreed together ; some accepting to a greater, others to a less extent, the assertions of olden tradition. What in fact is History, as a Science, but the investigation into and deduction from facts, compiled with critical discernment of evidence, and the *attempt* (at least) to explain the causes of political and

social movements? Such being its true character, we must be prepared to find all philosophic History progressive, self-developing, and from time to time arriving at new acceptance or interpretation of truths. The Historic theory must naturally change, retract, or modify its anterior decisions, as the study of documents and monuments extends, as the inquiring spirit attains increasing vigour, boldness and depth. With this enlarged view of the field open to it, archæological science is the best auxiliary of that sister science; and neither can it move in a direction *counter* to that of Historic research, nor yet ignore any well-ascertained results, which the efforts of that agency have won for our knowledge and advantage. The fabric of Truth may be raised on the ruins of Error; and I believe that those writers accused of undue scepticism, Niebuhr, Ampère, Mommsen and others, have best succeeded in rescuing the certain from the uncertain, the genuine tradition from the baseless legend. In raising questions as to the credibility of Roman History (in reference of course to its early epochs alone), we have a right to ask what is the original basis on which it rests? What were the sources of which the ancient historians could have availed themselves, what the use of such sources which we can trace in their extant works? The earliest system for keeping public records at Rome which we are informed of, is curiously indicative of a semi-barbaric simplicity in manners. In the year of the City 291 a vow was made, during a visitation of pestilence, that thenceforth the first magistrate (Consul or Dictator) should strike a nail into the wall of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, by way of chronological computation, at the end of every year. The earliest *written* historic documents of which we have any notice, were divided into:—1st, “*Annales Maximi*” (or Great Annals); 2nd, the Public Acts; 3rd, the “*Libri Lintei*” (so called because they were written on

linen), or books of magistrates; 4th, the Pontifical books, which related apparently to religious or ritual matters alone, mentioned by Horace as "*Annosa volumina vatum*," (the ancient volumes of the prophets or oracular priests.) The *Annales Maximi* were commenced by the chief Pontiff, Publius Mutius, in the time of the Gracchi, about a century and a half before the Christian era. Servius tells us they extended over 80 books, containing all things noticeable set down from day to day; but Cicero (*de Legibus*) speaks of them slightly. Nothing (he says) could be more amusing (*nihil potest esse jocundius*) than those records. The next question is the possible preservation of any among the above-named documents, and the use to which they were (or deserved to be) applied by writers undertaking the complete and strictly coherent history of the City and State. An able historian, Mommsen, shows that if there ever existed official registers of the Consuls anterior to those still in part extant (namely, the Capitoline Fasti, dug up on the Forum in the XVIth century), such documents probably perished in the Gallic conflagration, B.C. 364. We have also mention of private chronicles, no vestiges of which remain, and which appear to have been simple pedigrees, painted on the walls of corridors in patrician mansions, with the titles of offices or magistracies respectively held by the individuals named. Besides these, there were the customary panegyrics pronounced by relatives at the funerals of distinguished persons—valuable, it may be, to contemporary citizens—but what account can the historian set on memorials thus originating, even if extant—the natural influence of personal feeling, sorrowful regard or family pride being considered? Plutarch (whose authority we must defer to), a Greek born in the first century of our era, and long resident in Rome, distinctly asserts that Roman history had been corrupted and its earliest documents destroyed,

(see his treatise on the "Fortune of the Romans.") In his interesting Life of Numa, we find highly relevant evidence on this subject: "A certain writer, named Clodius,"* in a book of his entitled *Strictures on Chronology*, avers that the ancient registers of Rome were lost when the city was sacked by the Gauls; and that those which are now extant were counterfeited, to flatter and serve the humour of some men, who wished to have themselves derived from some ancient and noble lineage, though in reality with no claim to it."—(Clough's Plutarch.)

Livius, referring to the annals drawn up before the taking of Rome by the Gauls, A. U. C. 390, states that the greater part perished in the flames ("incensâ urbe pleræque interiére"). The first historian of Rome who is known to us by name (not by any extant work) was a Siculo-Greek, Timæus of Taormina, who carried his subject down to the date A. U. C. 492, *i.e.* B.C. 261; and to him is due the primitive conception, so finely wrought up in epic poetry by Virgil, of the flight of Æneas, guided by the celestial powers, from Troy; his arrival on the Latian coast, and the romantic origin of the new kingdom destined to rule the world through the descendants of that idealized hero. Not much later than Timæus comes another historian, the first of Roman birth who treated this subject, and who also wrote in Greek, Quintus Fabius Pictor, favourably mentioned by Cicero. He flourished about a century and a quarter before our era; and, like the Sicilian, begins his narrative with the arrival of Æneas in Latium. But whatever the value of this second Greek history of Rome, we only know of it among things that have perished. Next appears the first writer who treated this theme in the Latin language, Porcius Cato, the Censor, who died 149 B.C. But his *Origines*, in which he dwells on the origin of Rome and

* Perhaps, Claudius Quadrigarius.

the earliest epochs in her history, is not preserved to us ; even the few fragments edited as ascribable to him being now deemed spurious. The sole work by Cato which has come down to us as genuine, is one treating of agriculture, (*de Re Rusticâ*). Other annalists are mentioned by Dionysius and Cicero, but known to us by name alone. As for the credit of Greek historians referred to, we have the testimony of the above-named Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who says, (I quote from Spelman's translation) : " No accurate history of the Romans in the Greek language has hitherto appeared, but only summary accounts and short epitomes." But Dionysius would assuredly have excepted Polybius, had that Greek historian, who was led a prisoner to Rome after the conquest of Macedonia, included the earlier stages in the historic subject he so ably illustrates; his work commencing not before the year 220 B.C., and carrying its theme down to the destruction of Carthage,—a tragedy witnessed by Polybius himself, 146 B.C. The above-mentioned Dionysius, who visited Rome in the reign of Augustus, anno 7. B.C., describes in an interesting manner the method he pursued whilst compiling his justly celebrated work, of which only eleven out of twenty-two books written by him, are preserved. He tells us (I quote from Spelman's version) : " Having lived twenty-two years in Rome, and employed all that period in preparing materials for this work, having learned the Roman language and acquainted myself with their (Latin and Greek) writings, some things I received from men of the greatest consideration among them (the Roman citizens) for learning, whose conversation I used ; and others I gathered from histories written by the most approved Roman authors, such as Porcius Cato, Fabius Maximus." This writer goes on to mention other historians whose works are lost, but refers to no such sources for historic evidence as the above-named annals of Pontiffs or Magistrates. It is evident that

this learned and indeed conscientious writer makes no account of the historians who had preceded him, at least with regard to the primæval antiquities, the twilight period of Rome, or the popular traditions concerning the foundation of this City. Both the date of its origin, and the name, even the sex of its individual founder are regarded by him as uncertain—*either* (he conjectures as to that person) a son of Æneas, or a Trojan woman named *Roma*, among the fugitives from Ilion! Dionysius assumes the *probable* pre-historic existence of *three* successively founded cities—a triple antiquity receding into infinite remoteness, and entirely pertaining to the Past, before the later Rome rose into recorded reality on the Palatine Hill. As to the name, the Greek *ρῶμη* (strength, fortitude) seems both a probable and suitable, indeed the most finely significant, etymology. I may observe, before turning away from Dionysius, that the passage I have cited may also be admitted as, within a limited sense, capable of affording support to conclusions in favour of the credibility of much, if not all, in the narrative so coloured by suggestion or superstition on the pages of the later historians. A learned, pains-taking writer spent twenty-two years in Rome, earnestly bent on collating and compiling materials for his arduous task, and was satisfied that such trustworthy materials could be obtained, that an authentic history of this City and State *could* be drawn up. The *ultra*-sceptical school would do well to remember his unbiassed testimony. But at the same time we must accept his avowal of utter uncertainty as to the origin, date, and founder of Rome. Dyer (see his very careful analysis of the evidences for the genuineness of early Roman history) concludes that the written annals of this City were extant in the year 331 B.C., and reached as far back as 449 B.C. ("Kings of Rome.") Several ancient historians inform us of the existence of inscribed records, seen by themselves,

in which the memory of those early ages was preserved for the Rome of the consular and imperial periods. Polybius, for instance, had seen and copied (l. iii. 22-26), in the *Ærarium* on the Capitol, the original treaty between Rome and Carthage, drawn up in the first year of the Republic; and the archaism of the language is observed by him. Livius (l. i. 32) tells us that the laws of Numa were copied out, and exposed in public, by order of Ancus Martius; and Dionysius (l. iv. 25) saw the treaty between Servius Tullius and the Latins, engraved in antique Greek characters, on a brazen column in the temple of Diana on the Aventine Hill. Cicero bears distinct evidence to an early origin, or at least the tradition of such origin, for the art of writing in Rome: "*Romuli autem ætatem, jam inveteratis litteris atque doctrinis, omnique illo antiquo ex inculta hominum vitâ sublato, fuisse cernimus.*" (De Repub. ii. 10, 18).

Official documents, later than the *Annales*, &c. above mentioned, are also known to have existed. In the time of Julius Cæsar the Senate first began to have its acts registered in writing; and thus did political journalism originate at Rome. Another compilation of great value to the historian was that of bronze and copper tablets, containing Treatises, *Senatusconsults*, *Plebiscits*, &c. originally deposited in temples, the more important in that of Jupiter Capitolinus. All (or nearly all) these records were finally placed in the *Tabularium*. The oldest parts of that building, whose remains are still majestically conspicuous on the Capitol, are referred by Canina (I believe correctly) to the date 175 B.C., in which year (or not long afterwards) we may suppose that transfer of the tablets to have been ordered. We know that the *Tabularium*, or Record Office, was attacked—an event finely described by Tacitus—in the civil war between Vitellius and Vespasian, when the assail-

ants threw burning torches into the open porticoes, and were retaliated against with similar fiery missiles, the besieged flinging down brands in their defence till the flames, furiously spreading, caught several adjacent buildings—among others the great temple of Jupiter; and in that conflagration all the historic tablets were melted down. We are told, however, by Suetonius that Vespasian undertook to restore *all* those registers, and collected as many as 3000 tablets from temples or public archives, supposed to be duplicates, or substantially identical with the records lost. It is questioned whether any Roman historians really made the use possible either of the more ancient, or of Vespasian's restored collection in the Tabularium.

A high place is certainly due to the vivid and entertaining Livius—the favourite of old and young for so many generations, who was born at Padua, spent a great part of his life in Rome, and died there A.D. 17. He extended his admirable work over 142 books, only 35 of which are extant entire, though we possess epitomes of several others. No one can read them without a sense of the picturesque and the real, so much does truthful simplicity characterize his pages. Yet he acknowledges over and over again the uncertainty of the foundation his narrative rests upon, as to the origin of the State and Power he contributes so much to glorify. “*Inde certé* (I quote one such passage) *singulorum gesta et publica monumenta confusa.*”—(“Certainly, therefore, the acts of individuals, as well as the public monuments, are in a confused state.”) His poetic episodes about the birth, exposure, and rescue of Romulus and Remus, their divine parentage on the father's side, and the unhappy fate of their Vestal mother, is taken from the still more lively narrative (a fragment from the lost work of Fabius Pictor) preserved in the first book of Dionysius. The fabulous nature of that tale may be inferred when we learn from Plutarch's

testimony (see his "Parallels between the Greek and Roman Histories") that almost its *exact* counterpart appears among the legends of the ancient kings of Arcadia, and also among old stories relating to Cures, the Sabine city, and its founder. Yet there is noticeable proof of the early acceptance of the Romulean legend. In the year of the City 458 (296 B.C.) a bronze group of the she-wolf suckling the twins was erected under the *figus ruminalis*, the sacred fig-tree, supposed to overshadow the identical spot, on the Forum. There are not a few instances in which Livius betrays want of critical discernment and imperfect intelligence of leading principles in human history, or in social laws. The first mention made by him of religious usages, refers to the rustic festivities and races at the Lupercal feast, and to that worship of Pan, the God of Nature, which was imported by the Arcadian Evander from Greece to the Palatine—the historian not even telling us in this passage whether Evander did, or did not, found any city on that hill. Soon afterwards he describes certain rites in honour of the Greek Hercules, and other unnamed gods, according to Alban usage. In almost the next page he describes the founding, or rather vowing, by Romulus of the temple to Jupiter Feretrius; next, the origin of that of Jupiter Stator, and puts into the mouth of his hero such an invocation to Jove as *Optimus Maximus*, and "Father of gods and men,"—plainly indicating the developed idea of a quasi-*monotheistic*, or at least rational faith—a product of the civilized mind, obtained independently of direct revelation, but proper to a social *stadium* many ages beyond the supposed Romulean period. I shall not occupy the reader's time by attempting to trace the growth and the change gradually manifested in theories as to the true sense of Roman History, accepted by authors who rank high, and whose united testimony cannot be disregarded. The importance of the History of Thought can-

not be over-estimated; and in this research we have before us a most interesting aim and direction for our studies—indicated (I may say) in the title of a memorable work by a living Italian writer named Rosa:—"La Storia della Storia," the "History of History itself." Doubts as to the veracity of the long popular Roman *Annales* were first expressed in the XVth century by Lorenzo Valla, a famous Italian *savant*; next, in 1521, by Glareanus, a Swiss, who pointed out the many errors of Livius, but was silenced by a storm of critical indignation. Scaliger and Justus Lipsius enter the lists towards the end of that century, sustaining the same theories; next to them came Bayle in his *Critical Dictionary*; and after him, with more acumen and careful collation of texts, Beaufort in his work "*Sur l'incertitude des cinq premiers siècles de l'Histoire Romaine*," 1738. That light among Italian philosophers, Giambattista Vico (see his "*Scienza Nuova*") finds a still more elevated theme than the directly historic, a deeper meaning than what lies on the surface, in Rome's earliest records—the ideal History of Humanity; and in the heroic episodes of the highly dramatic story in question, so many symbols in allegoric form of progressive civilization and of self-constituting social life. Other Italian writers of the XVIIth century doubt the existence of Romulus, and conclude that the Sabines, not the Romans, were the conquerors of the primitive City. Algarotti showed the incredible nature of annals which allow for the duration of seven reigns of Kings, from Romulus to Tarquinius Superbus, not less than 244 years; all but the first of those ancient rulers having been elected, we are told, at mature age, three having died by violence, and one lost his throne by popular revolt. Compared with the scepticism of previous writers, the great Niebuhr is a *believer* in ancient history. His arguments tend rather to confirm than to undermine; his influence is conservative

more than destructive. As is often the case when men become wedded to their own opinions, especially to those that are novel, incredulity had been carried to excess; subtlety of interpretation, in fact a sort of philosophic pastime, had been applied to this branch of historic inquiry. It seems to have been forgotten that the circumstance of an idealizing lustre having gathered around a favourite hero through the force of sentiment, through admiration or patriotic feeling, is no proof against the existence of the individual thus glorified. Admitting this, we might be led to doubt the historic existence of Constantine or Charlemagne. In the case of Niebuhr, his right to be considered a creator rather than a destroyer in the historic sphere asserts itself in his treatment of the reign of Servius Tullius, arriving at which period he finds the acknowledged point where cosmic order emerges, with a light of reality, from uncertainties and mythic legend. Even a faint dawn of that day is perceived by him early in the time of Tullus Hostilius, third King of Rome. The contemporary and later episodes of *individual* heroism he regards, however, in nearly the same light as does Vico—considering them as allegoric presentments of highly idealized, but still credible facts. Later historians have rather urged onward the sceptical tendency. Michelet carefully investigates all the known sources of Roman History, arriving at conclusions similar to (if not identical with) those of Niebuhr. Sir G. C. Lewis may be classed with the most sceptical. In his “Inquiry into the Credibility of early Roman History,” he concludes that the contemporary evidence to historic facts extends no higher than the year of the City 473, when Pyrrhus landed in Italy, and the Romans were first brought into contact with the Greeks; that the oral traditions relating to the kings (sole original channel for remembrances of the regal period) were not reduced to writing till about 120

years after the downfall of Tarquinius. Dr. Arnold so far agrees with this writer as to determine (I quote his words) that "the legends of the early Roman story are neither historical nor yet coeval with the subjects which they celebrate." The latest writer on the subject that I know of—Professor Seeley—in an edition of Livius, with examination and notes) carries incredulity further than most others. In the current history of Rome he finds "improbability, inconsistency with other ascertained history, marvelousness, romance, self-glorification." He deems "the history of the Kings, not truth corrupted by passing from mouth to mouth, but fiction from the beginning."

Theodore Mommsen concludes that Roman History did not even originate till the time of the war with Hannibal, nearly at the sixth century of the City; and that the oldest work on this subject known to us even by name is a metrical chronicle by Naevius, of about the year u.c. 550. As a specimen of this learned writer's theories, I may cite his interpretation of the episode of the Horatii and Curatii: "The battle of the three Romans with the three Alban brothers born at one birth (he says) is nothing but a personification of the struggle between two powerful and closely related cantons."

Cesare Cantu exerts great learning, and eloquence springing from matured thought, in his treatment of Roman History, and also in his analysis of the various interpretations applied to it. In the first volume of his truly monumental work, *Storia Universale*, he observes that: "What we have long accepted as the proper names of kings are perhaps nothing else than appellations of ideal characters. Romulus is, in fact, a demi-god; Numa holds commune with the deities, a circumstance which betrays his mythic nature. The two (Kings)

might be regarded " (and here this writer exactly agrees with Niebuhr) "as two successive ages, the heroic and the sacerdotal."

The field which, occupied by the forces of doubt and opposition, may be said to divide the archæological school from the less sceptical ranks of the contemporaneous Historic school, is included within the comparatively narrow chronological limits of 175 years, from the kingship of Romulus to the election of Servius Tullius; though much greater discrepancies exist between the school headed on the Historic side by writers later than Niebuhr, and the archæologists opposed to them.*

The wand of disenchantment does not touch the most interesting groups among Roman ruins that still attract all gazers and students. If any argument obliging us to doubt may remove to a more remote and dimmer distance the Palatine ruins, or other monuments, which, even before we know aught concerning their origin, at once assert their claims, and impress us by their character of immemorial antiquity, does it in consequence deprive them of any attraction, or weaken any voice that speaks to the reasoning ear (like "Sermons in Stones"), in this famous City, from the silent wrecks of the Past? I think not; but rather that the attributing of yet undeterminate, though imaginable, age to those monuments invests them with higher

* In a recent publication by Professor Nitzsch ("Die Römische Annalistik"), it is inferred that Dionysius and Livius availed themselves of the works of two almost forgotten writers, Valerius Antius and Licinius Macer, who composed their histories about the time of Sylla, in the interests of political factions, and from opposite points of view; and that such use of irreconcilable narratives without due allowance for the motives prompting the writers, is the principal cause of error and confusion in accredited Roman histories, is the farther inference of the German professor.

interest. Uncertainty is the condition of mind in which we must be satisfied to follow out many enquiries ; and in this case we are not left in ignorance such as discourages or humiliates—we are supplied with fresh stimulus to researches. The moral of my subject is well expressed by Ruskin, “that every rightly constituted mind ought to rejoice, not so much in knowing anything clearly, as in feeling that there is infinitely more which it cannot know.”

CHAPTER III.

ROME UNDER PAPAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL SWAY.

BEFORE considering the ancient life and institutions of Rome, I may glance at the realities of the day in the elect Italian Metropolis since the political changes of such extraordinary and all-pervading consequences. I may pass in review the results, affecting or facilitating the study and knowledge of Antiquity itself at this centre, from such a fact as the establishment of a new after overthrow of an ancient authority. I may endeavour to answer the inquiry whether the monumental (regarded apart from the political) Metropolis has gained in all that, while attracting, promises to throw light on the Past and aid the solution of its historic problems, through the transfer of sovereign power from priestly to secular hands. I shall, at the outset, dwell on the picture of modern Rome a year after that change had been brought about.

Returning to this city, after an absence of a few months, in the autumn of 1871, I had expected to see many signs, like the dawning of a new day, of the renovation in its life and institutions. At a distant view of the dusky walls and towered gateways sweeping far, like the outworks of a vast solitary castle, along the undulatory surface of the uncultured Campagna, no token of new realities or improvements could be perceived; but on nearer approach, the restored Porta Pia reminded of the damage done in the last siege, and the gap between mouldering towers, all left of the demolished Porta Salaria, forced attention to the

decree by which that historic gateway, where Alaric with his Goths entered the metropolis of a falling empire, is condemned (as I regret) to give place to a modern structure, called after Victor Emmanuel.

Looking down from the tower of the Capitol upon a grand panorama which comprises the whole of ancient and modern Rome, her classical and ecclesiastical monuments, and the whole strikingly picturesque region, plains and mountains, valleys and uplands, the theatre of her history during the earliest epochs both of regal and republican government, nothing discernible to the eye yet announced the momentous events or innovations of recent date. Even while passing through streets and piazzas, one had not to notice much material improvement, or advance in the cleanliness and comforts notoriously deficient in the metropolis of the Popes. Professional beggars still plied their trade as formerly ; mendicant friars, with their brown habits and sandals, still made their rounds in the quest for alms ; the varieties of ecclesiastical costume, and the long files of seminary students still occupied the highways, though much that used to be characteristic and interesting had disappeared ; and one missed not only the gorgeous retinue with which the Sovereign Pontiff used to appear abroad, preceded by military outriders, but also the ponderous gilt coaches and red-crested horses of the cardinals, who now drive about in sombre disguise both as to dress and equipage. Though the holy Viaticum was still carried with the customary attendance and lighted tapers to the sick or dying, other religious processions had by this time become comparatively rare. Funerals, instead of passing with lugubrious pomp of torchlight, took place before the setting of the sun. Pilgrims no more appeared at the sacred seasons, the hospital founded in 1550 by the amiable St. Philip Neri being no longer open during Holy Week, or other periods,

for their reception ; nor did the wildly picturesque Pifferari from the Abbruzzi mountains perform, during Advent, on indescribable bagpipes, their sonatas before favourite Madonna shrines.

On the other hand, it must be owned that many things were improved. Even in obscure streets the darkness, perilous to pedestrians and favorable to thieves, was dispelled by new gas works ; the police were manifestly more efficient both in numerical force and organization ; a more business-like movement was to be noticed in principal streets, and in the long Corso the state of thriving commerce was attested by the increase and previously rare splendours of shops.

The almost unchecked activity of trade on Sundays (and I now speak in the present tense of things still present), would offend certain religious susceptibilities, but is not at all surprising, seeing how far from the Puritanical Protestant standard are Italian notions as to the "Sabbath," and that the new authorities leave observance of holy days entirely to individual conscience, which conscience, in Rome, adopts principles to the last degree remote from the Judaic, acknowledging no obligation of abstinence from innocent pleasures—scarcely indeed inhibiting any usual employments—on the festival common to all Christians.

Among new buildings the large establishments for ministerial use, some in convents adapted for such purposes, but without expulsion as yet of the religious communities, were conspicuous before the year 1871 had expired ; the law for suppressing monastic institutions not having yet been enforced here. From the terraces of the Pincian is now seen prominent the domed roof of the Chamber of Deputies, a mere temporary fabric thrown up in the court of the Monte Citorio palace, formerly appropriated to tribunals, prisons, and police-offices. Among minor details, the returning visitor could not but notice the disappearance of

the tiara and keys, and the substitution in their place (save on church-fronts, diplomatic, and certain other residences) of the white cross of Savoy and crown of Italy.

At one historic building, the change now strikes one as most remarkable,—the vast, gloomy, and unhomelike palace of the Vatican, where the head of the Latin Church still (while I write) condemns himself to a life of *ex-professo* captivity,—though all know him to be quite as free in matters of purely ecclesiastical and spiritual jurisdiction, indeed much more so than before the temporal sceptre had passed out of his hands. The great doors of that palace, communicating with the colonnade before St. Peter's, are to this day half-closed; within we see the burly Swiss guards in their piebald uniform, and sometimes a pontific carbiner in the costume of that police force, now surviving only within the palatial premises. I have observed, though not so often of late as during the winter of 1870-71, what seemed and was portentous—the marked, though silent, indication of popular ill-will, suspicion, irritability, among knots of idle gazers gathering before the entrance to that residence, and watching, with sinister glances, those who leave or enter.

Once, in the winter I refer to, occurred a scene of confusion and threatened *émeute* before the Papal palace: a shot was fired, an offender fled, was pursued, arrested; other arrests took place, a dense crowd assembled; the guards were reinforced, and during that evening, till a late hour after nightfall, the wide space before the Vatican was like a scene of intended conspiracy or revolt.

Among the projects devised by engineers and architects, but yet in the stages only of project or discussion, there was much, at this time, to commend—a vast and multifarious range of undertakings for public works, promising the future growth of what will, in fact, be a new Rome, unlike the old one under pontific government, and with

pledges of improvement in all that affects comfort, civic security, refinement, industrial enterprise, yet not without scrupulous regard for the venerable claims of antiquity, for art, monuments, and ruins.

During that winter was exhibited, in the senatorial Capitoline palace, a plan for the enlargement of this city, drawn up under direction of the engineer-in-chief, after four other plans, all on the same general basis, had been prepared. A report presented with the one approved by the municipal council, set forth that, "the new quarters promise a development of population to almost double the actual amount." The engineer displays in his design a proposed extent of streets and piazzas over regions hitherto occupied by orchards, vineyards, lanes, and comprising no noticeable edifice, except some little-frequented old church.

What is entirely new in these undertakings may be achieved, as was assumed, in ten years; but the works within the old quarters, where would be requisite at least as much of demolition as of construction, cannot be brought to their term so soon. On the plan above-mentioned the Tiber is seen crossed by five new bridges; quarters far apart are connected by broad ranges of streets, mostly rectilinear, instead of the circuitous ways now open for transit; the piazza before the Pantheon appears enlarged so as entirely to isolate the rotunda of that noble edifice, hitherto in great part concealed by paltry houses, and till the fifteenth century with mean shops encumbering the inter-columnations of its majestic peristyle. St. Peter's is seen approached by a stately street from the St. Angelo Bridge, allowing full view of the façade, dome, and porticos, from the angle where that old bridge joins the present highway, hence branching off into two narrow streets divided by a block of paltry buildings.

Other projects have been presented for the protection of

the city from inundations by a system of quays on both sides of the Tiber, and by dykes along its banks from a point a few miles above that where it flows through the ancient walls ; also for the improvement of agriculture and of the breed of cattle on the Campagna. There, too, may we expect to see the domain of mournful but impressive solitude invaded by the genius of industry, reclaimed to prosperous and active life.

In the January of 1872 were inaugurated, in the presence of the Minister of Public Works and the chief magistrates, the constructions of a *Società Edificatrice* founded on the same system as a similar company at Florence, and who have purchased grounds on the Coelian in a hitherto almost deserted region, undertaking to provide within a year one hundred habitable rooms, let at very moderate rates. This company has also begun its activities beyond the Porta del Popolo, between that gateway and the Milvian Bridge, where 20,000 square metres are destined for the growth of a new suburb.

The estimates for public works in this city, approved for the year 1872-3, amount to 9,035,865 francs, of which 7,691,612 are set down as extraordinary expenses for the civic enlargement ; for the repairs of streets, etc., 340,413 ; the entire amount of ordinary expenses being set down at only 365,194 francs.

In the winter I refer to, the Roman journals published a protest of the Superiors of religious orders, addressed to the diplomatic body accredited at the Vatican, against the suppression of their institutions and confiscation of their property in Rome. Their language is dignified, their pleading pathetic, and characterized by calm moderation ; but no result followed. I have no doubt that many monastic communities deserve all possible respect, and would be well entitled to exemption from the pitiless assault of modern

liberalism; that many cloisters, the retreats of learned leisure or austere piety, the beneficent centres of boundlessly-flowing charities, will be honourably remembered after they have passed away—like stars that have set before the sight of the poor, the world-weary and dependent; but the institution is condemned by public opinion, and also by a popular feeling now widely prevalent among Italians. Any future resuscitation of it, unless on an absolutely new basis, is indeed problematical.

At the present time statistics in Rome bear evidence to important realities. The Parliament, in voting the estimates of 1872, after the question of obligatory instruction had been discussed, assigned 1,213,297 francs to the universities, and 3,719,804 to professors, or, in Italian phrase, “the directing and teaching body;” for the *personnel* of literary and scientific societies, 252,469, and for the so-called “Institutes of Superior Studies and Perfectionment,” 299,685. The complete reorganizing of public instruction, as well in universities as in elementary schools, has been among the proceedings most praiseworthy, and consistently carried out by this government, wherever its constitutional sway has succeeded to overthrown despotisms. In the November of 1870 the Sapienza University of Rome was reopened with a renewed *personnel* of professors and new ordering of studies. Soon afterwards was inaugurated, with the pomp suited to Italian taste, in presence of the Prince Umberto and the Minister of Commerce, a technical school in the large convent founded (1623) for the Friars Minim of St. Francesco di Paola, a community little known for any characteristic merits.

The eagerness for knowledge, especially in the walks of science, has manifested itself here in every way since the great political transition. Lectures on abstract scientific themes, at the university and the lyceum (the ex-Roman col-

lege taken from the Jesuits) have attracted overflowing audiences. At the former institution I attended the first of a course of Lectures on the "Philosophy of History," by the veteran statesman, philosopher, and poet, Count Terenzio Mamiani, who was listened to with intensest interest by an audience filling the *aula massima*. The distinguished orator was enthusiastically applauded after his eloquent recommendations of self-culture as a primary element of moral welfare and progressive national life. The demand for means to satisfy the craving after knowledge is now corresponded to by various literary and scientific societies. Circulating libraries have been opened in quarters remote from the foreign colony centring around the Piazza di Spagna. A *Società Promotrice* (for promoting philosophic and literary studies), founded in Florence, has established itself in Rome, dedicating its efforts, as at the Tuscan capital, to the encouragement of new literature in the Belles Lettres and philosophic walks; its "acts" being published in a periodical. A *Società Internazionale*, mainly artistic, but also admitting literary objects, was founded by about fifteen young men, mostly artists, soon after the political change, and before long comprised 350 members; a subvention of 10,000 francs per annum, half from the municipal, half from the provincial council, being secured to this body. On Saturday evenings this Society opens its rooms for lectures on scientific, literary, or philosophic themes. An annual art exhibition has been set on foot by this "International" association, where painters and sculptors of all countries may bring their works before public notice.

The general and strikingly evident result of the change of government at Rome may be summed up as the reawakening of intelligence, the stimulating of vital powers and energies variously applied; the renewal of hope, courage and enterprise—intelligible signs and auguries of healthful

and enduring progress, though not without symptoms of danger to religious faith.

Passing from the centres of busy life and public works to scenes invested with other attractions and other memories, one is struck, even in such localities, by the evidence on every side of newly awakened energy, of newly applied activities. The continual enlargement of the field of discovery, and the improved method for the search of antiquities are among the auspicious results of the recent political change, and among encouraging promises for the future of Rome as the Capital of united Italy.

The visitor desiring to ascertain how the interests of the classically Antique have been respected or promoted by the Papacy, need not wander far through the streets of this metropolis before evidence, even unsought, will present itself to his eye. Should he approach (as in former times did the majority of tourists and pilgrims) at the northern side, and enter by the Flaminian Gate (*Porta del Popolo*), he may observe the time-worn marble which encrusts the lower storeys of the towers flanking that gateway, rebuilt by Vignola, 1561, and may learn from any guide-book that those great marble blocks are the spoils from an antient mausoleum, which stood on the adjacent piazza under the Pincian Hill, and is supposed (though without certain proof) to have been the tomb of Sylla—demolished (1475) by Sixtus IV. in order to use its material for an earlier restoration of the gate ordered by that Pope, and with the architecture of Baccio Pintelli.* Proceeding from the Piazza del Popolo down the Corso, the tourist will observe

* The exact site of Sylla's mausoleum cannot be determined ; but it appears from a passage in the "Pharsalia" (l. 11) that it was on the Campus Martius :

— Felix his Sylla vocari,
Hic meruit tumulum medio sibi tollere campo ?

a tablet set into a house-front in that long street, recording the demolition of the triumphal arch of Marcus Aurelius, for the convenience of public transit and of Carnival races, as decreed by Alexander VII. in 1662.* Farther on, he will reach the spot where this street was spanned by another such arch (near the Piazza Sciarra)—the sculptured trophy erected, A.D. 46, in honour of Claudius, and to commemorate the victories won by that Emperor's generals, rather than by himself, in Britain, for the sake of which successes in Claudius's campaign the cognomen, "Britannicus" was conferred upon him. It seems, from the language of Andrea Fulvio (in his *Antiq. Urbis*, written 1527) that this arch was destroyed in his time, after he had seen it in preservation ; but he does not assign any motive for such an act of Vandalism under the reigning Pope, Clement VII. Flaminio Vacca tells us that many sculptures, the head of Claudius recognisable in some, were dug up on this spot, 1565 ; that he himself purchased no less than 186 cartloads of these antique fragments ; that the rest passed into the hands of one Signor Cesarini, who placed them in his gardens on the Esquiline Hill. Other researches for the relics of that arch were undertaken in 1641 by the Prince di Carbonaro, who owned a palace built on the site, (1640) ; and at considerable depth were then found fragmentary sculptures, friezes, shafts, &c. in great profusion. Before these could be removed, the reigning Pope, Urban VIII., intimated his intention to reserve the right of purchase, as guaranteed by law, to the State. Consequently, the private speculators lost their interest in the object of

* The relievi (some at least, if not all) from this arch are preserved, and now seen on the landing place of a staircase in the Conservators' palace on the Capitol. They are far surpassed in merit by the other relievi, from another arch erected to M. Aurelius, now in a court off a lower landing place of the same stairs.

research: the prince suspended his excavations; and all these art-treasures were left where found, again interred under the street, no authorities interposing to save them! The collection made by Vacca was dispersed; and Cesari's purchase had a like fate, two reliefs fortunately excepted, which are now in the atrium of the Borghese Villa: their subject, an allocution by the Emperor to his troops; and though the figures be much mutilated, no one head entire, a grandeur and freedom of style here afford proof of the excellence in the Roman art-school under Claudius. This arch was decreed to him (as observed) by the Senate after victories in Britain; and its epigraph, recording those successes, is another relic preserved from its front, now set into a garden-wall behind the Barberini Palace. The terms of this inscription are characterized by haughty complacency such as an Englishman may smile at: *Ti. Claudio* *Caes. Augusto Pontifici Max. TR. P. IX. Cos. VI. Imp. XVI. P.E. Senatus Populusq. R. quod Reges Britanniae absq. ulla jactura domuerit Gentesque Barbaras primo indicio subegerit**—such the estimation of our countrymen and their Kings in the imperial Rome of the first century.

At a few paces from the site of that vanished monument we reach the church of *S. Maria in Via Lata*, in one of the subterranean chambers below which (assumed by vague tradition to have been the prisons in which were confined four of the Apostles), we see the remains, in immense travertine blocks without cement, of another triumphal arch, that of Diocletian, reduced to a ruinous fragment (its lower portion alone being preserved) for the sake of its materials and for a rebuilding of the Church, ordered in 1491 by Innocent VIII. Leaving the Corso, and finding ourselves on the piazza of the Pantheon, we cannot contemplate the ma-

* I copy this as restored, almost half being modern, for its present location in the Barberini gardens.

jestic peristyle of that edifice without being reminded of the unscrupulous spoliation of its bronzes, (those, namely, on the portico-ceiling), by Urban VIII., who has consigned this proceeding to the commendation claimed from prosperity in a vaunting epigraph placed besides the ancient portal. It surprises us still more to find such an enlightened Pope as Benedict XIV. among the despoilers of the Pantheon; for it was by him that the lofty attics between the colonnades and cupola were stripped of the entire encrustation, pilasters, cornices, &c., in porphyry and other coloured marbles, in order to use all that rich material for certain superfluities of church-decoration!—thus depriving Agrippa's edifice of the finest example of antique polychromatic decoration, applied to architecture, in Rome! Leaving the Forum Romanum to enter that of Nerva (called also "Transitorium"), we may observe the disgraceful neglect to which its beautiful ruins are abandoned—hitherto disregarded even under the new Government—with a portico and columns, supporting a finely sculptured entablature and frieze, buried in earth to about one-half the height of their marble shafts! But still more must we reprobate the act of Paul V., who totally demolished the temple of Pallas, still erect and majestic in ruin, as it had remained up to his time, within the limits of that quadrangular portico; the Borghese Pope making use of all the material so obtained for the heavy, ill-designed fountain, called after him, on the Janiculan Hill (1612), and on the front of which stand six Ionic columns of red granite from the demolished Minerva fane. An engraving given by Marliano (*Urbis Romæ Topog.* 1588), shows us the classic edifice in its then state, with still graceful, though decayed, architecture.

Fortunately the rich adornment of marble clothing remains, still intact, round the lower walls of the Pan-

theon. It would be unjust to pass unnoticed all that other Popes have done for the benefit, and favourable to the effect, of this most majestic fane. The bronze covering of the dome, entirely stript off and carried away by the rapacious Constans II., on occasion of his ill-omened visit to Rome, A.D. 663, was replaced, but only with leaden tiles, by Martin V., 1425. The inter-columnations of the portico were freed from the encumbrances of paltry booths (as we have seen) by Eugenius IV.; yet again were the graceful shafts concealed by such profane intrusion before the XVII. century; and in 1611 Paul V. proved himself a benefactor by prohibiting all traffic in this portico, and removing the wooden shops raised for such purposes. Two of the columns wanting (how lost is unknown) were replaced by others of red granite by Alexander VIII. (1662); another, overthrown, was re-erected by Urban VIII. The modern accumulations, which had raised the level of the piazza in front, were removed by Clement XI.; and other encumbrances, paltry shops, were removed from its area by Pius VII. Among the undertakings of the Commission of Antiquities under Pius IX., was one with the object of isolating the entire rotunda by demolition of the mean houses which had clustered around it—a work well commenced, but not yet completed.

Between the Forum Romanum and the Colosseum, we pass the ruined cella and elevated terrace of Hadrian's temple of Venus and Rome; and may here remember the deliberate spoliations by which the classic fane, up to that time probably standing in its ancient completeness, was left exposed to natural decay and the inclemency of seasons, when, A.D. 625, Pope Honorius I. stripped off its entire roof of gilt bronze tiles to use that material (as he could not do without permission from the Greek Emperor) for the adornment and covering of St. Peter's basilica. Passing

between the Aventine steep and the Tiber bank, on the road to the Ostian gateway (a region still solitary, though commanding a fine expanse of the civic buildings and heights, as we look northwards) we are again reminded of outrages against the antique by the Sovereign Pontificate. Some marble arches, described by Flavio Biondo as beautiful, and conjectured to belong to a temple either of Hercules or Fortuna, stood below the Aventine declivities till the time of Sixtus IV., who caused them to be taken down in order to convert the marble into 400 cannon balls. But before such demolition those ruins had been pitilessly dealt with, and in part (as Biondo tells us) reduced to lime! Elsewhere, on the Tiber banks within the city, similar reminiscences occur to us. At the entrance to the Fabrician bridge (*Ponte Quattro Capi*), on the river's left bank, once stood a marble arch of classic style and decoration, the very existence of which had long been forgotten till the learned Chev. de Rossi discovered some mention of it in a MS. code at the Magliabecchiana Library in Florence. Also from the same document was first made known to archaeologists, through the same gentleman's researches, another arch erected in the Flaminian Circus, probably triumphal, of stonework repaired in marble,—its origin of the republican, its restorations of the imperial period. Both arches have alike vanished, leaving no vestige; nor is any record discoverable by which we can learn how and when they disappeared! Passing between the Palatine and the Coelian, we can recognize the spot once occupied by the stately façade called Septizonium, added to the imperial buildings by Septimius Severus, and which was finally taken down by order of Sixtus V., for applying its marbles and still erect columns partly to other adornment in St. Peter's church, partly for the superb "Capella Sistina" founded

by that Pope at S. Maria Maggiore, and in which he erected his own monument. Sixtus V. was a great Pope, a benefactor to Rome, but also an unscrupulous despoiler of her classic monuments. We are reminded, when contemplating the enormous structure of the Tabularium on the Capitol, of the base uses to which that building was applied as a salt-magazine, its massive stonework being all corroded, in the interior, by the action of salt upon the tufa. This degradation of the ancient edifice continued for at least two centuries, and is mentioned by Poggio in the XV., by Nardini in the XVII. century. Of course, several Pontiffs were responsible; but the special proceeding of Sixtus V., affecting this Capitoline edifice, was the deliberate removal, and apparently the destruction, of the antique statues placed along either the summit or some elevated terrace where they had fit place; and for which act that Pope is commended by a Portuguese prelate, named De Bargas, who thus alludes to the fate of these sculptures: “a Capitolii turre dejecta, quæ quasi ex edito loco clamare videbuntur.” The same writer extols Pius V. for his intention (fortunately not carried out) of removing all antique statues from the Vatican palace, as things Pagan and profane: “ex ædibus Vaticanis hujusmodi omnes statuas alió mandare cogitaverit.” (v. *De Aedificiarum Urb. Rom. Eversoribus*, and *De Obeliscis*, both in Grævius, *Thes. Antiq.* t. iv.)

Amidst the stupendous ruins of the Antonine Thermæ it is difficult to forget or forgive the proceedings of a Pope, Paul III., who otherwise did much for the interests of Art and Archæology; but proved merciless as chief despoiler of the colossal skeleton left as it were dimly to represent the grand structure of M. Aurelius Antoninus, called Caracalla. That Pope not only removed all the sculptures hitherto discovered among those ruins to the Farnese palace, but, for

the use of the masons whilst that residence for his family was rising to completeness (1534), caused the outer encrustations of fine brickwork to be peeled off from the loftier masses of the old, ivy-covered walls.* The permission given by Pius IV. (1564) to the Tuscan Duke Cosimo I. to remove, and transport to Florence the last column still erect in those Thermæ, naturally accelerated the progress of decay. A similar act was, probably, followed by similar results—the removal, namely, of the last erect among the beautiful Corinthian columns from the arcades of the Basilica of Constantine to the piazza before S. Maria Maggiore, where it now serves to support a statue of the Virgin Mary, as destined by Paul V., 1613.†

Even in presence of S. Peter's and the grandest creations of pontific power in architectural forms, we are reminded also of pontific Vandalism—a term perhaps too strong, but still appropriate in this case. Till about the close of the XV. century stood erect between the Vatican and the S. Angelo bridge a pyramidal mausoleum, like that of Cajus Cestius, and called in mediæval times, "Memoria Romuli." Even Petrarch (see his "Familiar Epistles") unquestioning admits this to be the veritable sepulchre of Romulus; and under that notion, probably, was it introduced in the scene of S. Peter's martyrdom, among the relievi by Fila-

* Sante Bartoli states that the *scavi* in these Thermæ were made, under Paul III., by order of Cardinal Farnese, his nephew, and that they proved so richly productive of statues, bas-reliefs, columns, marbles of different species, besides quantities of minute objects—cameos, intagli, bronze statuettes, medals, lamps, &c.—that of these was formed the abundant collection in the Farnese palace. Nibby adds that "there remained, over and above, a great quantity of (sculptured) heads, busts, basso-relievi, &c., heaped up in two magazines within the same palazzo." (*Roma nell' Anno MDCCCXXXVIII.*)

† The costs of this transport were nearly 11,000 Roman scudi.—*v. Fea.*

rete (1441) on the bronze doors of the ancient, still preserved as the chief ingress to the modern basilica of the Apostle. That monument was taken down by order of Alexander VI. for the convenience of a new approach to the great church, when the existing street (now "Borgo Nuovo") was opened by him.

Such proceedings, many others of character analogous with which might be cited, may convince us that the Popes awoke gradually to the sense of a duty with respect to the guardianship and preservation of classic antiquities, after the general feeling of enlightened Europe had declared itself, demanding their compliance, and after public opinion, however little habitually regarded at the Vatican, had caused its voice to be heard even in those precincts.

That truly religious Christian Poet, Prudentius, rising above the mists of fanaticism, puts into the mouth of Constantine words, addressed to the Roman Senate, in which the imperial convert recommends the preservation of the art, purified from the superstitious usage of ancient times :

Marmora tabente respergine tincta lavate,
O proceres ! liceat statuas consistere puras,
Artificum magnorum opera.

(*Contra Symmach.* l. v. 502.)

But little did this bias appear in the ecclesiastical circles at Rome ; nor is it surprising that the Pastors of the Church should have desired to annihilate all pertaining to that apparatus of external agency and charms by which the Heathen Religion acted on the feeling or sensualism of multitudes. The first public work of importance for civic utility undertaken by any Pope, was the restoration of the city-walls, first commenced by Gregory II. A.D. 725,—projected, though not carried out, at an earlier period by Pope Sisinnius, who (708) ordered lime to be prepared for these buildings. Gregory II. undertook to restore the Eastern side,

near the Tiburtine (or S. Lorenzo) gate—a project, interrupted by political troubles, and carried out by that Pope's immediate successor, Gregory III. About A.D. 772, Adrian I., seeing that in many parts those fortifications were ruinous and their towers overthrown, assembled the peasants of the Campagna and the populations of towns in the Roman district, and the contiguous one called “Tuscia,” or “Toscana Suburbicaria,” and, dividing them into squadrons, assigned to each group of labourers the task to be executed, extending over a certain section, or curtain, of walls with the towers rising at intervals. More important were the completely new fortifications built round S. Peter's and its purlieus (the “Borgo” quarter), and forming, in fact, a separate city, called from its founder *Civitas Leoniana*. In the year 846 the Saracens, sailing from Ostia up the Tiber, devastated the Roman environs, and pillaged the two great basilicas, S. Peter's and S. Paul's, both then extramural. In 847 was elected Pope Leo IV., an energetic as well as truly religious man, who proposed to himself the main objects of replacing the incalculable losses, and repairing the immense damage inflicted by those Moslem invaders on the chief cathedrals; also a general restoration of the city-walls, and erecting of new fortifications to surround the Vatican and its purlieus. The works for repair in other parts were superintended by the Pope, and two towers, on opposite banks of the river, were built where the Tiber flows through the civic limits on the south-western side, therefore commanding the approach from Ostia. The works for the new, the “Leonine,” city, were commenced A.D. 848, and completed before the 27th June, 852. On that day, appointed for the inauguration, the saintly Pontiff led a long procession of Cardinals, Prelates, and all the Roman Clergy round the entire cincture, all walking bare-footed, their heads strewn with ashes. Prelates sprinkled

holy water on the new walls, and at each of the gates the Pope recited, not without tears, a prayer composed by himself.

Thus arose the "Leonine City," the ruins of which, now mouldering curtains of walls, with a few lofty round towers in the Vatican gardens, but better preserved where used for supporting the covered corridor between that palace and the S. Angelo castle, now form a picturesque accessory, rising behind the heavy masses of the Vatican architecture, and transporting our minds from the modernized aspects and secularized spirit of the XVI. century Pontificate back to the more apostolic and noble-minded Pontiffs of old time, and the strongly contrasted circumstances of the historic scene amidst which they lived.

The deliberate destruction of antiquities in Mediæval Rome seems to have been continued unsparingly, systematically till towards the close of that period assumed to comprise the ages called "middle." Aqueducts fell into ruin, perhaps through natural decay rather than the violence of man (excepting the injuries done to them in order to stop the water supply during the Gothic siege), during, or soon after, the IX. century. The Fora of Nerva and Trajan were still adorned with edifices, beautiful no doubt, however ruinous, till the X. century, when those classic remains were swept away, probably during the tumults and anarchy attending the infamous domination of the Counts of Tusculum, of Theodora and Marozia. In the XI. century (1084) occurred the tremendous disaster of the conflagration kindled by the Normans whom Robert Guiscard led to the rescue of the heroic Pope Gregory VII., then a prisoner in S. Angelo after Rome had been besieged and occupied by Henry IV. Accounts vary; but all testimonies agree in stating that that fire swept over the entire region from the Capitol to the Lateran—therefore comprising the whole

Roman Forum, and (probably) the two other above-named Fora of Imperial origin.

We find proof that, during these ages, the care of ancient monuments, at least the claim to the right of determining and decreeing for the object of their conservation, belonged to the Magistracy, not to the Popes. In 1162 the "Roman Senate" bestowed the Column of Trajan on the neighbouring monastery of S. Ciriaco, no longer extant; and at the same time decreed the penalty of death, besides confiscation of property, for the offence of deliberately damaging that sculptured column. An epigraph in curious Latinity is seen on the old walls, now closed, at the Porta Metronia, recording a restoration of the civic defences in that part by the Senate; the date 1157; this inscription being headed by a mutilated name of a reigning Emperor, one whole line capable of being restored as: R. D. N. FRIDERICO S^A G^L.—and filled up as *Regnante Domino nostro Frederico Semper Augusto Gloriosissimo*—the name (Frederick I. "Barbarossa") having been probably cancelled after that potentate had been excommunicated. It is note-worthy that the German Emperor, not the Pope (Adrian IV.), is the sovereign here named, and with loyal deference.

The picture of this city in its monumental aspects, and the condition of its classical antiquities in the XV., XVI. and XVII. centuries, may be contemplated in the pages of writers describing what they saw.

Following the guidance of Flavio Biondo, and endeavouring to identify the sites of the much maltreated monuments he mentions, we become sadly bewildered, at a loss to account for the total disappearance, or at present metamorphosed state of antiquities which rise before the mind's eye through the assistance his pages afford to imagination. Among things now lost—violently destroyed as we must suppose—he describes the vaulted halls of the Ther-

mæ of Alexander Severus in the purlieus of the Corso ; other extensive ruins, which he supposes to be the Thermæ of Domitian, spreading around the Convent of S. Sylvester ; and, nearer to the northern limit of that Corso street, “immense substructions,” still visible though a stately palace had been raised amidst these now vanished heaps of forgotten ruin for a Cardinal, in the XIV. century. On the high ground of the Quirinal this writer saw, as he describes, the portico and erect statues of the Thermæ founded by Constantine, all extant remains of which, excepting the effigies of that Emperor and his son, now placed on pedestals above the balustrades of the Capitoline stairs, are now buried, and for ever lost to view, below the cellars of the Rospigliosi palace. The ruins now before us in the pleasant valley of gardens between the Quirinal and Pincian hills—a spot known as the “Gardens of Sallust”—are still picturesque, overgrown by ivy and underwood, and with gaping arcades half concealed by forest-trees in many parts ; but nothing here before us at this day corresponds to Biondo’s description of these remains of imperial buildings as, in his words, “marvellous and stupendous ruins.” Nor, on the Esquiline hill, do we see any shadow now cast by the lofty arched halls once overlooking or surrounding the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli, and which (with error not so surprising as many others on the part of well-known archæologists at Rome) Biondo assumed to be no other than the Curiae Veteres.

For the XVI. century we have the reports of Onofrio Panvinio, and those still more circumstantial, though in language of naïve brevity, by the sculptor Flaminio Vacca ; for the XVII. the learned pages of Fabricius, of the Scottish Dempster, and other *savans*. The first named writer describes the now totally lost remains of the Thermæ of Nero, near the S. Eustachio church and the Sapienza University, as

arcus altissimi ("most lofty arcades"), and the ruins of Domitian's Thermæ (alike vanished) which were seen by him, conspicuous near the Porta Pinciana, with remains of paintings on their inner walls. In the ruins of Agrippa's Thermæ, still extant, though reduced to the remnant of a single vaulted hall behind the Pantheon, Fabricius saw ranks of seats rising like those of a theatre (*sedilia scamnorum ordinis*), and remains of vitreous mosaic. The Thermæ of Diocletian are described by him as so imposing that we must conclude that those ruins retained far more classic magnificence, extending over greater space, at that period than at present—still prominent and striking as they are at this day, while monasteries, churches, prisons, rise amidst and conceal to such a degree the "skeleton of the majestic form."

Nothing is before us at this day of the ruins he saw between the churches of *S. Niccolo in Carcere* and *S. Maria in Portico*—those, namely, of the beautiful sculpture-adorned Portico of Octavia, still represented indeed by the remnants of its colonnades and pediments above the small church, *S. Angelo in Pescaria*, near the gloomy old fish-market.

The fatal dispersion and incalculable loss of ancient artworks in Rome never has been, nor can be, accounted for. Among the most precious recent acquisitions for the galleries of classic sculpture, several—those indeed of supreme rank, as the Athlete with the strigil, the portrait statue of Augustus, the colossal Hercules in gilt bronze (all now at the Vatican)—were found through the researches, or works undertaken for building, by private persons. It is on record that at the end of the IV. century Rome contained 80 gilt bronze and 74 ivory statues of Deities, also 22 equestrian effigies (all probably portraits) of heroic size, besides two colossal statues, and the marble multitude,

groups and reliefs, in theatres, thermæ, and on thirty-six triumphal arches. A writer of the time of Justinian states that within this city's walls there were then extant 3785 statues, bronze and marble, of emperors, heroes, and other illustrious ones—without including the rest! The Greek writer Socrates (born about A.D. 380) tells us in his “Ecclesiastical History” (from A.D. 306 to 439), that the Rome of the V. century—after the siege and capture by the Goths—contained 424 temples, 17 basilicas, 16 thermæ, 19 aqueducts, 29 libraries, 856 balnei (baths less grandly developed than the thermæ), 1352 fountains, 5 naumachiæ, 6 arenas for gladiatorial combats and shows according to ancient usage.

The loss and dispersion of such artistic wealth, the demolition and decay to which so many antique monuments were abandoned in mediæval Rome, would have been impossible but for the moral atmosphere which then prevailed here; but for the non-appreciation of classic Art, and the total absence of that feeling, excited by historic or memory-haunted Ruin, which finds utterance in modern literature. Neither the antique nor the mediæval mind could enter into or appropriate, much less be guided by, such feeling. The Latin Poets of the Empire might have contemplated the ruined cities of Latium, Sabina, Etruria, might have wandered amidst the desolate remains of Veii, Gabii, Fidenæ, or penetrated many cavern-tombs, profusely adorned with the mysterious sepulchral paintings of the Etruscans; the sorrowful wrecks of fallen dominion, the decaying sanctuaries of ancient Religion were before the eyes of those Poets; yet how rarely is any sentiment to which such scenes or objects had given birth, expressed in their writings!*

* I might except the lines of Propertius, inspired by the spectacle of the ruined Veii, which, since the conquest by Camillus, B.C. 390, had been left deserted and abandoned to the natural process of decay for 343

Having noticed the shortcomings of the Popes, in ages long past, with regard to the claims of Antiquity, I may now turn to a more agreeable subject, desirous of doing justice to their efforts and liberality for the preservation of the classic monuments under their immediate superintendence. In the archæological as in the political sphere the procedure of the Roman Pontiffs has been, generally speaking, uniform. An impulse once admitted, a principle once adopted, successive Popes have conformed to the intention of their predecessors, with consistency comparatively little affected by individual temper, or by the frequent vacancies and brief average term of occupation of their throne. Not till the XV. century do we, however, meet with any examples of that care for antiquities or classic art which has, in later time, deserved and won credit for the sovereign High Priests. The first stage in this new direction given to their energies, after their public works had been long almost exclusively confined to sacred objects, or the institutions of charity, was that of activity in promoting civic improvement, utilitarian undertakings, public convenience, &c.

Martin V. (1417-1431) set himself to the task of repairing, and where requisite rebuilding all the parochial churches in this City; and by edict enjoined on all Cardinals the duty of restoring, besides providing for the spiritual administrations of, those churches from which they took their respective titles. That Colonna Pope extended his cares further. Moved by the calamitous and squalid state in which he found Rome on his arrival from Constance, where years before Julius Cæsar distributed its territory in lots, together with that of Capena, among his disbanded soldiers;

Et Veii veteres et vos tum regna fuistes,

Et vestro posita aurea sella foro.

Nunc intra muros pastoris buccina lente

Cantat et in vestris ossibus arva metunt. El. xi. l. 4.

he had been elected, "the good Pontiff (says Platina), applied himself to the adorning and embellishing of the City, as well as to the reform of its corrupt manners; and in a short time it (the City) was seen in much better conditions; hence was he (Martin V.) called not only Pontiff, but also Father of his country." Eugenius IV. (1431-1447) continued the undertakings for civic benefit and embellishment: caused the principal streets to be widened, and those in the Campus Martius (the populous quarter of modern Rome) for the first time paved. His meritorious cares for the Pantheon, and the disencumbering of its noble portico, (*v.* Flavio Biondo) I have mentioned. Nicholas V. (1447-1455), a man of elevated character and enlightened mind, undertook greater monumental works than any of his predecessors had even projected: *e.g.* the new St. Peter's basilica, and a new Vatican palace, where the entire Curia and College of Cardinals might have residence. He lived to see but the first few stone-courses of the basilica commenced by the architect Rossellini, and the completion in the pontifical palace of two additional chapels, besides an ample wing of the buildings begun in his time, but left unfinished till the pontificate of Alexander VI. Paul II. (1464-1471), who loved magnificence, and built for himself, when Cardinal, the most beautiful palace yet seen in Christian Rome (now "Palazzo di Venezia"), formed what may be considered a nucleus Museum of classic art (though not for public benefit) by collecting in that new residence, inhabited by him both as Pope and Cardinal, all the antique sculpture of which he could obtain possession.*

What must have been the profane excess of the despoiling mania, even later than this time, when such outrages

* "He ordered researches for antique statues throughout Rome, and that all such as could be found should be transferred to his palace under the Capitol."—Platina.

against sacred things could occur in the metropolis of the Church as called for the edict of Sixtus IV. (1477), threatening not only spiritual penalties but heavy fines for the then frequent offence of robbing churches, even the chief basilicas, of their marbles, porphyry, and other precious stones for the private uses of unscrupulous citizens—outrages which were occasionally perpetrated so late as in the time of Urban VIII. (1623-44), who renewed that edict, alike denouncing similar offences, and especially addressing the Clergy, secular and regular, who were culpable for thus maltreating the sacred edifices under their care !

Sixtus IV., more absorbed by political than by ecclesiastical interests, nevertheless proved a benefactor to Rome through means of public works—opening new streets, enlarging piazzas, rebuilding, levelling, &c. In the earlier years of the XV. century, only one out of the nineteen ancient aqueducts brought water into this city (*v.* Flavio Biondo.) Sixtus restored the “Aqua Virgo” conduits, the greater part of which are subterranean, and thus supplied the most salubrious of the waters brought hither in ancient times.* According to Platina, indeed, other aqueducts (that historian does not say which) were restored by the same Pope. Julius II. (1503-1513) may be considered, as observes the archæologist Fea, “the third Founder of Rome;” and that learned Abate vindicates for the warlike Pope who commanded at the siege and mounted the first breach in the walls of Mirandola—to a degree more than is allowed by Roscoe in his celebrated “Life of Leo X.”—the honour of originating and promoting many of the grand and praise-

* It is, in the opinion of some chemists, surpassed by the Marcian waters, the lately renewed supply of which is due to a company of capitalists ; and the first gushing of which crystalline waters, in a graceful fountain opposite the Diocletian Thermae, was inaugurated by Pius IX. a few days before the siege of Rome in September, 1870.

worthy works, the credit for which is commonly awarded to the Medici Pope, his successor.

It was Julius who founded the new S. Peter's, (1506), who chose, among many designs, that of Bramante for the great basilica; who first engaged Raffael to paint in the "stanze" of the Vatican; who patronized Peruzzi and Sangallo. It was through his prudent economies that Pope Julius was able to leave five million gold scudi in the Pontific treasury, affording means for that lavish expenditure which Leo X. carried further than any of his predecessors, squandering (as he did) 200,000 scudi on the pomps and decorations of a single occasion, his "possezzo," or installation at the Lateran! Not that we should forget the signal services to literature and munificent patronage of genius in every walk, on the part of Pope Leo. That tiara-crowned Mecænas gave 5000 sequins for the newly-discovered MS. of Tacitus, the first five books of the precious History rescued from oblivion in a monastic library. The Roman University had fallen into decay before his Pontificate. Founded by Boniface VIII., it was permanently established on its more modern basis by Eugenius IV.; and Nicholas V. effected still more, for the benefit of the "Sapienza," by engaging the most learned professors of the time for its cathedræ. Paul II. and Sixtus IV. imitated, though they did not equal, the munificence so well applied by the estimable Pope Nicholas.* Alexander VI. amplified and completed the University buildings. Leo X. gave new life to this institution, whose revenues, long ill-administered, had been at last alienated; he invited on handsome terms the ablest professors in Europe; and lectures were thenceforth given to Roman students from the newly-established chairs of Moral Philosophy, Rhetoric, Logic, Mathematica. Leo X. conferred on Raffael the office of Chief-Commissary for archæological works, assigning to him the *surveillance*

* v. Tiraboschi, who enters fully into this subject.

over and acquisition of Antiques, whilst all who might discover such objects were charged to make report to him within three days, under a penalty of from 100 to 300 gold scudi. The sphere of Raffael's duties and responsibilities extended over a radius of ten miles around, as well as the whole interior of, the City.

Humanity and Civilization might sympathise with the unfortunate Clement VII., when, returning from his sorrowful exile at Orvieto, after his flight from the S. Angelo castle, he wept over the misery and ruin—the traces apparent in his desolated metropolis—of the outrages inflicted by the ferocious hordes of the Constable Bourbon, (1527.)* Yet we are assured that the vestiges of that terrible catastrophe—the siege, sack, and massacre by savage marauders fighting under the banner of the Catholic Emperor—were almost completely obliterated, as to the City's outward aspects at least, through the restorations or repairs actively carried on under Paul III. (1534-1549). That Pontiff, as we have seen, scrupled not to use the materials of the Antonine Thermæ for his own buildings at the Farnese palace; yet to him are due some celebrated edifices and many civic improvements: the Pauline Chapel and Sala Regia of the Vatican; the opening of new streets, as those between the S. Angelo bridge (*Via Paola*) and the Via Giulia, between the Piazzas di Spagna and del Popolo (*Via Babuino*). By him was ordered the removal of the noble equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius from the Lateran piazza, where it had

* On the day of the capture, 4000 victims, soldiers and citizens, were massacred in cold blood. Every church in Rome was pillaged; even the grave was not respected; and the sepulchres of Popes at S. Peter's were broken open, to rob the dead of vestments and ornaments! During two months did these outrages and horrors continue; and the entire amount of precious objects destroyed or carried away, together with other robberies, is estimated at twenty million Roman scudi.—See details given in "Il Sacco di Roma," under the name (perhaps assumed) of Giacomo Buonaparte.

been placed by Sixtus IV., to the summit of the Capitol, where it was erected in its present position by Buonarrotti. Pope Paul's biographers inform us that he did good in the way of demolition as well as creation—throwing down crazy old houses, and many of the narrow lanes called *vicoli*. Such demolishing works (not even churches being spared) were carried to the greatest extent in the preparations for the festive entry of Charles V. (1536), for which occasion was also made the staircase forming an easy ascent to the Capitol on the northern side. Out of gratitude for all he had done to benefit his metropolis, a statue of Paul III. was erected in the great hall of the Capitoline palace by the grateful Senate, 1543.

Pius V. (1566-1572) again restored the Aqueduct which brings the "Virgo" waters into Rome; also certain portions of the fortifying walls. Anxious for ecclesiastical discipline and rigorous reform of manners, &c., he ordered one measure advantageous to the effect of sacred architecture, though fatal perhaps to much that was interesting within sacred walls—the removal, namely, from all church interiors of the more conspicuous tombs, like mausolea, erected in the midst of their naves or aisles.

During the short pontificate of Sixtus V. (1585-1590) more was effected, through the efforts and abilities of that most energetic man, than had been accomplished by any of his predecessors in the longest reigns ever accorded by the term of life to a sacerdotal sovereign in Rome. Through those efforts was it mainly that this City became metamorphosed, exchanging its gloomy and mediæval aspects for those of modern civilization.* Sixtus

* Till the time of Julius, as a contemporary writer upon Rome describes, every Cardinal's house was a "tower"—that is, a strongly fortified castle; as were also those of the Barons and other magnates, from whose broils and lawless violence the citizens suffered so long and

did more than this. The change he wrought was moral—more than material: the almost unchecked and audacious license of brigandage in the immediate environs, the lawless ferocity and public contests of armed aristocrats and their retainers, the dangers to which life and property were constantly exposed in the streets,—all these evils did he provide against, and to a great extent suppress, giving the first efficient blow to a state of barbarism which rendered the social life of Rome a scandal and an exception amidst civilized Europe. The reforming Pope is said to have declared (in his emphatic words) to the Duke of Luxembourg, that in the time of his immediate predecessor, Gregory XIII., “Neither men nor women were in safety in their own houses, nor in broad daylight,”—*i.e.* at Rome.

Sixtus V. understood and projected the task of restoration in a sense all his own. He demolished much (as we have seen) without regard to the claims of the Classical or Antique; and if he desired to preserve or restore the monuments of Heathen power and genius, it was in order to connect them with trophies of Christianity; if he re-erected Egyptian Obelisks, it was to make them adorn the approach to cathedral-churches and to surmount their apices with the victorious Cross; if he repaired and freed from surrounding soil the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, it was with intent to make them serve as basements to the statues of S. Peter and S. Paul. He not only overthrew, in order to procure marbles and columns for S. Peter's, the beautiful, though ruinous, arcades of the Septizonium added by Septimius Severus to the Palatine structures, but

grievously. The aspects of many monuments and other buildings in Rome as they stood till the close of the XV. century, may be contemplated in the valuable sets of drawings by Sangallo at the Barberini Library.

swept away extensive ruins (probably those of Diocletian's Thermæ) for the purpose of enlarging his private estate round the villa built for him by Domenico Fontana (that architect's first work) in the valley between the Esquiline and Quirinal hills, where that pleasant villa, recently restored by its owner, Prince Massimi, is overlooked by S. Maria Maggiore.*

Sixtus V. had no bigoted aversion to antique Art because of its Heathen origin, like the well-intentioned Adrian VI., who when the Vatican sculptures were pointed out to him, a stranger and foreigner, newly arrived in Rome, turned away with the exclamation: *Sunt idola Gentium!* How general the taste for and practice of collecting antique sculptures had become among the prelacy and nobility of Rome in the former Pope's time, is attested in a now rare work, *Le Antichità della Città di Roma* (Venice, 1588), where are enumerated the private galleries besides those in the Vatican and Capitoline palaces; and the richest Art collections in this city, next to those two, are mentioned as belonging to Cardinal Farnese, to a Mgr. Carpi, to the Savelli, Massimi, and Altieri families; others in the Capranica and Mellini palaces being also remembered. It was by Sixtus that the sublime colossi of Castor and Pollux with their steeds were placed where they now stand on the Quirinal Hill, so finely grouped with the companion obelisk and fountain flowing into a classic urn—the original place of those sculptures

* The same Fontana supplies a full report of the public buildings and improvements carried out by the liberal patron who had raised him from obscurity; and in this volume he naïvely commends the Pope for such destruction of the antique, among other proceedings praise-worthy in his eyes: "The Holy Father (he says) has ordered to be pulled down (*ha fatto guastare*) the antique ruins which obstructed the approaches to S. Maria degli Angeli,"—i.e. the church built by Buonarroti among the scattered relics of those vast Thermæ.

having been in the Thermæ of Constantine on the same hill.*

Among that Pope's utilitarian public works, the Aqueduct (called after him "Acqua Felice," from his baptismal name Felix) is the most note-worthy. The continual labours of 2000, sometimes between 3000 and 4000 men, achieved this construction, imitative of those of Republican and Imperial Rome, for the same purpose of water-supply; but the arcades of the Sixtine Aqueduct look poor and mean beside the majestic ruins of the Claudian and Marcian. The new Vatican library, substituted for that built by Sixtus IV., and the printing press in the same palace, are among the foundations due to the fifth Sixtus; and the great wing of the pontific palace, the part where his successors have resided ever since, was commenced by the same Pope. We cannot certainly approve of his proceeding in the demolition of the ancient Lateran palace, residence of the Popes from the time of Constantine till the Avignon exile, and kept up as such even during their absence, but mercilessly condemned, without regard for all its historic memories and remaining art-decorations, to give place to the heavy and characterless edifice built by Domenico Fontana, under order of Sixtus, beside the ancient basilica. But the crowning glory of this pontificate was the completion of the cupola of S. Peter's, with the architecture of Giacomo della Porta, a work for which Sixtus devoted 100,000 gold scudi annually, and on which 600 labourers toiled day and night. The architect and builders calculated ten years for the time requisite. Sixtus answered

* The epigraph on a basement informs us of the original location of these statues, and of the traditions assigning them to the artists Phidias and Praxiteles: Sixtus IV., A.D. 1589, *hæc signa temporis ei deformatæ restituit, veteribusque repositis inscriptionibus, e proximis Constantinianis, in Terræ in Quirinalem arcam transtulit.*

that he would allow them two years, and demanded the completion of their task by that time. Within twenty-two months did the marvellous dome swell to the fulness of its majestic proportions, A.D. 1590.*

The Obelisks, a striking monumental feature of this city, were all (save one) restored and replaced where they now stand by the Popes. The first such achievement—the removal and re-erection of one of these mystic symbols of old Egypt's faith and worship—attended as the transaction was with more excitement, and more impressing to witnesses, than were any like operations, is in a peculiar manner associated with the memory of Sixtus V. That Obelisk which stands, finely effective, in the centre of the majestic sweep of the Vatican colonnades, is the only one, among all those extant in Rome, which was never overthrown or broken, being a monolith, 135 feet high, originally adorning the Circus of Cajus Caligula—called also "Circus of Nero." Its former place was near the front of the S. Peter's Sacristy, little more than 863 feet distant from its present situation. It has no incised hieroglyphics, and from the mention of it by Pliny (lxxxvi. c. xi. § 15) appears to be, though brought from Egypt by the Emperor Cajus, a Roman copy imitative of an Egyptian antique, namely, the Obelisk raised by the son of Sesostris, whom Pliny calls "Nuncureus." The earliest mediæval notice of this, long the sole erect obelisk in Rome, is found in the fantastic pages of the "*Mirabilia Romæ*." The writer mentions the then popular tradition that this Obelisk was the tomb of Julius Cæsar, whose ashes were set in a globe, encrusted with gold and

* Well is it said of this high-minded Pontiff, who has been so much misrepresented, and the history of whose life has been treated like romance: "*Il avait nobles passions, il aimait les livres, les arts, et les constructions.*" v. Baron d'Hübner's very interesting biography, "*Sixte Quint.*"

gema, on its apex ! He also transcribes the moralizing epigraph (which, seeing that he writes of things known to himself and his readers, must have been placed somewhere on or near the monument in question) : *Cæsar tantus eras quantus et Orbis, et nunc in modico claudis auro*. Petrarch also mentions it, accepting the mediæval tradition (l. xii. Epist. II.) Nicholas V. conceived the grand but impracticable idea of raising this obelisk on the shoulders of four colossal statues of the Evangelists, and placing on its summit a bronze statue of Christ bearing the cross. Paul II. and Paul III. thought of removing it to the Vatican piazza ; and the latter consulted Michael Angelo on the undertaking ; but could not induce him to accept the commission. Sixtus V., after conferring with many architects, preferred the project presented, with various others, by Domenico Fontana. The operations commenced on the 30th April, 1586, and the obelisk was raised to its actual place, in the presence of the Pope and an immense multitude, through the labour of 800 men and 140 horses, on the 10th September following. It is said that the business of the day began before sunrise, and that the last rays of the setting sun gilt the granite shaft and surmounting cross, when the momentous task was finished. Fontana was rewarded by the Pope with nobility, a pension of 2000 scudi transmissible to his heirs, 5000 gold scudi in ready money, and all the material (valued at 20,000 scudi) used for the operations. On that morning pontifical High Mass was celebrated in St. Peter's ; and after exorcism of the obelisk as a thing made impure by Heathenism, the bronze cross, containing a relic of the true "Crux Domini," was raised from a portable altar below to the apex, whilst the Clergy knelt around, and the choir sang hymns. The blast of trumpets, and roar of artillery announced the consummate event. An indulgence of ten years was granted to all the faithful who, passing before this consecrated antique, should

adore the sign of redemption with recital of a *Pater Noster*. Characteristic of the thought and intent of Sixtus V., and indeed nobly conceived, are the epigraphs on the modern basement: *Ecce Crux Domini—Fugite partes adversæ—Vicit Leo de tribu Juda*—contrasted with the original dedication on the shaft, in the name of one of the worst Pagan Emperors, to the memory of Augustus and Tiberius: *Divo Cæsari Divi Julii Augusto Ti. Cæsari Divi Augusto Sacrum*. The costs of this removal and re-erection were 37,000 scudi. Long afterwards (1723) the bronze ornaments, festoons and eagles, were set round the lower part of the monolith; and the cross at the apex was restored by another Fontana, 1702. In the Vatican library we see an interesting wall-picture of the scene on the piazza before St. Peter's, on the 10th September, 1586—curious for the details in the background, showing the then state of the unfinished basilica and pontific palace.

Next was erected (1587) by the same architect commissioned by the same Pope, the Obelisk on the Piazza del Popolo, which was originally dedicated to the sun-god, Osiris, by Rameses III. (the Sesostris of Greek historians) at Heliopolis, and may be assigned to date about 1550 years before our era. This was exported from Egypt by Augustus, and placed on the spina of the Circus Maximus, where it was exhumed from a depth of about 9 feet underground, the costs of removal and re-erection being, in this instance, 10,299 scudi.

In the same year, 1587, was erected the Obelisk before the north-western front of S. Maria Maggiore, one of two such antiques which flanked the entrance to the mausoleum of Augustus, and was brought from Egypt, as supposed, by Claudius.* It was exhumed near the church

* More probably by some later Emperor, seeing that Pliny mentions, as existing in Rome in his time, the obelisks placed by Augustus in the Circus Maximus and on the Campus Martius, and that of

of St. Rocco, (not far from the imperial mausoleum), shortly before the year 1527, at which date Fulvio mentions that it had been seen by him; and its neglected remnants were (it seems) left on the same spot till the time of its re-erection by order of Sixtus, and under care of the above-named architect. The modern inscriptions round its basement form a curious record of religious ideas—the key-note being supplied by the adjacent basilica and the precious relics there enshrined—alluding to the vision of the Virgin Mother and Divine Child beheld by Augustus on the site of the Aracoeli church on the Capitol; also to the universal peace which preceded the Nativity, and to the sacred cradle (*sacra cuna*) believed to be in S. Maria Maggiore, where that object is exhibited with pomp of solemnity and illuminations at Christmas.

In the following year was erected, also by Fontana, the Obelisk which ranks first with respect both to scale and antiquity—that on the Lateran piazza, originally raised by King Thoutmes IV. in front of a great temple at Thebes, about the year (as the learned in hieroglyphics decide) 1740 B.C., and brought from Rome, about A.D. 353, by the Emperor Constans, whose father, Constantine, had ordered its removal from Thebes, but did not live to see his purpose carried into effect. Constans caused it to be erected together with the other above-named obelisk, on the spina of the great Circus, where it long lay prostrate, broken into three pieces; and in the works for restoration it was necessary to cut off the lower part, thus shortening the monolith shaft (of red granite) by 4 palms. The actual height of that shaft (without the base) is 105 feet 7 inches; the whole height from the ground, 141 feet.* Since this symbolic

Cajus Caligula in the Vatican Circus, but does not mention any obelisks before the imperial mausoleum.

* The ornaments added by Fontana, four bronze lions, and the mount, (*a trois côteaux*) with the cross on the apex, are the armorial devices adopted by the lowly-born Pope Sixtus.

monument was first erected by the Egyptian King, how many Empires, Dominions, Institutions, Religions, have passed away! All the struggles and conquests of Republican and Imperial Rome recede into modern time before the venerable antiquity of this silent witness—but the Cross, the symbol now on its apex, is still dominant throughout the truly civilized world!* Among the epigraphs on the basement erected by Fontana, one contains an error against history, for it alludes to the adjacent Lateran Baptistery as the building in which Constantine received the purifying sacrament—though it is now well known, and might have been ascertained in the time of Pope Sixtus, that the first Christian Emperor set the bad example of postponing his baptism till he lay on his deathbed at Achyron, near Nicomedia, A.D. 337.†

The Obelisk on the Piazza Navona is one of those entirely of Roman work, and explained by its hieroglyphics as dedicated by Domitian, who destined it to adorn his villa on the Albano Lake. Thence it was removed, A.D. 311, by the tyrant Maxentius to the Circus on the Appian Way, founded by him and named after his son Romulus. Poggio Bracciolini saw it, broken into four pieces, among the ruins

* According to the interpretation of the hieroglyphics by Champollion, this obelisk is proved to be commemorative of the King Thoutmes, or Thothmes, who was of the 18th dynasty, the Moeris of the Greeks. It scarcely need be observed that such an antiquity far exceeds that of the confirmed date of the Exodus from Egypt, and even that of the birth of Moses. The proximity to the great basilica, long the representative cathedral of the Papacy, and entitled “Mother of all Christian Churches,” with the contiguous residence of the Pontificate during about a thousand years (I mean, of course, the palace destroyed, not that built, by Sixtus), adds another impressive association of ideas and memories to this primæval monument from Thebes.

† When exhumed in the Circus Maximus, 1587, by order of Sixtus, this obelisk was found about 10 palms below the surface; costs of the scavi, transport, and re-erection, being 24,716 scudi.

of the Circus ; and there it was left after that writer's time, buried deep under ground, till some period in the XVI. century. Fulvio saw it, again exhumed, in 1527. It was re-erected, 1651, by order of Innocent X., the architect being Bernini ; and that Pope's device, a dove with an olive-branch—poor and vain substitute of heraldry for sacred symbolism !—now surmounts its apex. The Obelisk on the Piazza Minerva is in its upper part alone Egyptian, the rest Roman. Brought from the East, it was placed before the temple of Isis, which is supposed to have stood near the site of the Dominican church, *S. Maria della Minerva*, opposite to which it now stands. It was re-erected, by order of Alexander VII., who assigned the task to Bernini, 1667, and one of that famous artist's pupils, Ferrata, sculptured the marble elephant, on whose back, with fantastic taste, this obelisk was raised, to stand as we see it. Its companion is the Obelisk now on the piazza before the Pantheon, originally erected before the same temple of Isis ; and after the levelling and polishing up of that piazza by Clement XI., placed where it now stands in 1711.

The Obelisk on the Monte Citorio, in front of the present Parliament House, was originally raised by the Egyptian King Psammeticus, in the VII. century before our era, at Heliopolis, with dedication to Osiris as the Sun-God. Augustus brought it to Rome, and raised it—again dedicated to the Sun—in the Campus Martius, destined as a commemoration of his victories in Egypt ; also to serve as the gnomon of a meridian. It is mentioned by the "Anonymous" of Einsiedlin as still erect when he (the German pilgrim) visited Rome about the beginning of the IX. century. It fell at last, and several fragments were dug up, one after another, before and during the XVI. century. Sixtus V. desired to re-erect it, but was prevented, owing

to the impossibility of finding the portions still wanting. In 1748 the buried remnant, the principal part indeed of its shaft came to light; and was re-erected by order of Pius VI. after being restored with granite pieces from the ruined column of Antoninus Pius, 1792; its apex now crowned with a globe and small pyramid of bronze. The damaged condition in which it was found showed the action of fire on its granite shaft; and it is conjectured that, with many adjacent buildings overthrown, or destroyed, it suffered from the conflagration caused by the Norman troops of Robert Guiscard in 1084. If so, this obelisk, with its traces of the ravaging flames, serves to determine the limits, variously reported, of the extent over which that tremendously destructive fire was spread.

The Obelisk on the piazza before the Quirinal palace served, with its companion now standing before S. Maria Maggiore, to flank the entrance to the Mausoleum of Augustus, near which it was found, with the other, and alike buried, in 1527. On that spot it lay till its removal and re-erection were ordered by Pius VI. in 1786.

The two Obelisks on the Pincian Hill were re-erected by the two Popes Pius—one, that so finely conspicuous on the terrace above the grand staircase ascending from the Piazza di Spagna, in 1788; the other, amidst the acacia avenues and flower-beds of the public gardens, in 1823. The former stood originally in the Circus of Sallust, amidst those gardens which became an Imperial property, where Emperors successively built for themselves. From thence it was removed in 1733; and the dedication on its modern basement is to the Holy Trinity, the church opposite, with front on the same terrace, being alike so dedicated: *Tropæo Crucis præfixo, Trinitati Augusto*—with such allusion to the relics set in the iron cross on its apex, those namely of the true “Crux Domini,” of SS. Augustine, Francesco di

Paola, and Pius V. This Obelisk also is a Roman imitation of Egyptian work, and probably of the period of the Antonine Emperors.

The other Obelisk on the Pincian is also of Roman workmanship, and is supposed to have been placed by Hadrian among the buildings and gardens of his delightful Tiburtine villa; thence subsequently removed, either by Heliogabalus or Aurelian, to the Circus in the "Horti Variani," the favourite residence of the former young Emperor, and the gardens and structures of which occupied the site where now stand the church and monastery of S. Croce, extending also beyond the adjacent city walls. This obelisk, after being long left prostrate near the Porta Maggiore, was placed in the Barberini grounds (though not there erected,) 1638. A princess of that family presented it to Clement XIV.; and it was deposited in a court of the Vatican till, at last, Pius VII. ordered its re-erection in the place where we now see it. From the sense of its hieroglyphics, addressing the deified Antinous as, "Antinous Osiris, Oracle", (or "Utterer of Truth"), it is supposed to have been originally dedicated to that favourite of the Emperor Hadrian in a temple alike raised to his honour—if so, probably at Antinopolis, the city named after him in Egypt, before its transfer, for another location, to the imperial villa. The dates on the basements of these two Obelisks are memorable; one (1789) coinciding with the incipient movements of the greatest revolution that ever shook the fabric of Society, or waged war against the Church; the other (1823) with the close of that Pontificate during which Catholicism was re-established, its influences revived and strengthened in many lands, and the Papacy restored to its temporal throne, with its former territorial possessions.

The sole Obelisk in Rome which was not restored or re-erected by any Pope, is that in the beautiful grounds of

the Villa Mattei on the Coelian Hill. A fragment only of the antique is, in this instance, preserved ; and the broken remnants of the original had been long left below the northern slope of the Capitol, on which hill it is supposed to have stood before another temple of Isis ; till at last the worthy magistrates presented it, in token of respect, to the Duke Mattei, then owner of that Villa, who placed it where it now stands, 1563. Amidst whatever surroundings, whether rising against the harmonious lines and masses of architecture, the basilica, the portico, or the palace, or seen in the vista of umbrageous avenues, soaring above their luxuriant foliage, the Obelisk is always a striking and appropriate object. It appears to solemnize the scene, and preserve the record of a religious thought from far-distant ages.

Turning once more to the XVI. century from this digression, we find even in that brilliant epoch of Italian Literature and revived Art, the work of decay continuing its havoc, in some instances quite unchecked, among Rome's antiquities. Andrea Fulvio describes as vast and imposing the ruins of the above-named Circus in the gardens of Heliogabalus—their structure extending near the S. Croce basilica and beyond the Porta Maggiore. They have totally vanished ! Such also has been the fate of a temple, with dedication perhaps unique—to “ Jupiter Tragicus,”—near the convent of *S. Lorenzo Panisperna* on the Viminal hill ; but fortunately two seated statues, admirable for truthful individuality, of the Greek dramatic Poets, Menander and Posidippos, were rescued from the destruction of that sanctuary raised to the drama-protecting god—these being now in the Vatican. Bufalini's map (drawn up in 1551), shows us a long perspective of ruins conspicuous on the Pincian hill, and extending over the ground now occupied by the Via Sistina and Via Porta Pinciana. They probably belonged to the buildings of some Emperor in those

gardens of Lucullus on the "collis hortarum," which became imperial property after they had been violently taken from their rightful owner by the infamous wife of Claudius, by her who caused his death. Not one vestige of them remains; nor is aught left of another edifice, a rotunda with domed roof, on a spot amidst the modern Pincian gardens, which structure was popularly known as the "hall of Apollo." In the Colonna gardens on the Quirinal we still see some remains of very massive and apparently rich architecture—the temple of the Sun, founded by Aurelian; but those fragments are slight and formless things compared with the imposing ruins described as still erect on that site up to a period later than the XVI. century. Some writers mention a colonnade below the Tarpeian Rock which they (it seems erroneously) supposed to be the portico of Pompey, adjoining the curia and theatre founded by that great leader. These, too, have vanished.

I agree with the Abate Fea in thinking that the XVI. century should be rather called "the age of Julius II.," than that of Leo X. In the influences proceeding from the Vatican for the benefit of art and promotion of great works, the former Pontiff set the best example. Julius may be considered the founder of the sculpture gallery in the pontifical palace; and what that collection was, towards the middle of the same century, we learn from an eye-witness, Onofrio Panvinio. It contained (he says) the Laocoon, the Apollo (Belvedere), the Venus, the "Cleopatra" (he means the sleeping Ariadne); and as he adds, "most celebrated for other ancient monuments there seen," (*aliquot præterea vetustis monumentis celeberrimus est*). Julius, when Cardinal, purchased the recently discovered Belvedere Apollo; also, after he had become Pope, the recently exhumed Laocoon group and the Hercules torso, called "Belvedere"

from its location in the Palace where all those sculptures were placed by him.

It was in the XVII. century that public and private museums, galleries of classic art, collected by Popes or Cardinals, developed here so fully as to impart new charm and attractiveness to the "Eternal City." From this period we may regard Rome as the metropolis of the "Belle Arti" in a now recovered, restored, and well-ordered aggregate. Then was erected and enriched with a celebrated collection of antiques the Villa Borghese, founded by the Cardinal Scipione of that family, nephew to Paul V. (Pope from 1605-21); but the art-collection in that beautiful suburban palace was almost entirely seized and taken to Paris by Napoleon I., who promised an indemnity of fifteen million francs to the Prince Borghese, his brother-in-law. The sculptures now in that villa have been, for the major part, collected since 1805, and principally obtained by *scavi* on the estates of the Borghese family—several from the Sabina district. The Villa Albani was founded by the Cardinal Alessandro of that house in the last century; and the owner availed himself of the assistance of Winckelmann for the purchase and arrangement of the sculptures placed in that residence. The Villa Ludovisi was founded by the Cardinal Ludovico of that family, nephew to Gregory XV. (1621-1623); its sculpture-gallery, as we now see it, having been arranged by Canova. Cardinal Ludovisi purchased most of the art works which had been placed by Signor Cesarini (above-mentioned) in his estate near S. Pietro in Vincoli, obtained by that family from the Borgias. The architect of the beautiful *palazzo* amidst the pleasant gardens and forest-trees of the Ludovisi Villa, a delicious *rus in urbe* extending over a portion of the wooded grounds once occupied by the Gardens of Sallust, and bounded by the ancient city-walls on the north and east, was Domenichino,

who adorned its walls with some of the frescoes there seen, besides the more celebrated wall-paintings by Guercino.

The nucleus of the Capitoline Sculpture Gallery is due to Pius V., who (1566) presented many antique statues and busts, formerly in the Belvedere Court of the Vatican, to the municipal magistrates. On the summit of the stairs leading up to that hill at its northern side, the colossal statues of Castor and Pollux were placed by Gregory XIII. (1572-1585) ; and his successor, the energetic Sixtus, added in juxtaposition the so-called "Trophies of Marius." Additions were made to the incipient gallery by Urban VIII., by Innocent X., and Clement XI. between 1623 and 1721. But Clement XII. (1730-1740) may be considered the founder of the Capitoline Museum in its later development ; he having purchased and bestowed, for the same museum, a most rich assortment of the sculptures belonging to Cardinal Alessandro Albani. Between 1740 and 1769 Benedict XIV. and Clement XIII. made other suitable donations. Pius VII. founded (1820) the " Protomotheca," or gallery of busts of Italian celebrities* in the wing of the Capitoline buildings opposite to that containing the ancient sculptures. The magnificent project of the Vatican Museum was conceived by Clement XIV. (1769-1775.) He commenced it, but left the full accomplishment to his successor Pius VI. ; and now arose, in grandeur and beauty, that marvellous palace of Art, the " Pio-Clementino Museum," to which Pius VII. made the addition called after him " Museo Chiaramonti," also the splendidly enriched " Braccio Nuovo," built from the designs of Stern, 1817.

Pius VII showed intelligence superior to the prejudices

* Also those of illustrious foreigners, entitled by their long residence at Rome to the honours of Italian naturalization ; and whose busts were formerly in the Pantheon, together with those of Italians—a few of the latter being still left in that temple.

of state and station by destining all the most valuable pictures carried away by French invaders for a new Pinacotheca in the Vatican, instead of replacing them in the several churches, in Rome and other cities of the Pontific States, from which they had been removed. The advice of Cardinal Consalvi supported that of Canova in favour of this project. The Vatican picture-gallery was enlarged by Gregory XVI., who placed it in a suite of rooms built for it by Leo XII. ; but a much more suitable *locale* on a higher storey was assigned for the purpose by Pius IX. The collection of mediæval paintings (the only one of such class that exists in Rome), which occupies a hall of the great suite forming the Vatican library, is due to Gregory XVI. (1839). It completes the series of artistic and antiquarian objects (many from the cemeteries called Catacombs) which now form the Christian Museum of the Vatican—most valuable for the illustration of the life and genius of ancient and mediæval Christianity—a Museum founded by Benedict XIV. (1756) with the collections originally formed by Buonarotti, Carpegna, and Vittori. The same Pontiff created a Commission charged with the duty of preserving antique monuments in and around Rome, also with the task of acquiring classic sculptures and paintings for Museums. Between the years 1805-9, and again after the return of Pius VII. from exile (1814), *scavi* and other works for disencumbering and restoring antiquities were carried out on the Forum Romanum and the Forum of Trajan, round the arches of Septimius Severus, Titus, and Constantine. The Titus Arch, more dilapidated than the others, unfortunately required more than the usual restoring process, and was for the greater part rebuilt in travertine (the antique being of Pentelic marble) by the architect Valadier, (1822), who removed the ponderous remnant of a great tower, belonging to an old castle of the Frangipani, which had shut in

and weighed down the beautiful monument of imperial victories. Another Frangipani tower, raised above the Arch of Janus Quadrifrons, remained, though but a ruinous pile, on its summit till finally taken down, 1829. Leo XII., preparing for the celebrations of the Jubilee Year 1825, appointed an "Apostolic Visitation" of all churches in Rome, whilst inviting their chief clergy and patrons to restore or embellish to whatever extent was desirable, and setting the example himself by restorations at his own expense at S. Maria Maggiore, of which basilica he had been Cardinal Archpriest. This Pontiff spent 24,000 scudi on other works and repairs at the Lateran Church and baptistery. In the January of 1825 he issued an Encyclica desiring all bishops to invite the faithful to concur with their offerings for the rebuilding of the S. Paul's basilica on the Ostian Way, destroyed by the fire in 1823. The task of collecting artworks for museums and restoring antiquities was zealously prosecuted by Gregory XVI., who founded the gallery of antique sculptures in the Lateran palace, the Etruscan and Egyptian Museums in the Vatican.

Hardly is it necessary here to mention all that has been accomplished, for archæological and artistic interests, for civic improvements and public works of almost every description, by Pius IX. Under his pontificate have been laid open the ruins of the Julian Basilica on the Forum and the far-extending series of mausolea, columbaria, and other tombs on the Appian Way. The massive and immense, though but partially preserved, buildings of the Tabularium on the Capitol have been rescued from baser uses—they had served for a debtors' jail in the time of Gregory XVI.—and appropriated as a Museum for the fragments of classic architecture from the Forum or other sites. The creation of the Christian Museum, consisting exclusively of the art and epigraphs from the subterranean cemeteries, in the

Lateran palace, claims for his present Holiness the gratitude of all interested in sacred antiquities and in the archæology of the Church. In 1855 were commenced the *scavi*, of such important scope and results, at Ostia. In 1866 were uncovered the remains of the quay and the port on the Tiber, near the declivities of the Aventine, at the spot called "La Marmorata," where immense quantities of marble, alabaster, porphyry, &c. wrought and unwrought, still lay, having been, untold ages ago, unshipped here for Roman use. About the same time were undertaken *scavi* in the Thermæ of Antoninus; also on the northern summit and slopes of the Palatine Hill—works limited to the ground occupied by the great buildings of Septimius Severus and the Stadium of Domitian. The beautiful (but much maltreated) ruins of the Portico of Octavia were brought more fully into view by the demolition of modern walls—and by the expedient of throwing back into the rear of the classic colonnades, previously in great part concealed, the façade of the church, *S. Angelo in Pescaria*, which had much obscured the architecture of the Augustan age. For this work the present Pontiff is known to have spent 6000 scudi out of his own private purse.

To the series of works for discovering the antique, well carried out under this same pontificate, and well rewarded, must be added the *scavi* in Trastevere which laid open the station of the 7th Cohort of "Vigiles" (or Fire-Brigade); also those (commenced by private proprietors) which resulted in the discovery of the beautifully painted and stucco-adorned sepulchral chambers on the Via Latina, about three miles from the Porta S. Giovanni; also those at the village of Prima Porta, eight miles from Rome on the Flaminian Way, which opened the buried ruins of a villa of Livia, and secured—a great prize—the noble statue of Augustus now in the Vatican. The Lateran Museum of

sculpture has received valuable additions from Pius IX., consisting of a suite of rooms filled with antiques from Ostia.

It would be foreign to my actual purpose to dwell now and in this place on the magnificent undertakings and public works of Pius IX. in the range of ecclesiastical interests, public charities, modern art, church-restoration, or adornment within sacred walls. I rather desire to point out the general merits of the Roman Pontiffs in their efforts for the benefit of mind and intellect, for the promotion of such studies, and satisfying of such tastes as have a refining and elevating effect. In a luminous manner has the Papacy (whatever its defects and abuses) asserted its claim to be considered the Patron of Genius, pledged to recognize the truth that, even though sprung from the darkest gloom of Heathen superstition, all creations of ideal beauty bear witness to the aspirings and immortal destinies of the human soul.

Yet it must be owned that the procedure of the Roman Pontiffs, with respect to things here in question among local antiquities, has not always been consistent or systematic. Such inconsistency and want of organization as one cannot but observe in Rome may be ascribed to the peculiar nature of that sovereignty, uniting opposite and hardly reconcilable elements, with which the supreme See has been invested. Wandering on the classic ground of its metropolis, we have alternately to commend the carefulness and to regret the indifference shown towards relics of the historic Past, which are more or less interesting to the whole civilized world. The Forum—that all-attracting centre—was scarcely touched for purposes of research below its surface till the XVI. century, and then only on the ground near the Corinthian columns supposed to be the Dioscuri Temple. Not till the present century—first by French authorities, next by Pius VII.—were any efficient labours

of excavation carried over much extent on that area. Still worse was the state in which the other Fora were left for ages: those of Augustus and Nerva had become uninhabitable swamps long before 1600, from which year, and not earlier, dates the origin of the streets now intersecting those regions. I have noticed the deplorable condition in which what remains of the beautiful portico around the Pallas Temple, in Nerva's Forum, is beheld at this day. The stately colonnade with lofty shafts of Carrara marble, supposed to be the temple of Neptune, which stood in the midst of the "Portico of the Argonauts," erected by Agrippa, is deplorably obscured—almost vulgarized—by the building up of the intercolumnations and appropriating of the entire ruin as the front to a Custom-house, here founded by Innocent XII. (1691-1700.) The great Thermæ were all neglected till the time of Leo X., when those of Titus and Trajan were in part cleared of soil and made accessible. The Palatine was left, during untold ages, a solitude of orchards, vegetable gardens, and wild growth, the imperial ruins almost entirely buried or otherwise hidden from view—as described by Onofrio Panvinio in the XVI., by Dempster in the XVII. century, and as Goethe also saw the Imperial Mount still desecrated about ninety years ago. Some *scavi* had indeed been carried out, before that time, by order of the Duke of Parma (1725), and later in the same century near the villa built on that hill by Cardinal Farnese, whose property, inherited from the Farnesi by the Bourbons reigning at Naples, was purchased from the ex-King Francis by Napoleon III. Most maltreated among all Rome's antiquities was the Colosseum, long used as a common quarry where the baronial families helped themselves *ad libitum* to building materials, till at last the happy thought of rescuing the grand old amphitheatre by consecration occurred to the Popes.

Clement X. founded a chapel (1675) in one of the recesses of an arcade; Benedict XVI. introduced (1749) the devotion of the Via Crucis, for which the Cross in the centre and the shrines with pictures of the Passion around the area were erected by his order. No repair of these ruins, nor any means for rescuing them from natural decay, had been thought of till the task was undertaken by Pius VII., since whose time works for restoring have been almost incessant in the Flavian amphitheatre.

It might have been anticipated that any other government succeeding to that of the Pontificate, and retaining durable possession of Rome, would adopt a totally different method, and organise works for the research and preservation of the Antique in this city on a plan never admitted, and of character suited to obtain its objects more speedily and efficiently than any that ever was admitted under Papal sway. And such has been exactly the case since the memorable event of September, 1870, which transferred this capital from a sacerdotal to a secular monarchy.

CHAPTER IV.

WALKS AMONG RUINS.

THE ESQUILINE AND VIMINAL HILLS, THE FORUM,
MAMERTINE PRISONS, BATHS.

THE manner in which new authorities pursue antiquarian undertakings in Rome is not less contrasted with former proceedings in that range than is the constitutional monarchy itself with the theocracy which has yielded place to it. About three years have passed since that great change; yet still are the older quarters of this city left in their old conditions. But when we quit the lower for the higher regions, reaching the heights of the Quirinal and Esquiline Hills, we perceive a new Rome rapidly springing up, with rectilinear and symmetric streets, large commodious mansions, a general air of cheerfulness and civilization—the genius of the nineteenth century, in fact, confronting the metropolis so little improved during ages of pontifical dominion—though (it is fair to add) much embellished under Pius IX. At some spots the scene, in such transitional circumstances, is curiously picturesque. Where once were solitary fields, neglected gardens, squalid cottages, with here and there a grey old villa amidst high walls, dusky cypresses and ilex-trees, the surroundings all rural though actually within the civic circuit and towered gateways, we now discern on every side the signs and consequences of wide-spreading innovation—the activities of the mason and the builder breaking up the ground and intersecting it with long lines of foundation-walls, incipient streets or habitations near to completeness. Large mansions of faded aristocracy or once wealthy prelates are dragged into view by the removal of their enclosures or uprooting of their

gardens—the metamorphosis thus effected around them being itself an apt symbol of the decline of the Past before the ascendant Present. On the higher grounds of the classic hills almost all available space has been purchased by companies; and at the beginning of the year 1872, 2000 new houses were in progress of building. The newly appointed Commission of Antiquities, to which the Government assigns a subvention of 300,000 francs per annum, comprises six assessors; and an engineer (Signor Lanciani, himself a well-known archæologist) is engaged to report weekly to the magistrates all things found in the range of the antique. Nothing of classic character can be sold or removed till after sanction obtained for so disposing of such objects. The earliest adopted projects of the Commission were: the uniting of all grounds on the Palatine Hill in a single estate for furtherance of *scavi* over the entire extent; the reducing of the Forum to its ancient level, and the opening of the (for the most part buried) Via Sacra as far as the Colosseum; the purchase and excavating of the Forum of Augustus; the complete disencumbering of the Antonine Thermæ, and reduction to their ancient level of the halls and palestræ throughout those vast ruins. External to the city the principal undertakings resolved on, and soon commenced, were those amidst the ruins of the Tiburtine Villa of Hadrian, purchased for *scavi* over their whole extent; and the resuming of the works at Ostia, commenced in 1855 by the late Government.

So many remains of mansions, more or less palatial and richly decorated, have been discovered on the high grounds of the Quirinal, Esquiline, and Viminal Hills, that we may infer the anciently aristocratic character of this entire region. One of the most magnificent relics of classic architecture yet found in Rome, is a marble pediment with exquisitely wrought frieze, Corinthian mouldings, and

brackets supporting eagles with thunderbolts in their talons, exhumed near the limits of the Prætorian Camp, on the side where its fortifications were demolished when the whole area of that camp was comprised within the new circuit of the Honorian walls, long after the Prætorian Guards had been disbanded by Constantine. In the neighbourhood of S. Maria Maggiore the scene presented by the incipient works and rapidly progressing novelties is most striking; and as one looks down from the stairs on the northern side of that basilica, the eye takes in a wide range where things new and old are contrasted. Mournful (to one remembering what this scene once was), yet picturesque and fraught with cheerful promise is that strange metamorphosis of the once almost uninhabited region, the wide solitary plateau, the garden-grounds, and valleys between the Esquiline and Quirinal. There stands the once secluded and still beautiful villa Montalto, with its classic portico built by Fontana for the Franciscan Cardinal who became Pope Sixtus V.—how changed since it was the favourite retreat of that extraordinary man, in his comparatively calm retirement of learned leisure during his predecessor's pontificate !*

Over a very ample area within the Roman walls is the Committee of Antiquarian Works empowered to extend its projects; and the undertaking of either excavations or buildings by private individuals on those grounds is prohibited. Looking at the map of this city, and describing an ellipse from north-west to south-east, we find that the space within that area includes the Forum, the Palatine, the Colosseum, the Circus Maximus, the Temple of Claudius on the Cœlian hill, and the Antonine Thermæ; also, though somewhat beyond the elliptic limits, the ground near the

* This mansion was the first work of the Cardinal's *protégé*, Domenico Fontana, restored by Prince Massimo, 1871.

Porta S. Sebastiano, where are several Columbaria entered from vineyards. Other classic sites, the Fora of Augustus and Domitian, the Portico of Octavia, &c., the Committee reserves for researches at a future period.

One of the first things effected by Signor Rosa, in his capacity as Commissary of Antiquities, was the uprooting of trees and plants in the Colosseum, a proceeding unfavourably criticized, for it divests those ruins of a most beautiful feature—all that garland-drapery and forest-shade which added so much to their solemn picturesqueness. Good taste might have pleaded, at least, for the luxuriant wild flowers and graceful creeping plants, which formed a “Flora of the Colosseum,” illustrated in a learned and pleasing volume by Dr. Deakin; but as to the trees of larger growth, they were undoubtedly accelerating the progress of decay, and, therefore with good reason ejected.

The works at Ostia, formerly directed by the Chevalier Carlo Visconti, were resumed under Signor Rosa’s direction, who rather endeavours to protect from injury all hitherto discovered remains of that city, than to extend excavations further on an already well-worked soil. Such precautions had been unfortunately neglected, and, in consequence, much damage done to some of the Ostian ruins not long after their disinterment. Other discoveries have, however, been made in the course of later works on the desolate sea-coast. A Museum of Antiquities, established on the spot, will henceforth be the place of deposit for valuable objects found at Ostia, almost all of which had previously been brought to Rome, those of special interest being placed in the Lateran Museum.

Among minor things noticeable within the city-walls, is the cleansing of the long disgracefully neglected arch of Janus Quadrifrons, and also of the adjacent *Arcus Argentarius*, raised by silversmiths and merchants to Septimius

Severus, his Empress, and their sons. On the latter monument, in part concealed by the contiguous church of S. Giorgio, have been more fully brought to light some reliefs hitherto almost hidden—among other subjects the small figure, on a pilaster, of a god, probably Bacchus, correspondent to the Hercules on the pilaster opposite.

There is a class of treasure-trove continually cropping up in freshly opened soil at Rome, which may be dismissed in a few words : cornices and mouldings, fragments of friezes and sculptures, more or less precious, remnants of painted stucco and mutilated inscriptions. To an eye familiar with these things, the redundancy divests them of interest ; but there is one centre, the Forum Romanum, where all that the labours of research bring to light must be priced at a higher value, where almost every antique fragment speaks to us of events or personages of world-wide renown. The project of reducing this classic region to its original level was first brought forward, but never carried out, during the short pontificate of Leo the Twelfth. Adopted and sanctioned soon after the late political changes, 1870, its accomplishment, directed by the new Commission of Archæological Works, has been steadfastly, though not rapidly, advancing ; and almost every time one visits the field of these important labours, the eye is attracted by some novelty of aspects, or objects newly added to things discovered, something that promises new light on topographical questions.

Mediæval ruins, among the classical here found so profusely, one of which former, a tower or castle, has been partly demolished since its recent exhumation, show us how the Forum was used and occupied after the fall of the Empire. The discovery of streams, partly subterranean, accounts for, and squares with, the various traditions of events taking place beside lakes or fountains : the poetic

legends of the Curtian Gulf; of the apparition of Castor and Pollux mysteriously announcing, beside the Juturna fountain, the victory on the banks of Regillus the moment after its accomplishment; also the earlier originating romance concerning the infancy of Romulus and Remus. The legend about the Dioscuri and the Regillus battle we may now associate with local realities, for we look down upon the lately uncovered channel of a narrow stream, beneath the Corinthian columns long regarded by most (though not by all) archæologists as the fane of the Divine Twins, raised in fulfilment of the vow made by the victor, Postumius, upon the spot where that vision was seen. A broader stream, flowing towards the Tiber, and passing under the pavement of the Basilica Julia, may be identified with the Lacus Servilius, beside which took place one of the atrocious massacres ordered by Sylla during his dictatorial reign of terror, when 7000 citizens were put to death in the Circus Maximus; 4700 more in other parts of the city, many being slain on the Forum—see Festus, who mentions this long concealed stream as “*continens Basilicæ Julii*.” The extensive ruins of that Basilica, founded by Augustus, and dedicated to the deified Julius, were laid open several years ago by works under Canina’s direction; they occupy, and form a limit to, the north-western side of the Forum. A multitude of antique marbles, friezes, broken sculptures, epigraphs, dedications on pedestals of lost statues, have been found here; the rich inlaid pavement has been restored, mostly with the ancient material; the ruined arcades of brickwork have been in part rebuilt for preservation of what is old, now mixed with what is new; the quadruple files of pilasters, dividing the interior like our churches, are re-erected to the height of a few feet, with modern brickwork—altogether a series of restorations much to be regretted and in very bad

taste. The openings of the partly restored arcades near the north-western angle are filled up with mediæval masonry, in which we recognize the remains of a church founded by Pope Julius the First, A.D. 337, and called after him (Pontific and Imperial dedications here coinciding) *Basilica Julia*.* Many remnants of marble decoration were exhumed here, in style Byzantine, with the cross introduced among details. A beautiful colonnette of flowered alabaster was taken hence to the Vatican Library. Vestiges of religious painting on the old brick walls, and supposed to be of the sixth century, were seen when the consecrated part was first exposed, but soon faded away. The "*tabernæ veteres*," of origin in the most ancient, the kingly, period, and subsequently converted, being at first mere wooden booths (from one of which, a butcher's stall, Virginius seized the knife to slay his daughter), into the offices of bankers and money changers, are now deemed recognizable in some massive structures of travertine, with the remains of a staircase, exteriorly to the western side of the arcades belonging to the Pagan, and built up to serve for the purposes of the Christian Basilica.

It is fortunate for those who wish to study the monumental with a view to establishing their connexion with historic records, that in the Forum the topographical generally corresponds to the chronological order. Beginning at the south side, under the Palatine declivities, and pursuing our way northwards, we find, first, the ruins referable to the last century of the Republic and first of the Empire; next, those of the time of Trajan and the Antonines; and, lastly, at the base of the Capitoline Hill, the Arch of Septimius Severus and the temples restored by

* Anastasius mentions this church as "*juxta Forum*;" the biographer can hardly be supposed to mean any other built by the same Pope.

that ruler, besides one restored by the rival of Constantine, Maxentius. Recently discovered ruins at the south-eastern angle, opposite the Castor and Pollux Temple (so-called,) are among the most interesting, and may be identified, beyond doubt, with the "Ædes Cæsaris," raised on the spot where the body of Julius Cæsar was burnt at his ever-memorable funeral. An altar was soon erected, afterwards a porphyry column inscribed "Parenti Patriæ," and, finally, a temple, often mentioned by poets (see Ovid, "Metamorph.," lib. xv., and "Ex Ponto"), and dedicated by Augustus to his uncle, the founder of the Imperial House. In the April of 1872 works undertaken on this spot brought to light, first, some additional fragments of the Fasti, other parts of which valuable series were found near the Dioscuri (or Castor) Temple in 1540. Soon was reached a quadrangular platform, with remains of a marble stylobate and massive tufa walls, supporting a formless heap of interior masonry, embedded in which, at the front looking towards the north, extends a semicircular tribune of stonework, like the later Rostrum still in its place beneath the Arch of Septimius Severus,—this (the newly discovered) being manifestly the "Rostra Julii," placed by Augustus before the Ædes of the deified dictator. At a distance, the ruin-heap to which this fane is now reduced looks like an earthen mound, rent by fissures, rugged and of irregular outlines; but on its summit we perceive the once levelled space for a considerable edifice raised, no doubt, on the spot where the ashes of the illustrious Dead were interred. The basements of seven columns (travertine) were dug up near the front of this ruin, below the Rostra, to which latter there was ascent by two staircases, just recognizable. The whole structure rises from an area paved with travertine, and raised by four steps above the surrounding level of the Forum. Excepting the fragment of a large cornice with dental mouldings,

no marble remains have been found among these ruins ; and we are hence led to infer that Julius Cæsar's fane must have been despoiled long ago, and deliberately, either by barbarian invaders, mediæval Popes, or unscrupulous citizens. The wealth of marble decorations, Corinthian friezes, fluted columns, bas-reliefs, fragments of colossal statuary, among the rest a gracefully sculptured altar, &c., which lie strewn around the lofty platform of the Dioscuri Temple, attest the superb character of that fane, and the exquisite, if redundant, richness of the architectonic style at the period of the two last known restorations here effected, the one by Tiberius, the other by Domitian, who renovated if he did not completely rebuild the edifice, founded A.U.C. 255. Much attention was excited by the discovery among the *débris* of an epigraph in small letters of archaic character, on what seems a cornice, giving the name *Romulus, son of Mars*, twice, with the words in a mutilated line, "De Cænensibus," no doubt referring to the first victory of Romulus over the Sabines of Cænina and their king, whom he slew. The epigraphy in this curious instance seems that of the imitative rather than genuinely antique—an attempted reproduction, perhaps under the declining Empire, of some record flattering to the patriotism and accordant with the superstition of the "Populus Romanus." The first discovery of the Consular Fasti, containing the list of Consuls from the year of the city 272 till the time when Augustus filled the curule chair, 721, was made in the XVI. century. They were found near the cella of the Temple above-named, a part of that edifice left extant till the seventeenth century, when all the inner ruin was swept away. No fewer than twenty different names have been given to those beautiful columns, the peristyle, which Roman antiquaries now agree in assuming to be the Dioscuri Temple. Niebuhr was, I believe, the first to advance the theory that those Corinthian

columns pertain to the "Curia Julia," or Senate-house rebuilt by Augustus, after being founded by Julius Cæsar when Triumvir, and dedicated to the latter by his nephew. Bunsen (modifying Niebuhr's view) refers those ruins to the "Minervæum," a sacred vestibule of the Senate-house, in which stood the altar and image of Victory, twice removed by Christian Emperors in the fourth century, and once replaced by the last of those who were heathen. Canina recognizes in those columns the Curia itself. We are informed that in connexion with that hall of august assemblage was the "Græcostasis," where foreign ambassadors used to meet, and wait till they could be admitted to audience by the Conscript Fathers—this locality being, probably, a raised platform, inclosed but roofless, as was also the "Senaculum," where the senators used to muster before entering the hall for deliberations. The recent works have brought to light a spacious platform, reached by a central and two lateral staircases, in front of the columns above named; this elevation being supported on the south side by massive and regular stonework (travertine), and on the north by tufa buttress walls, seemingly more ancient. May we not admit the conjecture, at least, that this is the Græcostasis? that the German *savants* may be right, and that, therefore, we see before us no less interesting an edifice than the Senate house with its vestibule dedicated to Minerva, of the Augustan age (restored by Domitian,) in the graceful colonnade beneath the Palatine, opposite the fane of Julius Cæsar? The deposit of the Fasti in such a building seems suitable,—a political record in the chief centre of political transactions. Behind the colonnade, and immediately below the Palatine, stands a conspicuous elevation in brickwork, of the best ancient style, with precisely such constructive arches, of wide span, as we see in the rotunda of the Pantheon. These great walls, if continued rectilinearly towards

the Corinthian peristyle, would approach it at an angle little distant from the southern extremity, or last column. It seems to me that the German archæologists and Canina have clearly proved the brickwork structure to be no other than that hall of senatorial assemblage, where was heard the voice of Rome's political wisdom, whence issued decrees decisive to the destinies of the Roman world. Here may we listen with profound attentiveness to the silent eloquence of Ruin !

Another recent discovery—the basement for a monumental work evidently of large scale, at a short distance northwards from the *Ædes Cæsaris*, may be identified as the support of the equestrian statue of Domitian so enthusiastically apostrophized by Statius (*Silvæ*, l. 1, Carm. 1), and important for determining topographic questions as to the sites of buildings in their position relative to that of the imperial effigy. The courtly poet, who anticipates duration for Domitian's statue coeval with that of the terrestrial globe—

— Stabit dum terra polusque
Dum Romana dies !

tells us that the colossus stood fronting the temples of “*Divus Julius*,” while the Emperor's father, Vespasian, and Concord (namely, the temples of such dedication on the Capitoline declivity) looked blandly upon him (Domitian in effigy) from the rear;* that the Julian basilica was at his right hand, the more ancient *Æmilian* basilica at his left. The imperial countenance was turned towards the Palatine and the fane of Vesta; and the expression here used, “*exploratas ministras*” (referring to the Vestal Virgins), may imply allusion to the destruction of that temple by fire, for the second time, in the conflagra-

* *Terga pater, blandoque videt Concordia vultu.*

tion, A. U. C. 512, mentioned by Livius and the elder Pliny. The horse, named Cyllarus, of the divine Castor, trembled at beholding from the temple of the Dioscuri the other more formidable steed on which rode the deified Emperor (poetically, not yet officially so honoured); while from the adjacent Curtian Gulf the phantom of the self-devoting Hero, who leapt into it, rose out of the subterranean regions to greet with reverential homage this last scion of the Flavian house, who would himself have accomplished a similar self-sacrifice, for the salvation of Rome, had the gulf yawned open in Domitian's time!

Most precious among all art-works yet found on this site, are two large marble panels, sculptured with admirable rilievi on both sides (a peculiar circumstance), and now standing erect on the spot where they were exhumed beneath the ruins of a mediæval tower near the column of the Byzantine despot, Phocas. Various conjectures have been advanced as to the subjects of those fine sculptures, which, on one side of each panel, consist of groups, evidently historic, with many figures; on the other, in each instance, of the three animals, a boar, a ram, and an ox, offered as victims in the Suovetauralia sacrifice at the lustral rites, when the Census was taken, and also on other great occasions—as at the founding of the restored temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (Tacitus, *Hist.* l. iv. 53)—the creatures being here represented with the fillets and garlands used for adornment of such victims. The explanation of the two groups first advanced, I believe, by Dr. Henzen in a paper read before the German Archæological Institute at Rome, seems to me the most satisfactory, and thoroughly accordant with the compositions in each case. In one rilievo we see a dignified personage standing on the rostrum, and promulgating an edict before a numerous assemblage of citizens, who all appear to listen with applause. Beyond,

or rather lateral to this, in the same composition is seen a figure, apparently the same personage, seated on a throne raised on a platform, a woman with a child in her arms, and apparently another (whose figure is now lost) led by her hand, standing before him. In this we may recognize a monumental commemoration of the beneficence of Trajan, in providing out of the State Treasury for the support of the indigent children, of both sexes, in all Italian cities—an act of public charity first projected by Nerva, and which won such gratitude for Trajan that the title *Restitutor Italiæ* was conferred upon him; an extant epigraph recording it in the eulogistic terms, *Æternitati Italiæ suæ prospexit* (see retrospective mention of this act in Spartianus, “Life of Hadrian.”) The woman before the throne may be intended to represent Italian mothers in the aggregate returning thanks, with their children, to the Imperial benefactor; the person on the rostra, Trajan himself. The other sculpture commemorates another proof of the benevolent spirit of Trajan—the burning, in his presence, of the tablets on which unpaid debts to the State Treasury, the arrears for a certain period, were registered. Several persons are seen bearing large tablets, which they are throwing in a heap on the ground, also a man whose arm (mutilated) seems raised in act of applying fire with a torch, standing near; and beyond, at the extremity, is a seated figure (the emperor) of which remains nothing but part of one leg. That the scene is the Roman Forum, is evident from the architecture in both backgrounds—the temples on the Capitoline declivity, the arcades of the Tabularium, still majestic though now surmounted and crushed down by the modern municipal palazzo, and also a triumphal arch, probably that of Tiberius, which no longer exists.* Another detail determining the locality is (in each

* The arcades, in one of these backgrounds, may be intended for a lateral view of the Julian Basilica.

of the two *rilievi*) a statue on a pedestal under a fig-tree, now headless, but still showing, thrown across the shoulders, the carcase of an animal, apparently of the porcine genus. It has been conjectured that this is the Marsyas; but the character of what remains is grotesque to a degree not suitable for such an individuality in art. It must, I conclude, be meant for the statue of Sylvanus, which also stood on the Forum, under a fig-tree, and as to which Pliny (H.N.) tells us that, because the roots were threatening to undermine the image or its basement, the fig-tree was removed from its neighbourhood.

One naturally inquires about the use and original position of these marble panels; and it seems a good conjecture that they may have served to line an entrance or corridor leading into the Comitium, where, of course, they would have been seen on both sides. The site of the Comitium itself, an unroofed but enclosed area, long disputed among antiquaries, some placing it at the north, others at the south end of the Forum, may thus be determined, or at least conjectured; the level below the Phocas column and not far from the Capitoline slope, where these marbles were found, may have been occupied by that arena for political assemblage. If able to decide as to this, we should not be far from determining the other disputed sites of the more ancient Curia, called Hostilia, and the Rostra Vetera. Three other fragments of *rilievi*, with mutilated figures, now placed in the Julian Basilica, seem to belong to the same series and epoch as those better preserved sculptures.

The fine characteristics of Roman art under Trajan may be distinguished by every eye at all experienced, in those interesting sculptures; and we may compare them with the other valuable illustrations of the same emperor's life, from his triumphal arch, but actually adorning the arch of Constantine. It is much to be lamented that the heads in

these *rilievi* are almost all wanting, not one being preserved entire. The hands and many of the arms are so cleanly cut off that we may suspect *malice prepense* (perhaps the fanaticism of the early Christians) to have done the Vandal work. We have no other antique sculptures in Rome which illustrate so admirably as do these the less familiarly known or brilliant episodes in the history of Empire.

Topographic details may seem trivial compared with the artistic monuments which commemorate history; but so long as the page of Horace continues to delight the studious and exercise the critical mind in all civilized lands, assuredly the idea of that genial poet, who tells of his walk and talk on the Via Sacra,—

Ibam forte Viâ Sacrà, sicut meus est mos,
Nescio quid meditans nugarum, et totus in illis —

will associate itself with that ancient way trod so often by triumphal processions on the Forum. Late discoveries have thrown light on this also. Standing on the modern, high above the original level of this classic area, near the arch of Septimius Severus, and looking southwards, we see an extent of broad road, skirting the Julian Basilica on the western side, and on the other side overlooked by the Column of Phocas, as also by seven basements for other columns or memorial statues; four of these basements having been uncovered by the recent works, the others previously. The pavement of this way is a bad specimen of mediæval work up to a point, near the *Ædes Cæsaris*, where we see the regular compactly laid blocks of a genuine antique Roman road. Before the point of junction between the older and newer, this way is crossed by the stream above mentioned, the “*Lacus Servilius*,” which cuts through it, without any bridge. It is evident that the ancient road, no doubt carried over that stream by an arch, has disap-

peared, and that mediæval restorers did not take the trouble to provide any bridge of enduring masonry, perhaps contenting themselves with a wooden one. May we not infer that this road, overlooked by the memorial columns or statues from those seven basements, as also by the Phocas column, is a branch of the Via Sacra, though hitherto it has been usual to place that way further along the Forum's eastern side? Admitting this, we may suppose that the road running along the western side is the older; the other, and newer, a branch added to the Sacred Way after the erection of the triumphal arch of Titus, under which, as well as under the arch of Septimius Severus, that later road passes. Under the last-named arch we see another specimen of mediæval pavement, an attempted restoration of the antique, lost to view beneath the level along which we walk, high above the area on which all the ruins stand. That road, still for the most part covered, would skirt the fronts of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, and of that converted into a church as SS. Cosmo e Damiano, would pass under the Titus Arch, and thence descending into the valley of the Colosseum, reach the arch of Constantine, deviating westwards. Among details lately brought into view, is a junction road, which, crossing the excavated area near the *Ædes Cæsaris*, would have communicated between the other parallel ways, both of which (I venture to suggest) may have been designated "sacra." The tradition of the numerous memorial statues erected on the Forum, both in Republican and Imperial epochs, is confirmed by the discovery of the large brick basements in a line with the Phocas column; and it is noticeable how conspicuous are the statues on columns in the background of an authentic bas-relief, representing the Forum in the time of Constantine, on the triumphal arch of that emperor. Classing that

sculpture with the two much finer *rilievi* referable to the time of Trajan, whose good deeds they commemorate,* we have now three antique presentments of the Forum at dates in the second and fourth centuries of our era.

The oldest portion of the horror-striking Mamertine Prisons attributed to Ancus Martius, and called after him,† is the most ancient among all Roman buildings still extant as originally constructed. The character of these prisons is best described in the words of Sallust.‡ Though the testimony of Varro (*de Lingua, Latina* l. v. 151), and other classical writers (Liv. l. i. c. 38, 56; Dionys. l. iii. 67; Servius, *Quæst.* l. xv. c. 32) seems to assign later origin to the lower than to the upper of the two subterranean chambers under the Forum, there are local features which lead rather to the conclusion that the lower is the more ancient, and that this was excavated out of the solid rock before the upper, the more spacious prison-chamber, could have been built. Some writers (Abeken, *Mittel. Ital.*) suppose the lower prison to have been originally a mere cistern, whence water was drawn up through the orifice, afterwards used for letting down captives who were condemned there to die. Ampère believes it to be a Pelasgic work, therefore the oldest monument in Rome, the Egyptian obelisks alone excepted, and called "Tullianum" not from Servius Tullius, the supposed founder, but from *tullius*,

* For full explanation of the subject of one of these *rilievi*, the beneficent provision made by Trajan for indigent children, see Pliny, 'Panegyricus,' 26, 27.

† From "Mamers," the ancient form of the name which in more modern Latinity becomes "Martius," or Mars.

‡ Est locus in carcere quod Tullianum appellatur, ubi paullulum descendens ad lacvam, circiter duodecim pedis humi depressus. Eam muniunt undique parietes; atque insuper camera, lapideis fornicibus vineta; sed incultu, tenebris, odore fœda, atque terribilis ejus facies.— "De Bello Catilin." c. liv.

a spring. Around this narrow dungeon the quadrilateral blocks of lithoid tufa project so as to give to its interior the form of a truncated cone, cut off at the summit by the pavement of the upper story—a detail which certainly confirms the theory ascribing earlier origin to the lower, later to the upper chamber. Only three sides of that terrific lower dungeon are built, the others being excavated out of the tufa rock.

The tradition of the imprisonment of S. Peter and S. Paul in these dungeons rests on no indubitable proof, but must be at least as old as the IX century, seeing that it is mentioned in the MS.—of perhaps an earlier period—left by the “Anonymous” (the German Pilgrim) at Einsiedlin, in which document is mention also of the fountain (*Fons S. Petris, ubi est carcer ejus*) which flows under the lower chamber, and is said to have gushed forth miraculously for supplying water to the two Apostles when they baptized their jailors, Processus and Martinianus, together with forty-seven other converts, fellow-prisoners, who had been alike influenced by their teaching.

But this tradition refutes itself, seeing that such a number of persons could not have been crowded together in a narrow cell, which has the measurement of only 13 Roman feet in length, by 20 in breadth. The consecration of these prisons for Christian worship is ascribed to the Pope S. Sylvester, in the time, and at the suggestion, of Constantine—for which see an apocryphal letter given to S. Jerome, and the “*De Rerum Inventoribus*” of Polidoro Virgilio. Immediately above the prisons stands a dim lit chapel of ponderous architecture, generally known as that of the Crucifix (*Il Crocifisso*): and above this rises the larger church of *S. Giuseppe de’ Falegnami*, built by the well-known architect Giacomo della Porta, 1598, for the Guild of Carpenters under the patronage of S. Joseph, which

brotherhood had met for worship in a wooden chapel on the same site, since the year 1537. By their orders the lower dungeon was paved, and its actual flooring in consequence raised about six feet above the original level. Benedict XIV. appointed the celebration of Pontifical High Mass in the S. Giuseppe church on the 6th day within the octave of S. Peter's festival. They who have been resident in Rome during those solemnities of eight days' duration will remember the picturesque and affecting rites, the daily masses in the dungeons only illuminated by faintly burning altar-candles, and attended by devout throngs, all kneeling in silent prayer, every morning during the octave which commences after the 29th June. In the lower prison we are shown a stunted column, to which it is said that the two Apostles were chained. Over the altar, here erected, a modern relief, in gilt metal, represents the baptism of the two jailors. On the descent from the upper chamber custodi point out one of those relics which even tradition condemns, and the official sanctioning of which only serves to compromise the Roman Church—the supposed impression of S. Peter's head, seen in profile, and made in the massive stone-work where a jailor brutally thrust him against the wall. The narrow cavity in the roof being the sole original ingress into this prison, the Apostle could not have descended those stairs, beside which such memorial of him is seen; and the pseudo-relic here before us may be classed with the impression of the knees of S. Peter in the church of S. Maria Nuova on the Forum, and that of the feet of the Saviour on the pavement of the Appian Way, now exhibited at the basilica of S. Sebastian.

The front of the Mamertine Prisons on the Forum was rebuilt, A.D. 22, by the Consuls Vibius Rufinus and Cocceius Nerva, whose names are inscribed on a massive cornice of

this structure, now seen within the modern building by which the ancient one—oldest among edifices overlooking the Forum—is entirely concealed on the outer side. Most interesting are the results of recent works undertaken and carried out by Mr. J. H. Parker, C.B., which have reopened and brought under notice several long-forgotten chambers of a subterranean building, evidently belonging to the same constructions as those well-known prison chambers. Among archaeological undertakings conducted by foreign enterprises at Rome, those accomplished, and the services rendered to antiquarian interests in the same monumental field, by the above-named gentleman have been in the highest degree important, and in every instance well directed. The labours ordered by him with object of discovering the full extent of the prisons erroneously supposed to have consisted of two small chambers alone, were commenced in 1868, with the assistance of Prof. Gori, a well-known Roman archaeologist. It is now made evident that the two dungeons, below the churches of the Crocifisso and S. Giuseppe dei Falegnami, cannot form the entire Mamertine prisons; and that a place of duration for offenders of every class had the extent one may suppose requisite for such uses in the capital of empire. Livius says of one of the unfortunate victims confined here: *ut in carcere instar furis et latronis—includatur*. We descend below an obscure court, entered from the Via Ghettairello, at a short distance eastward from the Forum, first into a vaulted chamber, dark as night, formerly used as a safe for butcher's meat, and measuring in length 12·82, in width 4·92 mètres. An aperture in the floor is the sole entrance to a lower, and still more dreadful dungeon; and from this chamber we enter another, of irregular form, a trapezium, the longest side measuring 5·56 mètres, having also an aperture in the pavement for communication with a lower

story. The floor has been considerably raised by heaped-up soil and *débris*, to adapt this interior to modern use, for the butcher or wine seller. Hence we pass through a gap, opened in brickwork walls of great thickness, into the first branch of a corridor, extending in two different directions, and arched over with a semi-hexagonal stone vaulting. The walls of these chambers are of massive tufa blocks ; the vaults of stone, mingled with brick ; but the corridor first entered is lined with brickwork of a comparatively late period. There are five of these prison chambers, reached by two entrances ; all the interiors lofty, with vaulted roofs, partly of stone, partly brickwork,—which latter may be of the IV. century, the latest period when the Mamertine prisons are known to have been used for confining criminals (*v.* Ammianus Marcellinus). Some narrow square windows in the partition walls may have served for passing food to the prisoners. A staircase by which we ascend from one and descend into another chamber, is probably among the more modern details. The corridor is of such masonry, in lithoid tufa, as attests its connection, and probably coeval origin, with the dungeons under the S. Giuseppe church. It is a narrow, gloomy, and horror-striking place, where one has to stoop low under the ponderous vault, picking one's way with difficulty over ground usually saturated with water, and after rains flooded over in some parts. Reaching a point where three passages meet, and turning round a sharp angle, we find ourselves near a low iron door, which opens upon the deepest and darkest of the prison-chambers under the Forum. The other branch of this passage, which we here quit, extends much further, under the arch of Septimius Severus to the channel of the Cloaca Maximus ; and this we may suppose to have served for disposing of the bodies of those who died in captivity—unless exposed on the fatal “ *Scalæ*

Gemoniæ" (which were in front of the prisons towards the Forum); these corpses being probably thrown into the great sewer.

Many victims whose names are on the historic page, perished by violent death in the Mamertine Prisons. Here did the Decemvirs Appius Claudius and Oppius commit suicide (B.C. 449); here (probably in the lowest of the prisons now serving for worship) was the unhappy Jugurtha, after being led in the triumphal procession, left to die of starvation, B.C. 104; here was the Gallic chief Vercingetorix inhumanly murdered by order of Julius Cæsar; here were the accomplices of Catiline strangled by command of Cicero, then Consul, B.C. 63; here were Sejanus and his innocent daughter put to death, A.D. 31; and here (according to the cruel usage on occasion of imperial triumphs) was Simon Bar Jonas, the defender of Jerusalem, executed after the Romans had achieved the conquest of Palestine, A.D. 70. The lines of Juvenal, referring to olden times when one place of imprisonment sufficed under the Kings and Tribunes, may allude to these dungeons, but imply less high a tribute to the humanity, or rather to the public morality of Rome in that earlier period, when we interpret them by the new light thrown on realities, and revealing the extent of the Mamertine Prisons, through recent discoveries.*

Since the late political novelties, we have heard not merely the assumed fact of S. Peter's confinement within these walls, but likewise his tenure of the Roman Episcopate, and his claim to be regarded as the Founder of an Apostolic See in this City publicly discussed. The advance of well-sustained arguments on the negative side—against

* *Felices proavorum atavos, felicia dicas
Sæcula, qui quondam sub Regibus atque Tribunis
Viderunt uno contentam carcere Roman.* —*Sat. iii.*

the possibility that that Apostle could ever have visited Rome—by Italian theologians addressing a Roman audience at short distance from the towers of the Vatican, was itself an event of high moral significance. The step in archæological research newly accomplished at the Mamertine Prisons, may be said to have occurred at the right moment, when such inquiries into the actually ascertainable histories of S. Peter and S. Paul can be pursued in the Metropolis of the Popes.*

The more the field of antiquarian research expands in and around Rome, the more do we see, built in every style, *Thermæ*, *Lavacra*, *Balnea*; and the more must we be convinced of the importance such establishments possessed to ancient Roman eyes. Proofs of this, in fact, pervade Roman literature. Many must remember the vivid picture of the splendours of the Bath in imperial times, contrasted with the rude simplicity which satisfied Scipio in his retreat at Linternum—see one of the most interesting among Seneca's letters (Ep. 89, l. xiii.). Even the stoic Epictetus, despising all superfluities, draws lessons for the conduct of life from the experiences, good and bad, of the public bath—see Chapter ix. of his "Enchiridion." Curious and complicated buildings, evidently for the Bath, have lately been brought to light on the south-eastern slope of the Palatine, between the Arch of Titus and that of Constantine, a site

* The recent discovery has led to new conclusions as to the probable origin and purpose of an enormous construction in *lapis Gabinus*, some portions being of travertine, which rises against the Capitoline Hill on one side of the narrow court, off the Via Ghetarello, from which we enter the long-forgotten prison-chambers. Previously those remains were considered as part of the Forum founded A.U.C. 708, soon after the battle of Pharsalia, by Julius Cæsar. We may now admit the notion that they pertain to the Mamertine buildings; but even as such they may have served for a boundary, on the north-western side, to the later raised Forum.

where nothing was seen previously except a steep shelving bank, divided into half-natural terraces, overgrown with grass and weeds, above which extend the gardens of the S. Bonaventura Convent among imperial ruins. The recent discoveries add a new feature to this scene, while linking the Forum and Palatine monuments with the triumphal arches and the Colosseum. Most conspicuous (though not an altogether new discovery) are several lofty piles of enormous regularly hewn stone-work, near the Titus Arch, now more fully displayed to view by the clearing away of soil. Some cumbrous walls of mediæval brickwork on this spot are remains of the castle built by the Frangipani, A.D. 1130, and called (because at one time used as a magazine for documents and archives) *Turris Chartularia*—a fortress which absorbed the imperial arch, converted by the Frangipani into a bulwark or keep, from the summit of which the mediæval ruins were not removed till that arch was restored by Pius VII. 1822. A front of construction in antique brickwork, propping up the slope of the Palatine behind these ruins, is now brought into view, together with the arched openings of chambers in three storeys, those on the ground-floor alone accessible, and still retaining their vaulted roofs, with painted stucco on their walls. We may ascend a dilapidated staircase to a high terrace above these ruins, whence is enjoyed an impressively beautiful view of monuments and churches, woody gardens and distant mountains. Below those more ancient buildings on the hill-side extend the structures, crowded together without apparent unity of plan, which, till lately, were buried under soil and verdure. Exploring this labyrinth, we find, besides the bath chambers, others, that seem to be vestibules or accessories of the “*balnea*,” with partition-walls of different height, few of the interiors roofed over, though some retain traces of olden magni-

ficence—prostrate shafts and colonnettes of green-veined Carystian and other marble, pavements of porphyry, serpentine, or *giallo antico*, &c. In several chambers the whole apparatus of the marble-lined bath is still seen, with descent by steps, and terra-cotta calorifers set in the thickness of the walls. A small hypocaust is at once recognizable by the arrangements for the furnace. Most conspicuous is one hall, larger than the rest, and still in part roofed, with a hemicycle like the apse of a church, containing a semicircular platform raised about two feet, an oval cavity being in the midst, lined with marble as is the platform-summit. Through this cavity passes a narrow channel for water; and here, no doubt, we have before us an apparatus for the hot bath, round which the bathers would sit on the marble ledge. The marble incrustation in this chamber is of the richest, Phrygian *paonazetto*, *giallo*, porphyry, &c. Some Christian lamps, with the usual symbols, have been found here; hence, and also from the rude masonry of the outer walls, the inference that this building was used for Christian worship, and perhaps in part re-erected as a basilica, the ecclesiastical record of which has yet to be searched for. The faithful may, possibly, have applied the arrangements of the bath, ready at hand, for the purpose of the Baptistry. At the southern side of these ruins, below a steep bank of earth, opens a descent by stairs to a dark abyss, into which, however, one may penetrate without torchlight; and at the foot of the steps we find a well of clear water, probably in part filled up. By whom erected, and at what date, were these bath-chambers, who shall say? The masonry does not indicate the best, nor the very worst period of the Empire. Private baths were not added to the patrician mansions of this city till the sixth century U.C.; and it was in the year 729 of Rome that the first *Thermæ*, destined for public use, were erected by Agrippa. Some

suppose that those chambers under the Palatine had no connection with the imperial palace, that they were public, though not gratuitous baths, especially for the benefit of the wealthier classes whose favourite rendezvous was the Forum or the Via Sacra. Publius Victor informs us that in the Regio IV. of ancient Rome, where these ruins stand, there were no fewer than seventy-five *balneæ privatae*, besides the “Balneum Daphnidis,” probably more important. Yet this Regio, called *Templum Pacis* from the fane built by Vespasian within its limits, was, though distinguished for numerous public monuments, the smallest of the fourteen into which the “Urbs” was divided by Augustus.

The amazing splendours of even the balnea for private use in imperial Rome are detailed with graphic skill by Statius in his *Sylvæ* (l. 1. Carm. V ; II Carm. II). One conjecture is that the baths recently exhumed below the Palatine may be those of Heliogabalus, the sole noticeable addition made by him (besides a temple of the Sun-god) to the buildings on that Hill—on the lower declivity of which these ruins may be said to stand. It has been conjectured also that some more massive structures, the remnants of a great edifice in stonework, near these balnea, but nearer to the Arch of Titus, may belong to that temple itself, raised above the remains of a more ancient one, in which the boy Heliogabalus desired to concentrate all the sanctities of Roman worship, postponing all other gods to the Syrian Deity whose high-priest he gloried to be.*

* In these “Walks” I propose to direct attention only to those ruins and monuments which have been either discovered, or after long oblivion brought into notice and into fuller light, as well as more facile access, through recent researches.

CHAPTER V.

THE PALATINE HILL.

A WONDERFUL fact in the great drama of world-history is the rise and development, from rude and obscure origin, of that Roman dominion which threw into shade all the grandeurs and triumphs of antecedent Kingdoms raised up for more ephemeral sway ; a dominion whose magnificence and potency led to the belief, long entertained even by the Christian mind, and against which S. Augustine argues effectively in his "City of God," that immutable fate or Divine Providence had allotted an eternal duration to the Empire whose rulers had their seat on the Palatine Hill. Yet there is another fact still more extraordinary, still more suggestive of reflection and enquiry, still more demanding the earnest studies of the Historian, Philosopher, and Moralist for its explanation—the irremediable Decline, the inevitable and tragic Fall of that colossal Empire ! Passing in fatal periphery through stages of profound corruption, paralytic weakness, and miserable decay, it expired with dissolution which presents the phenomenon of a two-fold death—that, namely, of the Western Empire when the Herulan King Odoacer deposed the young Romulus Augustulus, A.D. 476, and that of the Eastern, A.D. 1453, when the Moslem Sultan captured Constantinople, and the last of the Greek Cæsars fell in combat beneath the walls he had bravely defended. No comment on this historic tragedy was ever, I believe, so appropriately uttered as that (understood in such reference by Fathers of the Church) from the pen of an Apostle at Patmos : "I

saw an angel come down from Heaven having great power, and the earth was lightened with his glory ; and he cried with a loud voice, Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, —the mighty City, in one hour is her judgment come ; for her sins have reached unto Heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities ! ”

As the Forum and Capitol are the centres where we are reminded of the better and nobler aspects, the ancient institutions, sagacious government, and popular life of this City, so is the Palatine Hill the site where monuments serve to bring before our minds most strikingly the causes of Decline and Fall, as well as the characters and lives of those rulers responsible for so much evil, and though in several examples admirable and just men, in others presenting every most odious trait of depravity and guilt. Here we stand amidst far-extending ruins where historic knowledge enables us to see the stains of blood shed in sumless murders, the gloomy shadows from every possible crime, the deep dyed pollution from every imaginable vice. We cannot isolate those who reigned on the Palatine from the social sphere amidst which they stood supreme ; for the character and conduct of rulers, the traits which normally distinguish Dynasties seated on thrones may be deemed a reflection and consequence of the moral state prevailing amongst those governed by them. The crimes and licentiousness of the Cæsars and their Court would have been impossible unless criminality and license had poisoned the atmosphere around. Reading the lives of Nero, of Cæjus (called Caligula), of Domitian and Commodus, we may be less struck by the enormities of the Tyrant than by the proofs, displayed in darkest colours by Tacitus, Suetonius and Dion Cassius, of the wide-spread complicity, the participation in their worst follies and vices on the part of patricians and populace, of slavish courtiers, abject senators, and high born but infamous women.

The memories associated with the Palatine Hill, which probably derives its name from *Pales*, the protecting Goddess of shepherds and pastures, whose festival, the *Pallilia*, was celebrated on the 21st April (the day marked by tradition as that of the founding of the great City), those thronging memories of the Imperial Mount extend, from the origin to the Fall of the Western Empire, over 1229 years. Ascending higher in the dim lit regions of the remote Past, we are met by other associations rather of the fabulous than historic class, attaching to that celebrated site, and extending over about 530 years—namely, from the supposed period of the Arcadian King “Evander,” and the traditional arrival of Æneas on the Latian coast, till the origin of the Romulean city. Over the dimness of that far-off Past is thrown a light from creative imagination. Among the most beautiful passages in ancient Latin poetry is that in which Virgil describes the voyage, up the Tiber, of Æneas and his comrades, directed by Divine oracles to the foot of that Mount then rising amidst primæval forests and morasses, its summit being crowned by the rude citadel and sparsely scattered houses of the Arcadian colony; describing also the simple hospitality with which the venerable King receives those guests at a banquet spread in open air for a festival of olden worship, after which he conducts them over the wildly picturesque region around the Palatine of what we may call (accrediting earliest traditions) the Arcadian Epoch. “*Res inopes Evandrus habebat.*” (Evander had but a humble and poor state) where the Roman power finally arose, “equal to that of heaven itself,”* as Rome’s greatest Epic Poet declares.

Several fanes and sanctuaries, not forgotten, are mentioned as existing even in that far distant time on the

* — *Arceque procul, et rara domorum
Tecta vident, quæ nunc Romana potentia cælo
Æquavit.*—*Æneid*, l. viii. 98.

same hill; among others, the Lupercal, a cavern and adjacent grove where Pan was worshipped with Arcadian rites, and where sacrifice was offered till the time of Augustus. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, our authority for this fact, mentions a temple of Ceres, where women alone sacrificed, founded by the same Arcadians; and other writers tell us of temples to Victory and Good Faith (Fides), the latter founded by Numa, the former known to have been rebuilt by a Consul in the year of the City 458.

Passing to what is more distinctly recorded, and observing the coincidences of things memorable in diverse lands, we find that the accepted date of the origin of Rome, 753 years before our era (according to Varro), was the first year of the 7th Olympiad, sixty-one years after the rise of the Macedonian kingdom, sixty-seven years after the fall of the Assyrian Empire, thirty-three years after the overthrow of the kingdom of Israel through the conquest of Samaria, and whilst the Prophet Isaiah was raising his voice with inspired utterances at Jerusalem. But is that comparatively recent period, seven and a half centuries before our era, indeed the date of the original city, first founded on the Palatine Hill? Modern writers who have gone farthest in questioning the ancient historians, but to whom has been imputed more scepticism than (I think) they can be convicted of, draw a striking picture of the scene amidst which Romulus established his colony. Ampère—(see his *Histoire Romaine à Rome*) assumes the existence of nine primæval cities, or fortified villages, on the hills afterwards numbered as the Classical Seven: on the Capitol, *Saturnia*, founded by the aboriginal Latins, but mythologically ascribed to Hercules; on the same Hill, *Tarquinius*, an Etruscan fortress; on the Palatine three distinct cities, the southern summit occupied by *Palatium*, a Sabine settlement, the north-western by the ante-Romulean *Roma*, a Pelasgic settlement; the

intervening space by *Sikelia*, a seat of the Siculi, who finally migrated to the island still called after them, while colonists of the same race occupied the Aventine, with a city called *Romuria*, the Sabines being seated also on the Janiculum, and the Etruscans on the Cœlian, where they had an encampment named (like that hill itself) from one of their chieftains. Nor is this idea of the Seven Hills and their earliest occupants without support from Classic authority. Dionysius, who wrote in the time of Augustus, states that those Pelasgi who were not destroyed or dispersed in colonies, remained on the site where, in process of time, their posterity, together with men of other races, built the city of Rome. Elsewhere the same historian, recalling still earlier traditions, states that the first settlers here were the Oenotri, or Arcadians, with whom the wandering Pelasgi became allied; that still later came other Arcadians under a chosen leader, Evander, the son of Mercury and Carmenta (or Themis), who settled and built a village on the hill to which was given a name from their mother city, Pallantium, in Arcadia. Subsequently to these migrations came the Hercules (whom this writer regards as an historic personage, deified by fable) with an army of Greeks, some of whom remained to found a city, Saturnia, on the hill afterwards called Capitolinus. In the 432nd year after the Trojan war, the Albans, a mixed race of Arcadians, Pelasgi and Trojans, subsequently named Latins, built on and fortified both hills, the Palatine and Capitol, sending for occupation of them a colony led by twin brothers, named Romulus and Remus, who were of Dardan descent through Æneas, and allied to their own kings. Elsewhere this writer says: "If one desires to look into earlier reports, even a third Rome will be discovered more antient than these, and which was founded before Æneas and the Trojans came into Italy." He adds a fact indicative of the

rapid progress and energies of the new colonists : that the band led by Romulus did not exceed 3000 foot and 300 horse at the beginning of that leader's reign, but that when Romulus was cut off by violent death (37 years afterwards) the forces of the primitive city amounted to 4600 foot and about 1000 of mounted soldiery, to which census must of course be added the women and children. Accordant with these primitive traditions is the poetic testimony I have cited from Virgil. The venerable Evander conducts his Trojan guests over the wild places around the newly colonized Palatine, amidst profound forests which Latian shepherds regarded with awe as the haunt of Divine beings, of creatures who (to the thought of olden superstition) mysteriously wandered over.—

— dale or piney mountain,
In forests, by slow stream or pebbly spring,
In chasms and watery depths—

and amidst such scenes he points out to their notice the prostrate walls of two cities ascribed to antiquity remote even from the imaginary point of view in Virgil's Epic—“monuments of men of ancient time”^{*}—*ancient*, that is, about six centuries before the founding of Rome! One was a city built by “Father Janus;” another by the god Saturn; Janiculum being the name of one, Saturnia that of the other.

The testimony of Livius as to the origin of the Rome of Romulus, is confirmed through recently discovered remains on the Palatine only in so far as those ruins attest the existence of a small but strongly fortified city on that hill, built by a not unskilful people on the spot where the Historian places it, and with construction recognisable to the archæologic eye as of very early date. Yet is there one circumstance in which Livius is singularly contradicted

^{*} *Veterumque vides monumenta virorum.*

by the monumental evidence here before us. The remaining walls on the Palatine are of massive and enormous stone-work, laid in time-defying courses, but evidently reduced from their original altitude. How can we then admit that writer's well-known episode, narrating the sarcasm of Remus against his twin brother's rising city, and his feat of contemptuously leaping over its walls, which provoked his death-blow? As to the Servian and Tarquinian fortifications beyond the Palatine limits, even Niebuhr can regard those kings and their public works in the light of historic distinctness—for with the reign of Servius Tullius that historian assumes the commencement of clearly transmitted and generally credible traditions. I need not here consider how far the fabulous and mythological blend with the well-known stories of Romulus and Remus, and of Numa Pompilius. The latter, the beneficent civilizer of his people through religious institutions and established worship with rites and ceremonies serving to purify and console, rises before us, a nobly benign figure, in the historic page. Take away from Numa his Polytheistic system and his regality, surround him with obedient and industrious monks, instead of warlike, half rustic colonists, and we have a saintly personage who may be compared to S. Benedict amidst his primitive community on Monte Cassino. But we have, in the story of the ancient king, the additional and beautifully imagined episode (alien indeed from all monastic legend) of the oracular Nymph, the enamoured and celestial Egeria, waiting in the haunted grotto for the "far footsteps of her mortal lover:"

Himself a saint, a goddess was his bride,
And all the Muses o'er his acts preside—

as Ovid says (*Metam.* lxxv.) of this finely idealized character, this Patriarch among kings.

Legends are no proofs against the actual existence of the individuals glorified by them. Romulus was not a myth in the eyes of either Dionysius or Plutarch, any more than in those of Rome's native historians. The former conjectures that this city may have been named after a Trojan woman, **Roma**, who was among the companions of Æneas, and who married King Latinus ; but it seems more probable that the true etymology is from the Greek (a well chosen appellative for this place of high destinies) *ρῶμη*, valour or fortitude.

The seven kings whose reigns extend over the somewhat incredible period of 244 years, are said to have resided usually on the Palatine Hill, though the last two preferred the Esquiline ; and Numa's mansion stood contiguous to the temple of Vesta, founded by him for a worship already observed at Alba Longa before being introduced at Rome,—that Temple where he placed the ever-burning fire and gave office to its guardians, the much revered Vestal Virgins (originally but four in number), who dwelt beside their fane in an *atrium* (so called), which residence we might compare to a convent of nuns. Livius particularizes the site of the other regal mansion near the Temple of Jupiter Stator, the ruins of which fane are now recognized among others recently brought to light. Cicero alludes to the house of Tullus Hostilius, destroyed by lightning with that king himself as punishment for his impiety ; and Pliny mentions as extant in his day the house of Ancus Martius, on a spot (as his words imply) overlooking the arch of Titus. More distinct is the information we have concerning other edifices, particularly those of sacred character, in the regal period. First we have to notice the fortifying walls, the remains of which, still before us on the Palatine, suffice to shew that their builders did not want mechanical skill, however small the numbers assembled round their leader (whosoever that personage was) within the narrow limits of the “Roma

Quadrata" so well defended. In the midst, marking the centre around which the circumference of the walls was traced by the ploughshare to which were yoked a cow and an ass (according to Etruscan rites for the founding of cities), was opened a cavity in which various things deemed of good omen (soil from the respective native places of the colonizers, &c.) were deposited, and above which was placed an altar to the Manes and Telluric deities—this cavity being also called "*Roma Quadrata*," or *Mundus*. The primæval fane of Vesta was thrice burnt down and rebuilt, in the last instance after the great conflagration under Commodus. The atrium of the Vestal Virgins became the official residence of the Pontifex Maximus, where Julius Cæsar abode in that capacity. Livius tells us that the temple of Jupiter Stator was vowed, not that it was actually built, by Romulus, who thus pledged himself on occasion of his decisive victory over the Sabines led by Tatius; but it seems that the fane supposed to be still before us in ruins, was founded by the Consul Attilius Regulus, who renewed the vow of Romulus at a crisis in the war against the Samnites, A.U.C. 458. The extant ruins consist of an enormous mass of rude masonry, the substructure on which stood the cella now vanished. Another monument reminding us of the pious Numa is the Auguratorium, supposed to be before us in a ruin-heap now resembling a natural mound, overshadowed by trees, on a terrace near the north-western summit of the Palatine. The College of Augurs (created by Numa) made their mystic observations of the heavens from this spot, where also they resided. An inscription, once laid in the pavement of the Lateran Basilica, records the rebuilding of this establishment, after it had sunk into natural decay, in the reign of Hadrian, A.D. 137.* The

* Signor Rosa identifies the ruins in question as the Auguratorium, but other archæologists suppose them to be the Temple of Cybele.

Curiae Veteres, supposed to have stood on the declivity opposite the Coelian Hill, are referred to earlier date, and supposed to have been seven out of thirty such places of assemblage, where the thirty sections into which Romulus divided the citizens, used to meet not for secular business alone (as in the Senatorial Curia under the Empire), but principally for worship. Twenty-three such edifices were built elsewhere in later years, and on larger scale; but the seven antique Curiae were preserved within the ancient limits of "**Roma Quadrata**" for reasons dictated by the Augurs.

This institution has been compared to the Christian parochial system, and affords proof how much the religious element predominated in primitive Rome—a fact attested by Dionysius, who says: "None can name any city in which so many priests and ministers of the Gods were ordained from the beginning; for, without mentioning those invested with family-priesthoods, three score were appointed in his (Romulus's) reign to perform Divine service for the prosperity of the Commonwealth." The same writer says that in each of those most ancient Curiae were dedicated tablets, called Kuritia, to Juno, which were extant in his time—a detail confirmatory of the genuineness of some, at least, among earliest historic documents preserved till the period of Empire (l. II, 50). Among the sacred places in the City of the Kings, one of the most celebrated and often mentioned was the "**Sacrarium Saliarium**," a fane with residence for the twelve patrician youths forming the college of Salii (Dion. l. II, § 70), appointed to guard the Sacred "**Ancile**," or Shield which had fallen down from Heaven during a pestilence in Numa's time, and eleven other shields similar to which were fashioned by that King's order for precaution against the possibility of sacrilegious theft, or loss of that pledge of Divine favour. In the Vatican Museum we see a curious bas-relief of the measured and solemn dance with which,

while chanting a song in praise of Mars, the Salii priests carried those twelve shields round the civic walls annually on the 1st March. In their sanctuary was also kept the Lituus (augural staff) of Romulus. The Sacrarium was burnt down in the fire under Nero's reign ; but the singular fact is attested by an inscription (given by Nardini, l. vi. c. 12) that towards the end of the IV. century, therefore long after Christianity had become the recognized religion of Rome, the Sacrarium Saliarium was restored at the expense of the Pontiffs and Vestal Virgins. The heaven-bestowed *ancile* was classed among objects called (though not by any writers earlier than the V. century, and then only by one, Servius Honoratus), the "Seven Fatal Things of Rome"—(fatal, that is, in the propitious sense), which were, for the rest, the Palladium, or miraculous image of Minerva brought by Æneas from Troy, and kept in the Vesta fane ; the image of Cybele brought from the Phrygian Pessinus, in fact nothing else than a black stone, probably an aerolite ; the sceptre of Priam presented by Æneas to old King Latinus ; the veil of Iliona, one of Priam's daughters ; the terra cotta quadriga of Jupiter, brought from Veii after the conquest by Camillus, and placed on the summit of the grand Capitoline temple to the same god. Among monuments on the Palatine brought to light by recent researches, are some buildings of singular character, which it may be admissible to refer to antiquity higher than the Romulean period—one assumed by Signor Rosa (Director of the works on this Hill) to be no other than the arx of Evander's city, mentioned in the Æneid. Striking, and impressed with a character which inspires the awe we feel before the vague, the venerable, the inexplicable in relics of the remote Past, are those ruins of massive stonework recently rescued from oblivion on the north-western ridge of the hill, above the valley of the Circus Maximus ; and various are

the conjectures as to the origin of the same extraordinary structures. The stupendous strength of the walls (lithoid tufa with some admixture of travertine) suggests the idea, respecting the most remarkable of these ruins, that situated on the higher terrace, of a fortress, which destination seems also attested by the steep ascent, like a fortified approach with steps, from the basement of the hill below the ridge so occupied; this ascent, between walls of similar masonry and strength, having apparently been furnished with a staircase now destroyed. On the other hand, the narrowness of the interiors, the smallness of the chambers surrounded with the massive walls (now reduced to but a few stone courses) seem accordant with the character of a primitive temple rather than a castle—a cella, namely, with its outer court. The ruins on the lower terrace stand in the midst of such a court (the sacred enclosure called *Peribolon*), with which temples of first-class importance were usually provided.* Singularly out of accord with the general plan of these buildings, and suggestive of further inquiries into the secrets of antiquity, is the accessory of a staircase formed of immense blocks of travertine, carried along two sides of a quadrangle, but apparently cut off on another side, so that its original purpose is frustrated. This adjunct, at the northern flank of the principal building, has apparently been erected at later date, and with sacrifice of the structure partly surmounted and concealed

* Since the above was written the works have been carried on at the rear of this building, and nearer to the extreme western ridge of the hill. Here are now opened several roofless chambers with walls partly of *opus reticulatum*, partly of lateritial (brick) masonry. These interiors have been vaulted, and were perhaps connected with, or destined for the priests of, some temple. It is to be regretted that those responsible have not caused the works on the Palatine to be more energetically prosecuted at the point occupied by these structures of highest antiquity.

by it. Some conjecture that the paved area surrounded by steps may be one of those primitive oratories called Argive *sacella*, dedicated to the worship of Hercules, and consecrated as temples, though not being roofed buildings. Several of these were founded by, or at least attributed to, the earliest Greek colonists in the Rome of the primitive period—perhaps before the Romulean city existed.* Supposing that we have actually before us one of those Argive Chapels on the Palatine height, we may regard the ruins in question with the reverence due to immemorial Antiquity, to the religious traditions and rites connected with the infancy of mythologic systems, and belonging to regions in which the torch of knowledge can scarcely suffice to guide our explorings—at least till knowledge shall have more widely extended her conquests, more vividly kindled her light for our benefit.

The more numerous buildings of the Republican period, which I have now to consider, on the Palatine Hill, are signs not only of national progress and civic splendours expanding more and more, but also of change introduced in the established religion. In early ages the Roman worship was apparently (though polytheistic) free from the grosser superstitions, at least not yet degraded to the depth of that low idolatry into which it subsequently sank, and in which Christianity found it. It became henceforth idolatrous to the last degree, and especially prone to the

* Unless, however, we should refer these buildings to later origin, identifying them with the oratories erected by order of Servius Tullius in every street “to the Heroes whose statues are placed in the porticos of those chapels.” (Dionys. l. iv, § 14.) That King decreed, we are told by the same historian, that sacrifices, the “Compitalia,” should be offered to the worshipped Heroes every year, “each family contributing a cake;” the ceremonies for each festival to be performed by slaves alone, whose ministry was deemed “more acceptable to the Heroes than that of freemen.”

worship of female deities. Plutarch, in his life of Numa, bears emphatic testimony to the purer character of ancient worship among the Romans. That king, he says, conformably with the Pythagorean doctrines, enjoined on his people to reject the idea "that the Deity could have any form like created things, or like any type, whether human or animal." Consequently during his reign no image of a god, either painted or chiselled, was seen in Rome; and thus did a non-idolatrous worship continue for the space of 170 years before the later corruptions were known, or in the slightest degree manifest; all believing in those ancient times "that it would be sacrilege to represent celestial by terrestrial things." Within later epochs, after such purer practice and belief had passed away, we find the coincidental introduction of other novelties tending to corrupt and demoralize: the public display of homicidal shows, gladiatorial combats, first exhibited at funerals, afterwards on the Forum or in the Circus, for brutal amusement; also (fatal to domestic virtue and dignity) the practice, soon becoming ominously frequent, of legal divorce, though in ancient times, even during 520 years, no marriage had ever been dissolved in Rome (Dion. l. ii. § 25). Plutarch (see his thoughtful and eloquent treatise on the "Fortune of the Romans") observes significant tokens of national character and tendencies in the dedication of temples by this people. "Rome (he says) possesses a temple to Virtue, but it was not till late, long after the founding of the city, that it was erected by Marcellus, the conqueror of Syracuse. The Romans have never, even to this day, had any temples consecrated to Genius, to Wisdom, to Resignation, or Magnanimity; whilst on the contrary Fortune has here innumerable temples, alike ancient and splendid, profusely scattered over the regions and in the places most conspicuous." That writer enumerates the temples to Fortune: two on the Palatine under different designations, one as "Fortuna Idia" (the private);

another as "Fortuna *Ἰξεύτρια*,"—in the literal sense of the Greek, the "viscous, or attracting."

During this period arose on the same Hill several other temples, one to Jupiter, designated as "Propugnator;" another to "Dijovis," an ancient Latin title of the same god; also temples to Bacchus (see the poet Martial), to Luna, Orcus, and (ominous for the sanitary repute of this district) to Fever; besides a sacellum to "Viriplaca," a goddess whose beneficial office it was to bring to happy issue the comedy, or tragedy, of the Provoked Husband. Another sacellum of the republican period had origin in a story of the Preternatural, reminding us of the poetic superstitions native rather to the northern than the southern mind, and mentioned by Cicero (*De Divinatione*, l. 1, 45, ii. 32), by Aulus Gellius (xvi. 17), and by Plutarch (*De Fortun. Rom.* xiv. 5). Once in the silence of the night a citizen who was walking below the Palatine declivities, shortly before the capture and almost total destruction of Rome by the Gauls (B.C. 390), heard a mysterious voice issuing from the shadowy depths of the grove behind Vesta's Temple, announcing that proximate calamity, so terrible and overwhelming. In commemoration of this prophetic portent, after the predicted event, an altar and chapel were raised to "Ajus Locutius," or "Ajus Loquens," the genius of a "Voice." On the north-western side of the hill, not long since, was found, where it is still left in its place, an altar with a dedication in archaic Latin, which may remind of that seen by S. Paul at Athens, "To the unknown God;" this on the Palatine erected by Sextus Calvinus, a Tribune, about the date 124 B.C., and dedicated to a Deity whose sex was unknown; *sei Deo sei Divæ sacrum*, as the singular inscription sets forth. Canina supposes it to be a late restoration of that ancient altar which recorded the warning from Invisible Powers of the greatest disaster ever suffered by Rome.

Archæologists assume that an enormous stylobate, or elevated terrace, with remnants of a colonnade of lithoid tufa, near the Hill's western summit, belongs to the temple of Jupiter Victor, founded (v. Liv. l. ii. c. 29), in fulfilment of a vow made before battle, and in memory of conquest over the Samnites, by Fabius Rullianus, A.U.C. 459. In its cella the trophies and spoils taken in battle used to be hung—see Ovid's "Fasti," l. iv.—as we see banners, taken in victorious conflict by Catholic kings, pendent in Rome's churches at this day. Most important, and associated with the most curious rites among temples which rose on this Hill in republican times, was that of Cybele, worshipped here as *Mater Idea*, or the "Magna Mater," Mother of the Gods, and built expressly for the enshrining of her image, or rather emblem, brought to Rome, A.U.C. 548, in compliance with instructions found in the Sibylline books, from Pessinus, chief seat of her worship in Galatia. Perhaps there was no mistake in the Pagan belief that this stone had fallen down from heaven, seeing that it was, probably, an aerolite. The Temple was dedicated by M. Junius Brutus, thirteen years after that sacred treasure had been obtained; and now were instituted the festivities called "Megalesian," from Μεγαλη the "Great," a peculiar title of that goddess. The first theatrical spectacles yet seen in the City, thenceforth annually renewed for the same commemoration, were introduced in these solemnities of the oriental goddess; and thus did the Palatine witness the rise of the acted Drama in the Latin language at Rome. The miraculous emblem of Cybele was placed, probably within the mouth, in a silver image of the goddess. It was this, the stone extracted from the image, which used to be carried in annual procession and washed in the Almo, at the junction of that stream with the Tiber—a usage long kept up, with Phrygian rites, with frenzied Corybantes singing, dancing, and begging in a manner far from decent, as described and denounced by

Fathers of the Church, after Christianity had become dominant. The remains of the temple are supposed by some archæologists (see a small, but learned and interesting volume on the Palatine Antiquities by the Signors Visconti and Lanciani), to be before us in that mound of ruins overgrown with trees, mentioned above, and which others believe to be the "Auguratorium." Near this was lately exhumed a semi-colossal statue of a matron seated, now headless and wanting both arms, the draperies finely treated, and the figure, even in its mutilated state, distinguished by a dignified character—perhaps no other than one of the images representing the "Mother of the Gods" in her temple or its purlieus. The Palatine of the later Republican period became the site preferred for patrician residence. Many persons noted for their wealth, their social position, or their crimes (*e. g.* Catiline, M. Antonius, and Clodius) had their mansions on this hill; and here was born Octavius, afterwards known as Augustus, in the house of his father Cajus Octavius. We may forget all those patricians with their pomps and vanities; but it would be interesting to determine (as Sig. Rosa undertakes to do) the site where stood the house of Cicero, the roof beneath which passed the intellectual labours of that noble mind whence flowed the fountain of high thoughts, ever striving at the attainment of the absolute and the true, which pervade his pages. The great orator (we are informed) purchased for a sum equivalent to 437,500 francs the house built by Catulus, conqueror of the Cimbri, and afterwards inhabited by another famous orator, Lucius Crassus, who was blamed for luxury carried to excess deemed effeminate, because (singular evidence of the austere manners of the time!) he had adorned the atrium of his mansion with six columns of Hymettian marble, the first appearance of marble architecture in Rome.

We now arrive at the more splendid and eventful, as

also more corrupt and darkly distinguished period of Empire. We are naturally interested in such a man as Caius Julius Octavius, on whom the grateful senate conferred the name of Augustus, A.U.C. 727, who began effectually to wield sovereign power after the battle of Actium, A.U.C. 723, and was declared "Imperator" in the year 26 before our era. Affable and unassuming in manners, carefully concealing ambitious designs and the realities of power under a semblance of republican frankness and simplicity, the fortunate grand-nephew of Julius Cæsar was magnificent and liberal in all that concerned neither his person nor private life. He offered the amount of 1600 gold *livres*, besides pearls and jewelry equivalent to about 12½ million francs, to Jupiter in the Capitoline temple. He caused all the silver statues erected in his honour to be melted down, and the metal converted into tripods for the temple founded by himself to Apollo. All the golden crowns presented to him by I know not how many grateful cities, the aggregate value being about 900,000 francs, were offered by him to Deities at their respective shrines. This sagaciously modest Autocrat refused to accept the offered sovereignty for more than an interval of ten years; after that period resumed it for the period of five; again for another decade of years, and so forth during his reign, which lasted (dating from the victory of Actium) nearly forty-four years, or (reckoning from the triumvirate after the death of Julius) little less than fifty-six years. The site of Augustus's residence on the Palatine has been much disputed. It was in an early stage of his public career that he took up his abode on that Hill—in the year 31 B.C., his house, being the same which had formerly belonged to the orator Hortensius (the rival of Cicero), a plain dwelling of no great scale, with no marble architecture, no rich pavements in court or chamber, only five low pillars of Alban

stone (peperino) in the quiet atrium. Here did the ruler of the Roman world inhabit during forty years, sleeping throughout all seasons in the same bed-chamber. But transformations were effected in the course of time. After his return to celebrate with grand triumph the final conquest of Egypt, B.C. 27, Augustus purchased other buildings and premises adjacent to that house: one-third alone of the area thus acquired did he occupy for himself; another third he appropriated for a temple of Vesta, after the dedication of which the ancient house of Numa (what Horace calls "monumenta Regis") was conceded to the Vestal Virgins, guardians of the sacred fire still preserved in their ancient sanctuary—though as to this fact we are uncertain, some supposing that the fire was transferred to the new temple. Another, the third part of this area, was set apart by Augustus for his splendid temple of the Palatine Apollo, the site chosen for which had become sacred (to Roman belief) because struck by lightning. The Emperor (a citizen king we might call him) now declared that his enlarged mansion was for public use. Being appointed Pontifex Maximus, he assembled the sacerdotal colleges, which could only meet in an edifice professedly public, in the house thus developed into what accorded better with the supremacy of its master.

In the same year, 727, A.U.C. the Senate ordered two laurel trees to be planted before the front, and the civic crown of oak (reward for preserving the lives of citizens) to be placed over the chief entrance to this imperial *domus*. In A.D. 4, this palace was burnt down (or at least much damaged by fire); grateful cities and provinces were prompt with their offerings, which poured in from east and west of the Roman world, to defray the cost of another building destined to be a suitable home for its sovereign-master. Augustus would only accept one gold piece (equivalent to

twenty francs) from each civic population, and one silver drachma (less than a franc) from each private person of means. Thus arose renovated his last and more magnificent palace known as *Domus Augustana* till the V. century (see the "Regionaries"), and probably so long as it was possible to recognise it even in decay. This residence is described in enthusiastic terms by Ovid, in the *Tristia*, l. iii. El. 1, and again with courtier phraseology in the *Fasti* (iv. 949). Excavations directed and fully reported of by the learned Mgr. Bianchini (between the years 1720-24) led to the discovery of numerous subterranean halls and corridors, with vestiges of superb adornment and prodigal use of costly materials under the grounds on this hill belonging to the villa of the Duke Mattei, afterwards Villa Mills, and now a convent of Visitandine Nuns. Among art-works, eight statues of basalt, each 20 feet high, and fourteen fluted columns of Phrygian marble were dug up on this site. In 1775, a French Abbé, Raucourel, discovered other spacious chambers, also underground; these being the ruins Canina recognizes as the Augustan Palace. Again in 1825-26 works were carried on within the same villa, being now directed by the well-known antiquarian and writer, Antonio Nibby, who fully describes what perhaps few now living ever saw as he had the advantage of seeing them, the ruins of a magnificent edifice, which he, in common with other Roman archæologists, was convinced were no other than the Augustan *domus* together with the adjacent buildings (supposed to be still recognisable in ruin) of the Palatine library for Greek and Latin literature, and the Apollo temple, alike founded by the first Emperor.

Arguments are advanced in favour of the claims of other lately discovered buildings, more northwards on the hill, where we enter from an atrium into four chambers with paintings on their walls among the most beautiful and

delicate in feeling, as in execution, among all the specimens of such art left by ancient Rome. These buildings are regarded by Mr. J. H. Parker (not without well-sustained arguments) as the veritable palace of Augustus; by Signor Rosa, as the house of Tiberius Claudius Nero, whose son became the Emperor Tiberius. The Signors Visconti and Lanciani suppose them to be the house of Germanicus, nephew to that Emperor, and which certainly was preserved (out of reverence for his memory) long after his death. It is sad to learn from many classical writers how resplendent and rich in artistic treasures was the temple of Palatine Apollo, remembering how all its grandeur and beauty have passed away! In its cella stood the statue of the god, with his lyre, as leader of the Muses; beside him, Diana and Latona; and among other statues in this majestic fane were those of the fifty daughters of Danaus. Beneath the image of the presiding deity were kept in a gilt coffer the Sibylline Books—finally burnt in public by Stilicho, the General of Honorius, as protest against the Heathenism which still lingered in the Roman society of the V. century. The sculptor's art at its glorious zenith, whilst Greek genius still produced nobly and freshly from the plenitude of its inspirations, was represented, according to all accounts most worthily as well as profusely, in that celebrated fane of the Sun-god—the second temple hitherto raised to Apollo in Rome. We have fortunately to refer to a vivid description of the Palatine Temple by a poet who was present at the rites of dedication, Propertius (l. ii, El. 23); also another, in still finer language, by Ovid—see the Elegy above cited from his *Tristia*. In the adjacent library stood another statue of the Sun-god, an Etruscan work in bronze, 50 feet high (v. Pliny, H.N. xxxiv. c. 7.); also a statue of Augustus with the attributes of Apollo. That Palatine library is said to have been deliberately destroyed

—burnt down—by Pope S. Gregory I., in fanatic zeal of antagonism against every relic of Heathenism; but none, I believe, acquainted with the character and career of that truly great and good man can admit such imputation against him; nor was the strange story ever advanced till John of Salisbury devised and published it, as actually honourable to the saintly Pontiff, in the XII. century. We know that the Apollo temple met with such fate, being devastated by fire on the night of the 18th March, A.D. 363, on which occasion the Sibylline books were with difficulty saved (*v.* Ammianus Marcellinus); nor would it have further been required for the worship of the religion then barely tolerated, and at its last struggle with Christianity, in Rome. The library is said, by credible tradition, to have been preserved, undespoiled and intact, till the repeated sieges, followed by the capture and sack of the city, in the V. century.

The sombre, voluptuous, and remorseless Tiberius, more bent on establishing a permanent Pretorian camp at the gates of Rome, than on any undertakings pacific or artistic in character, is said to have inhabited the house of his father; and the excellent masonry of his time is seen in the extensive ruins along the north-western declivities of the Palatine. Suetonius mentions the disregard of Tiberius for public works (“*Neque opera ulla magnifica fecit*”); adding that all he did in this way was to found a temple to the deified Augustus, and prosecute, but not finish, the building of the Theatre begun by that Emperor, and called after the early lost and much loved Marcellus, his nephew. Deification, henceforth the usual posthumous honour paid to all Emperors whose memory was not held up to opprobrium after tragic death, now appears among ordinary facts of Roman history—a birth of obsequious superstition, resulting from unchecked despotism. Poets (even the great-

est of the time) did their utmost to confirm this creature-worship. Augustus had the wisdom to refuse divine honours when offered to him in Rome; but not the less was he worshipped in Naples and in Eastern cities. Statues and altars were raised to him by King Herod at Jerusalem; and a temple commenced at Athens for the worship of the Olympian Jove, was finally dedicated to the Genius of Augustus. The temple of this earthly god on the Palatine, dedicated also to Livia (his fourth wife) and finished by Claudius, (though consecrated by Caius Caligula), was twice rebuilt, once in the time of Antoninus Pius, A.D. 159. It seems to have served as the common *Sacrarium* (*Ædes Cæsarum*) of all the deified Cæsars except those still more conspicuously commemorated in temples dedicated exclusively to them. Whilst that in honour of Augustus was in process of being built, the golden image of the Emperor, destined to stand in its cella, was provisionally placed in another fane, that of Mars Ultor, founded by Augustus in fulfilment of a vow made by him before the battle of Philippi—this temple being situated in the new, the Augustan, Forum.

What could be expected for the benefit of the Arts in any form from the insane (but not irresponsible) tyrant who succeeded Tiberius, A.D. 37? One of the first steps in which Caius (called Caligula) betrayed the excess of his mad vanity, after beginning his reign with acts of clemency and fair promise, was to collect all the most precious statues of the gods, and substitute his own bust for the heads of which they were deprived! In less than one year he squandered all the wealth left by Tiberius, and said to have been equivalent to 550 million francs. Not satisfied with posthumous worship, he built a temple, and appointed priests to himself for its rites, on the Palatine; there set up his own image of gold, which was dressed every morning

conformably with the changeful fashions of the Imperial toilet. After his death, this building was probably destroyed. Caius made considerable additions to the palace of Tiberius; and now first did the Imperial residence extend from the south-western summit to the north-eastern angle of the hill, overlooking the principal Forum. The ground-floor story of the ruins at that point, which are still conspicuous, and contain some relics of graceful artistic decoration in fresco and stucco, seems (inferring from its masonry) of later date than the reign of Caius,—about the time of Hadrian. The former Emperor added to his other buildings some long porticos, or covered corridors, where he used to spend sleepless nights, pacing to and fro, a prey to remorse and fear, eagerly desiring the return of daylight—for the voice that cried, “sleep no more,” was audible even to his seared conscience. Recent works have opened a *crypto-porticus* on the Palatine, which may be supposed the actual scene of those midnight wanderings, also of the tragic death of the tyrant (24th January, A.D. 41), described in graphic terms and with horror-striking details by Josephus.* That historian describes the scene of the assassination as a corridor, “solitary and obscure (or dim-lit),” through which the Emperor was returning to his apartments, preferring the private to the more public entrance, about noon-day, after he had been witnessing some theatric spectacles (the *ludi Palatini*) in honour of the memory of Augustus. Here it was that the conspirators attacked him. Terrific is the death-scene which rises before the mind’s eye, when we remember the vivid description by Josephus amidst the gloom of that semi-subterranean corridor—fit

* A long vaulted gallery with skylight windows, and remains both of mosaic and painted stucco, extending between the buildings of the Flavian Emperors, on the southern summit, and those of earlier origin more northwards on the hill—the actual masonry, indeed, of style proper to a later period—perhaps rebuilt after the death of Caius.

scene to be haunted by the ghosts of the guilty Dead! The supernatural, the spectres evoked by the horror-stricken remembrance of crime, or hatred against the memory of the wicked, also blend with the associations of this scene. The body of Caius was burnt on a pyre, without public honours, in the gardens of the Lamian family beyond the city-walls; nor were funeral observances more fully rendered till after that Emperor's sisters had returned from the exile to which he had condemned them. Those gardens (Suetonius tells us) were haunted by mysterious phantoms, and persons in charge of them were terrified, night after night, by such visitants (*umbris inquietatos*). In that part of the palace where Caius had expired, not a night passed without terrors, from things seen or fancied, till the buildings were, probably in the time of Nero, destroyed by fire (Sueton. *Caj. Calig.* LIX.) It is supposed by some that the bridge erected across the Forum to connect the Imperial residence with the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, by order of Caius, and for facilitating his intercourse with the god in that fane, where he used to affect to converse with Jupiter, addressing him in confidential whispers as a brother-deity, proceeded from those buildings, still conspicuous in ruin, near the north-eastern angle of the hill. It seems to me more probable that that bridge was of mere woodwork, and demolished soon after the reign of the tyrant who had required it; for I am not aware that any Latin writer mentions it, as subsequently extant.

The successor of Caius, the learned but feeble Claudius, left a name associated with numerous public works, but made no important addition to the Palatine buildings, except the completed temple of Augustus—already, as we have seen, dedicated by his predecessor.*

* It is supposed that some lofty buttress walls of fine brickwork, along the declivities near the north-eastern side, are the substructions on which that temple stood.

Claudius was the first Emperor who owed his election to the Prætorians, and who contributed to the undermining of his throne by the bad example of payment to those troops—he gave the amount of 2700 francs to each soldier,—as price of the sovereignty conferred by them. Hence a long series of intrigue, corruptions, conspiracies, tragic catastrophes. The public sale of the Empire after the murder of Pertinax, A.D. 193, was the last result in its lowest degradation. In the time of Claudius, we find personified, and in an Empress, the extreme of depravity to which woman, patrician woman, had sunk in Imperial Rome. The infamies of the first wife of that Emperor are said to have been carried on in a portion of the palace buildings, a suite of vaulted chambers less ruinous than other parts, at the western base of the hill, and opening on the valley occupied by the Circus Maximus.

Next comes the Imperial actor and singer on the stage, charioteer in the Circus, poetaster of forgotten works, the assassin of his mother, the first who caused the followers of Christ to be put to death, with dreadful tortures, on the pretext of their complicity in the crime of incendiarism; and in consequence of which first persecution there prevailed for a time in the primitive Church the idea that the veritable Antichrist, destined to reappear on earth before the Last Judgment, was Nero. When he began his reign, A.D. 55; the Imperial palace is said to have been about 3600 feet in circumference. He made such vast additions to its buildings and gardens as to absorb not only the entire area of the Palatine Hill, but also the Esquiline, including the villa and grounds of Mæcenas—the plateau and slopes now occupied by the Railway Station, the villa Montalto (built by Sixtus V.), and the scarcely finished streets opened under the new government since 1870. Thus arose the first great palace of Nero's foundation,

called *Domus Transitoria*, because intersected by several highways left open to the public. These buildings were, for the greater part, destroyed by the tremendous fire, A.D. 65, which raged incessantly during nine days, and devastated ten of the fourteen regions into which the city was divided. Nero soon restored, with augmentation of scale and yet unexampled splendour, all that the flames had consumed or devastated. Thus arose another marvellous palace, with vast extent of pleasure grounds, called the "Golden House." Its buildings, gardens, and lakes covered not only the Palatine and Esquiline Hills with the intervening valleys, but also the entire Cœlian, on which height a temple, raised to the deified Claudius by Agrippina, was now doomed to perish before the encroaching works of his stepson and heir.

The cities of Greece, Olympia, Argos, Delphi, were ransacked for art-works, especially sculptures, to adorn the new palace. From Delphi alone were taken and exported 5000 bronze statues (Pausanias, l. 6, ix. 27, x. 8). Pliny (H.N. xxxiii. 3) tells us that he had twice seen Rome surrounded by the imperial dwellings—i.e. of Caius and Nero.* It is calculated that the circumference of this, the first of the vast Neronian palaces, with all its gardens, &c., must have been about 3½ Italian miles. The atrium of the so-called Golden House had a frontage of 550 feet; and in its vestibule stood the colossal statue of the Emperor

* "*Bis vidimus urbem cingi domibus Principum*"—of course hyperbolic, alike with the epigram given by Suetonius :

Roma domus fiet; Veios migrate Quirites,
Si non et Veios occupat ista domus.

Probably the second of the Neronian palaces extended across and partly obstructed the Forum; the first, "*Domus transitoria*," having also crossed the Forum, but left the public ways unimpeded. Popular irritation found vent in exaggerating epigrams.

destined to pass through so many vicissitudes—to receive a head of Apollo instead of that of Nero, severed from its trunk by Vespasian's order, and a head of Commodus by command of that Emperor—finally to be removed by Hadrian to its last place near the Flavian Amphitheatre (Dion. lxvi. 15; Spartian. *in Hadrian.* 18). Even in the cold and concise language of Suetonius the vision of that marvellous palace rises before us like Oriental enchantment, its magnificence harmonized by taste, its profusion of pomp subordinated to the beautiful in effect, all attesting the will of a master in whom vices had not extinguished the love and feeling for the noble and graceful in Art.

It was in this Neronian palace, as it stood before the great fire, that the Apostle S. Paul, who had arrived in Rome, A.D. 59, was brought before the tribunal of the Emperor for judgment, and was, after a first hearing, acquitted.* Baronius infers that his cause was tried also in the Senate and by the Pontifical College, because religious interests were involved in the charges against him. It is certain that the Apostle was admitted into the imperial palace, and not merely as a prisoner in bonds, but as one allowed to teach and exhort, listened to with attention, perhaps with effect acting on the heart and belief of some among his audience. He probably conversed with officials of Nero's Court, and with the beautiful Poppœa Sabina, the favourite who eventually became the wife of Nero, after the divorce and exile of the unhappy Octavia.† (Baronius, *An.* 59.)

* "At my first defence no man stood forward with me, but all forsook me. But the Lord stood by me, and strengthened me—and I was delivered out of the mouth of the lions." 2 Timothy iv. 16, 17, (N. T. revised by Dean Alford.) Kitto ("Bible History of the Holy Land") makes the date of S. Paul's first visit to Rome, A.D. 61; of his second visit, 64.

† Married to Nero, A.D. 53; divorced, exiled to the Isle of Pandateria,

All the pomps and splendours of the "Domus Auræa" were destined to vanish like a dream. Between the years 70 and 80 all was swept away, excepting only some portions of the vast group of edifices on the Esquiline Hill, which were appropriated for the Thermæ founded by Titus and enlarged by Trajan. Vespasian, a plain soldier, blessed with common sense and rigidly economical, deemed it expedient to restrict the imperial residence within its former limits. The material of the overthrown buildings was used for other great structures, the Temple of Peace founded by that Emperor soon after the conquest of Jerusalem, and the restored Temple of the deified Claudius, which now rose with greater magnificence on the Coelian Hill; the brickwork also, it appears, serving for like purposes in the Flavian Amphitheatre. Vespasian likewise built, after he had demolished much, on the Palatine, where the new Flavian Palace was completed with much splendour by Domitian, between the years 81-96.

The last-named Emperor resembled Nero not only in his vices and cruelties, but also in his taste for Fine Art, his passion for pomp and spectacular entertainments. Plutarch mentions with wondering admiration the "Domus Domitiana," and compares its wretched master to the fabulous Midas turning all he touched into gold. Statius, the poet courtier, celebrates the palace, the banquets, as well as the colossal statue of Domitian. To the Flavian palace were adjoined some delicious gardens, with porticos, called "Adonea," in imitation of the pleasure grounds environing the Assyrian temples dedicated to Adonis for the oriental worship of that deified lover of Venus. The works of the Flavian Emperors extended over the valley between the

and there put to death, by his order, in the 20th year of her age. Poppea Sabina also died a victim to her husband's brutality, A.D. 65. At the time of S. Paul's appearance in Rome, Octavia was still the wife of Nero.

northern and southern summits of the Hill, and were in great part raised on terraces which filled up that intervening space. Many other buildings, some perhaps much more ancient, were reduced to foundation walls for the new structures—among others a mansion with much rich decoration, painting and gilt stucco, on its vaulted roof, which we now descend into below the surface, and which has long been erroneously called, “Baths of Livia.”

This Flavian palace presents, now in ruins, a conspicuous architectural group, prominent among the edifices recently brought to light. We ascend to the high ground, on which these buildings stand, by an ancient way paved with basalt, the “Clivus Palatinus,” which led to the now lost gate of the primitive city, *Porta Mugonia* (or *Mugionis*).^{*} To our right are seen the ruins, now a mere formless heap, of the Temple of Jupiter Stator. The depression on the hill from which that ancient road ascends, is strewn with various ruins, among which rises under a steep bank a fortifying wall in the dark-hued tufa called *peperino*, now mouldering away and far from being perpendicular, crushed by the weight of the soil under which it was long buried. This, no doubt, is among the oldest relics of the Palatine city, the Roma of Romulus—if it be not, as seems admissible, a monument of still earlier time. Reaching the higher ground, we enter the Flavian palace, a suite of unroofed

^{*} Another gate of the city on the Palatine was called the *Sacripota*, on which was the inscription given by Varro :

Germalense quinticeps apud ædem Romuli.

Veliense sexticeps apud ædem Deum Penatium.

This, which has disappeared, is supposed to have stood on the declivity near the Arch of Titus; and it has been conjectured that the massive ruins mentioned above (p. 159), with which are mixed those of the Frangipani Castle, may belong to that ancient *Porta*; various conjectures, as I have stated, being advanced with respect to the former.

halls and courts, containing many remnants of marble decoration, inlaid pavements, broken sculptures, &c. Here are recognized the Atrium, the Tablinum, and a spacious court, surrounded with porticos, called the Peristylum—probably the scene of the dismal vigils of Domitian, where that tyrant used to wander about impatient for daylight, sleepless and stricken by guilty fear, under the porticos whose vaults were encrusted with marble (or alabaster) reflecting like a mirror,—such being the expedient for preventing any one to approach him unseen. Next is the grand banquet-hall, the *Coenatio Jovis* (or *Coenatio Sicilia*), where Pertinax, after a disastrous reign of fifteen months, was surprised and put to death by the Pretorians, A.D. 193. Here the rich pavement, in many coloured marbles, is best preserved, especially in the hemicycle, at one end of the hall, for the principal table. Parallel with these are several other interiors, as the *Lararium*, with a small altar, now re-erected, displaying low reliefs of the ministers and sacrifices in the worship offered to the Household Gods; the *Nymphæum*, an elliptic chamber, in which rises the receptacle and decorated upper storey of a fountain, but with no crystal waters now laving the precious marbles, no statuary adorning the arched recesses, no plants or flowers blooming beside its channel on the outer border—only some fragments of shafts, monolith columns of *giallo antico*, remaining to attest the past splendour of this enchanting retreat. The virtuous Nerva, returning to the intentions and domestic habits of Augustus, caused to be inscribed over a principal entrance to the palace, *Ædes Publicæ*,—"the public mansion." Trajan disposed of many art-works collected by Nero, placing them in temples to honour the gods. It is perhaps to this proceeding that Pliny alludes in a passage of the "Panegyricus," where the virtues, character and acts of Trajan are so clearly brought before us: "Circumfertur sub no-

mine *Caesaris tabula ingens rerum venalium; quo fit detestanda avaritia illius qui tam multa concupiscebat, cum haberat supervacua tam multa.*" (*Paneg.* 50.) Hadrian built and repaired much; and to him may be attributed many of the best structures now before us on the north-western and north-eastern Palatine summits, as confirmed by many stamps of his period found on the brick masonry. The benignant and estimable Antoninus Pius inhabited those extensive buildings of Tiberius which range along the western declivities of the hill, consisting of vaulted rooms and corridors in which we perceive the excellent brickwork of the first century (about the same under Augustus, Tiberius, and Nero). Here also did the young Marcus Aurelius (from about the year 145 to 150 of our era) receive the education which gave its final development to his high-toned intellect, from a Greek Stoic philosopher, Apollonius, whom Antoninus had invited to Rome for that purpose after his adoption of the young Prince, now raised to the rank of Cæsar, as destined heir to empire. After reading the life and extant writings of Marcus Aurelius, we may rejoice to be able confidently to associate the memory of such a man with those ruins amidst the picturesque solitude of the imperial mount, where its memory-haunted gardens and groves are most quiet, because remote from the centre of antiquarian research and recent discovery, least disturbed by crowds.

One turns with a sense of relief from the annals of guilt-stained Rulers to contemplate such an example; and one may here echo the question of Byron in the feeling with which he turns from considering the career of the first Napoleon:

Where shall the weary eye repose,
While gazing on the great,
Where neither guilty glory glows,
Nor despicable state?

At the north-western angle of these buildings is the *Basilica Jovis*, the character of this latter being evident from the semicircular recess for the judge's tribunal, with a marble screen before it, and the columns (now but fragmentary) dividing it into nave and aisles. This basilica is mentioned in the Acts of two Martyrs, Sylvester and Lawrence, who suffered A.D. 264. If not the actual building in which S. Paul was brought before Nero's tribunal, we may suppose it to be a restoration of the same Judgment-hall; and it is not improbable that the basilica of that Emperor may have been exempted from destruction by Vespasian. That part of the terrace on which its chief entrance opens, is believed to be the platform where the Emperors used to present themselves in public and address the people assembled below—but the terrace, supported on lofty buttress walls, on which we now stand before the Flavian buildings, is a restoration.

Beyond these ruins we reach, nearer to the western ridge of the hill, a Corinthian colonnade with monolith shafts of green-veined Carystian marble; and here, opening before our feet like an abyss, an important edifice attracts the eye, deep below the surrounding level, built in regular courses of lithoid tufa, and divided into two spacious halls. Unfortunately we cannot descend, but only look down into this inexplicable building, one of those probably dating from the republican period, and sacrificed to the later-raised imperial structures that have crushed down or concealed so much. Beyond that colonnade, further westward, we enter other ruins with fine intarsio pavement, called the *Bibliotheca*; and beyond this, an area surrounded by terraces cut stepwise, recognized as the *Academia*, a hall where poets and other writers read their compositions to imperial or courtly auditors.*

* The practice of reading or declaiming before assemblies, prepara-

Commodus, the unworthy son of a philosophic and virtuous father, preferred another residence built for himself on the Coelian hill, from which he obtained communication by a subterranean corridor with the great amphitheatre. In his time, A.D. 191, occurred another tremendous fire destructive to many palatial and sacred buildings, among others the temple of Peace built by Vespasian, and the oft-restored temple of Vesta. From the former of those fanes were removed, at that catastrophe, the sacred vessels brought from the temple of the one Supreme Being at Jerusalem; from the latter, the much revered Palladium; all these precious objects being thenceforth kept in a temple on the Palatine. The last important additions to the imperial residence on that hill were made by Septimius Severus (A.D. 193-211); and the ruins of that Emperor's buildings on the western terraces and slopes, in one part presenting a wide platform raised on a double storey of vaulted halls, are at this day not only the most picturesque, but the most conspicuous among all Palatine antiquities. Here we recognise the vestiges of much magnificence in detail; but little is there to give the idea of architectural beauty, or of the harmonious and symmetrical in design. Amidst the labyrinth of chambers, courts, corridors, we perceive many marble-encrusted rooms for the uses of the bath, and conduits for the water with which they were supplied. In a valley bounded on one side by the gardens of the Villa, now a convent of Visitandine nuns, we may, tory to such publication as was possible for unprinted books, is said to have been introduced at Rome by Asinius Pollio, the friend of Augustus, and one of the most accomplished men of that time, he to whom Horace dedicates the ode (l. ii. Carm. 1.) referring to his perusal in public of an historical work, in seventeen books, by himself:

Let for a while the Tragic Muse forsake
Her stage, till thou set forth the fate of Rome.

Lord Lytton's version.

(as is generally agreed) locate the Stadium of Domitian ; and a great hemicycle in two storeys, with painted chambers and colonnades in front, overlooking this area at the southern side, may have served for the Emperor and his court to enjoy the spectacles, athletic exercises and races of this palatial circus. The actual buildings are apparently a restoration by Septimius Severus. At the Hill's south-western base, opposite the monastery of S. Gregorio, the last named Emperor erected a grand façade with storeys of marble colonnades and rich cornices, to which was given the name of "Septizonium"—Septimius (an African by birth) desiring, as supposed, to make an impression on his countrymen, who, arriving in Rome from Africa by the Porta Capena, would have seen this before any other Palatine buildings or civic splendours. Septimius Severus was the last Emperor who shewed signal activity and enterprise in public works, especially those for restoration. Spartianus (see his "Vita Sept. Sev." § 23) says that he restored "all the public edifices of Rome which were sinking into ruin through old age." To his time is referred the strange caricature of the Crucifixion, a *graffito* on the wall of a chamber in a suite supposed to belong to one of the private houses absorbed into the Imperial buildings earlier than the second century, and where idle soldiers, or pages of the Court, seem to have amused their leisure by scratching sundry curious epigraphs and designs, grotesquely fanciful, besides proper names, on the stucco surface. The last Emperors among those who built, but with no important novelty, on the Palatine, are two relatives who stand on the historic page in moral contrast the most strongly marked that one can conceive. There could scarcely be more signal proof of the disease at the heart of Rome's monarchic constitution than the fact that, having passed through the horrors, infamies, and oppression of the reigns falling within the first and

second centuries of our era, after having subsequently felt the blessings of just administration under estimable rulers, who raised, or endeavoured to raise the tone of society, as well as to regenerate the institutions they found in decay, the Romans could elect, and for nearly four years endure, such a creature as the boy High Priest of the Syrian Sun God, calling himself in that capacity Heliogabalus, who was proclaimed Emperor, when about fourteen years old, by the army at Emesa, A.D. 218. This contemptible youth built a temple on the Palatine to the Syrian God worshipped under the same name, as Sol Heliogabalus. He desired to assemble in that new fane all the sacred objects from other Roman sanctuaries: the ever-burning fire of Vesta, the Ancile, the Palladium, the image of Cybele; and hoped to establish his Oriental superstition at the cost of the entire system of the ancient Roman worship and priesthood; but his temple disappeared, with its rites, soon after his assassination, A.D. 222. Heliogabalus erected (as did Caius) a temple to his deified self; also a high tower surrounded by rich marble pavement, in anticipation of the suicide which he foresaw might be at last desirable, *i.e.* by throwing himself down from that tower to perish on that costly bed—very different from his actual fate of ignominious death. The baths for the use of the people, built by this young Emperor—the only good work attributable to him—are supposed to have stood on the south-eastern declivities of the Palatine, or at its base on the same side; and it is asserted, though not without contradiction, that those “balnea” are before us in the ruins near the Arch of Titus disencumbered of soil by recent labours, and above described. (p. 156.) The successor of that fantastic young despot, his virtuous cousin Alexander Severus, deserved a better fate than the reign of but thirteen years closed by his violent death, A.D. 235, a victim of the mutinous troops in Gaul.

He added to the Palatine buildings certain halls, or villas, of the description called “*Diaetæ*,” probably isolated amidst gardens, which he dedicated in the name of his mother *Mammaea*, a woman of energy and talents, who suffered the same tragic fate as her son. Alexander also followed the example of his predecessor by adorning terraces and walks with tessellated pavement of many-hued marbles—beautifully imitated in mediæval churches, and especially so in the Roman basilicas by artists of the *Cosmati* family and their school. The name “*opus Alexandrinum*” is said to have been given to such *intarsio* work from the Emperor who, if he did not first introduce, most conspicuously applied it among palatial decorations in Rome.

It is consolatory to be able to associate the memory of virtue and piety with the ruins of Empire on the Palatine Hill, before we quit this haunted scene and the historic studies to which it invites us. Among the roofless interiors of the extensive buildings attributable to the Flavian Emperors, is one where the thought and practice of Alexander Severus are brought to mind, in accordance with details of his daily life supplied in the interesting memoirs of him by *Lampridius*. I allude to the *Lararium*, a chapel with its sculptured altar to the divine *Penates*, above mentioned. The biographer, describing how that young sovereign of the Roman world usually spent his day, tells us, respecting his religious observances, that (I translate a passage indeed noteworthy): “In the first place, if finding himself in fit condition for this, he worshipped in the morning hours” (or offered up prayers with incense) “in his *Lararium*, where he kept the images of his ancestors, those of the divine Emperors, and moreover those of other persons, excellent and elect spirits, men of holy soul, such as *Apollonius of Tyana*, and (as a writer of his time states)

also images of Christ, Abraham, Orpheus, and other gods" (according to another reading, heroes) "of like character." The Apollonius here named was the Pythagorean Philosopher, born in Cappadocia about the year 4, B.C., who is said to have wrought miracles, and to have announced, whilst lecturing on philosophy at Ephesus, the death of Domitian at the very moment it took place. Lampridius elsewhere states that the young Severus desired to found a temple to the Saviour; and to number Him among the gods (*Christo templum facere voluit*), which also (he adds) "Hadrian is believed to have thought of doing." Christianity came too late to save the declining Empire from its inevitable fall. The injury done to Rome by the transfer of the seat of government is obvious, and must have been locally apparent on the Palatine rather than any where else in this city. No unprecedented step, however, was that taken by Constantine. Such a change had first been adopted, thenceforth to be systematically followed out, by Diocletian and his colleague Maximianus, who (A.D. 284) fixed their residence during times of peace in the provinces; Diocletian at Nicomedia, his colleague usually at Milan. Thus did Rome and the Senate lose all connection with the imperial Court. The superseding of the ancient constitution by another more elaborately despotic, was a political aim, the promoting of which was intended and desired in that change of residence now preferred by the autocrats who wore a jewelled diadem (first assumed by Diocletian), attiring themselves in silk and gold-embroidered purple instead of the classical toga, and requiring prostrations in Oriental style from all admitted to their audience. Diocletian probably never saw Rome till his triumph, here celebrated in the twentieth year of his reign; and on that occasion only stayed two months in this city. Theodosius ended his life, and Honorius began his reign, A.D. 395, at

the now superbly embellished Lombardic capital. When the latter insignificant young Emperor came to Rome from Ravenna, his last retreat, for celebrating a triumph decreed to him by the Senate on account of victory over the Goths won by his General Stilicho (A.D. 404), it was the third time during a hundred years that the ancient metropolis saw her now alienated rulers. In the year 465 took place at the imperial palace the death, as rumoured by poison (*v.* Cassiodorus), of the phantasm Emperor, Libius Severus, raised up about four years previously by the powerful and intriguing General, Ricimir, who long disposed of Rome's sovereignty, a veritable king-maker like our Earl of Warwick in the 15th century—and who was accused of having destroyed that obscure Prince, one among the creatures raised up at his pleasure. The autocrats of Constantinople for some time continued to appoint and send to Rome superintendents of the now almost desolate palace, who took up their abode in some portion of its vast buildings. The epitaph of one among those officials, named Plato, who died there, A.D. 686, is edited by the Chev. di Rossi. Even before the fall of the Western Empire and deposition of Romulus Augustulus, the Byzantine rulers created the rank of Duke of Rome, deputing the patricians invested with it to hold office as their representatives; and such Dukes, with their Greek retinues, alike resided on the Palatine. The first tempest which burst with desolating disaster over the ancient metropolis of the absent Cæsars, was the conquest by Alaric, when the Goths burst into Rome through the Salarian gate, and the citizens were awakened at midnight by the blast of their savage trumpets on the 24th August, 410. The furious sack and pillage lasted three days and nights, though it was not till the sixth day that the invaders quitted. On their march through the Campagna these spoilers were followed by cars laden with statues, objects in

wrought gold, silver and ivory, rich carpets, silken robes, vases, tripods, &c. Alaric (a Christian, though heretical) had guaranteed safety to life and property, and it seems with effect, for all taking refuge in the great basilicas (both then extramural) of S. Peter and S. Paul. That king also ordered his Gothic soldiers to escort a devout procession (strange spectacle amidst the scene of horror and tumult!) bearing back to S. Peter's the sacred and most precious vessels of its altars from the house of a courageous lady, who had taken charge of them during the crisis! Well does Cesare Cantu observe, describing this catastrophe in his "*Storia Universale*:" "Christ triumphed when all terrestrial arms failed to protect!"

Still more tremendous and destructive were the next invasion, the next capture and sack of Rome by the Vandal Genseric, who entered through the Ostian gate, 15th June, 455. The pillage on this occasion lasted during fourteen days; the Vandals proving more pitiless and sacrilegious than the Goths, for no church or sanctuary was spared by these fierce hordes from Africa. All moveable wealth left by Alaric, that their hands could seize, became their prey; and we may conclude that the home of the Cæsars was at both, but especially the last of these onsets, the centre where rage and rapine did their direst work. In such dark times we must turn for examples of moral worth and heroic charities to the Clergy, the representatives of the new principle, of the civilization now rising for final ascendancy amidst corruption and ruin. The Roman Pontificate (whatever it afterwards became) was asserting a high and beneficial vocation. A figure which stands out of the gloomy social picture in a light of moral grandeur, is that of Pope S. Leo, deservedly styled "the great," who went forth with his clergy to meet Geuseric and his barbarian hordes beyond the city gates, as the same holy Pontiff had gone to meet Attila in

northern Italy, deprecating the wrath and appealing to the better nature of **that** Heathen King. Historians find reason to conclude that his intercession with Genseric was successful in so far as to save the captured city from the horrors of incendiarism and massacre, when those invading Vandals entered. Turning to times comparatively peaceful, we find the Imperial Palace **still** inhabited by Roman Prefects in the second half of the V. century. In A.D. 476, the conqueror of Italy, Odoacer, made brief sojourn within its walls. In A.D. 500, the more civilized and operose Theoderick, alike owing his kingdom to conquest, left his seat at Ravenna in order, for the first time, to visit Rome. That Ostro-Gothic king abode also in the Imperial Halls on the same Hill; and whilst here, ordered many restorations of the palatial as well as other public buildings, as detailed in pompous language by his secretary, Cassiodorus. For the last time did an Emperor, arrived from the Greek metropolis, dwell for some days on the Palatine, and for a solemn occasion, namely, his coronation, A.D. 629.* Heraclius figures in art and legend as the conqueror of Persia, the deliverer of Jerusalem from Persian invaders under Chosroes, and the restorer of the True Cross, which relic that Emperor brought back to the church of the Holy Sepulchre. In the great aula (or throne room) of the Palatine, the crown was placed on his brow by a fully assembled senate; and (a

* The coronation of the Greek Emperor Heraclius at Rome is mentioned, I believe, by only one mediæval writer, namely the chronicler of Monte Cassino, edited by Muratori. The following extract from his pages may now be read on a tablet in the great hall, among the buildings of the Flavian palace, designated on a sign-board here placed as the Peristylum, and near another inscription recording the works ordered by the Duke of Parma, 1726: "Eraclius augustali solio Cæsariani palatii a senatoribus positus et diademate redimitus, Monocrator constitutus est."

significant fact!) without any note of Papal participation in the ceremonial—contrasted indeed, in this respect, with what the obligatory coronation by pontific hands, at S. Peter's church, became to German "Kaisers," and in the prevailing European idea of later times.

It is said (on somewhat vague authority) that as late as the XII. century the Palatine halls were used for the state banquet of those German Emperors after they had received the crown at S. Peter's—a ghastly scene, we may infer, for festivities among the vast silent ruins! The latest passing notice of these buildings as a palace by any writer we can class among those comparatively ancient, is found in Anastasius' Lives of the Popes, under date 708. In the year 995, certain porticoes and other parts of the structures on the southern hill-side were given (38 chambers being specified in the deed of gift) by the owner, Duke Stephen (son of a Consul), to the Camaldolese monks of the neighbouring S. Gregorio cloister. About the same period were founded amidst the once luxurious gardens and porticoes of Adonis (the "Adonea" of Domitian) a church and abbey, *S. Maria in Palladio*, possessed by Benedictines, which became the residence, during their visits to Rome, of those potent monastic Lords, the Superiors of Monte Cassino, styled "Abbots of Abbots." This establishment is now reduced to the quiet little church, with an old parsonage house, dedicated to S. Sebastian. According to legends it was in the adjacent gardens (more probably in the Stadium of Domitian) that that Soldier Martyr was shot with arrows, A.D. 304. Procopius, throughout his History of the Gothic War and Sieges of Rome in the VI. century, never mentions the Palatine, save only to notice the sojourn there made by King Theoderick. The Septizonium, or grand façade, built by Septimius Severus, was included in the donations made

to the S. Gregorio monks, and by them fortified for the protection of their monastery, which stands opposite. In that now vanished wing of the palace did a brave defender, Rusticus, nephew to the heroic Gregory VII., sustain a regular siege by the Germans under Henry IV. when that Emperor occupied Rome, A.D. 1084, in the last of his many wars against the same uncompromising Pontiff. In 1145 the Septizonium was ceded by the Camaldolese monks to the potent Frangipani family. In 1227 the Cardinals assembled within that strangely transformed, and once beautiful structure, there to hold conclave, after the death of Honorius IV., and there did they elect a successor to the Papal throne, Gregory IX. The last authentic representation of that architectural work of Septimius Severus, the many-storeyed façade, as it stood, still graceful in ruin, towards the end of the XV. century, is seen in one of the valuable drawings by Sangallo, now at the Barberini Library. The fate of that remnant of the Palatial buildings is singular ; it was totally demolished by Sixtus V. for the sake of its marble and granite columns, all transferred by his order to the unfinished S. Peter's ! The valuable compilation of notes made by a German pilgrim, and known as the "Itinerary of Einsiedlin," (so often alluded to in these pages,) mentions the Septizonium, but merely names the Palatine Hill as "Palatinus," without any descriptive or local particulars. The "Anonymous" pilgrim gives, however, among sundry epigraphs, one of the year 366 in the name of the Emperors Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian, which seems to refer to some restoration of the Palatial buildings. Petrarch, recording in his "Familiar Epistles" his enthusiastic interest in Roman Antiquities, mentions what was then called the "Sede del Sole," meaning, no doubt, the Septizonium, but (strange to say !) without any note of impressions made or things observed by him on the

Imperial Mount. That mixture of mediæval romance and profound ignorance called “*Mirabilia Urbis Romæ*,” merely mentions this Hill, without describing the ruins upon it, as “*Palatium Magnus!*” Lastly we have the testimony, (the last, I mean, falling within periods that can be considered mediæval) of the learned Florentine, Poggio Bracciolini, secretary at the Pontific court during almost fifty years, from A.D. 1402. In his impressive work beginning with meditations among the ruins on the Capitol, “*De Varietate Fortunæ*,” he describes the Palatine as a wilderness of inexplorable decay, wrecks amidst which none could distinguish features or details, or study the antique with any satisfactory results. The first to describe those ruins in the XVI. century, was Fulvio (*Antiquitates Urbis*), who states that among the classical seven hills the Palatine alone was absolutely deserted, left without a single inhabitant! Another remarkable testimony, as to the local conditions at the same period, is supplied by Onofrio Panvinio; and that learned ecclesiastic charges the Popes with the deliberate spoliation of the ruins on this site, for the adorning of churches with such valuable things as could still be found. Observing that, after the Gothic wars, the Palatine had been abandoned and left to decay, he continues (I quote without translating): “*Immo a Romanis Pontificibus suis ornamentis spoliatum fuisset, ad exædificationem basilicarum SS. Christi Martyrum*,”—adding that the whole summit of this Hill was then “almost pensile, over subterranean caverns and excavated abysses.” Dempster describes it as “deformed by ruins, or occupied by gardens,” in the century following—the latter repeating the former writer’s words. In the XVIII. century were commenced the first systematic and well superintended researches on this site—those, namely, directed, and reported of by Monsignor Bianchini, (“*Palazzo dei Cesari*”) in 1720-24, and again resumed by

the French Abbé Raucourel, 1775. But soon after these undertakings the Palatine was again left in solitude, a waste of neglected gardens, a wild growth of weeds and thickets overstrewn with unintelligible wrecks of antiquity. And in such state was it seen by the illustrious in modern literature, who recorded their impressions received on this site — Goethe, Byron, Mad. De Stael, Chateaubriand.

Previous to the works undertaken by order of Napoleon III. the most important among the *scavi* on the Palatine, in the present century, were directed by Antonio Nibby (1825-6) in the grounds of the Villa Mills. That well known archæologist was convinced that the ruins of the Augustan palace were here brought to light; and Roman antiquarians in general have agreed with him on the subject. He found an edifice in two storeys, the lower measuring 225 feet, the upper 280 in width, that upper storey expanding on the higher ground at the western side. He describes a great peristylum (or open court) with porticoes and vestiges of painting on its walls, which had been discovered in other works undertaken by Mr. Mills (owner of that villa), 1825. In the chambers opened by Nibby were found traces of profuse magnificence, *ornato* in painted stucco, arched recesses (no doubt for statuary,) lined with Phrygian marble, pilasters of other marbles, with capitals of *giallo antico*. In some ruins which showed the action of fire he believed he could recognise the temple of Palatine Apollo, burnt down A.D. 363. The poet Martial notices the columns of yellow Numidian marble in that splendid fane raised by Augustus; and broken shafts, precisely of such material, were discovered on this site. The testimony of Nibby is valuable, for he describes more than any living writer, who has treated of these Antiquities, can have seen. In 1829 occurred a landslip, which swept away with the soil great part of those buildings identified as the mansion of

Augustus—not that modest house of Hortensius in which the master of the Roman world passed so many years, but the later enlarged and more stately residence, where, in his capacity of Pontifex Maximus, he had periodically to receive all the sacerdotal colleges, &c. To those who, after due observation of the antique, desire to give leisure hours on the Palatine to other thoughts or other purposes, I should recommend the evening for such wanderings—the hours immediately before and after sunset on serene and sunny days of Autumn or Winter. From the northern and eastern summits or slopes of the Hill of Ruins, we look down on the Forum, the stupendous arcades of the Constantinian Basilica, the Capitol and the Tarpeian Rock rising distinct in the panorama here so impressively displayed; from the spacious terrace above the vaulted buildings of Septimius Severus, and from the gardens on the southern declivity, we see the Colosseum, the Thermæ of Titus and Trajan, the arcades of ruined aqueducts on the Coelian hill, and the distant expanse of Campagna, with the tombs and mausolea on the Appian Way. A resplendent mantle of colours—

Melting to one vast iris of the West,
clothes, in evening hours, the mountains which bound that never-to-be-forgotten prospect.

The works of excavation which have been in progress since the Farnese Gardens were purchased by the late Emperor of France, 1860—enabling us to distinguish, if not identify, so much, revealing so much that had long been buried and unknown—add continually increasing attractions to the Palatine Hill. No spot in Europe perhaps could be better suited to awaken thoughts or suggest questionings on the great problems of History, to direct the enquiring mind over the vast fields of historic research; to induce speculation on the great events of the drama of

political and popular life ; on the origin of Power, the causes of its decline, the vocation of nationalities, the institutions and purposes of monarchy, the crimes or follies of those who have wielded its sceptre, the consequences of those crimes or follies to the nations governed or tyrannized over—meditations mournful perhaps, yet fraught with lessons of profound morality. Amidst these ruins of Empire the inward ear may listen to a voice from the Past solemnly instructive, such a voice (I quote the lines of a modern poet) as—

— shakes the midnight air,
And calls up clouds to dim the laughing day,
And thrills the soul; yet bids us not despair,
But make one Rock our shelter and our stay,
Beneath whose shade all else is passing to decay.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ROMAN FORUM HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED.

DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus concludes that the sources of Roman greatness and dominion, subordinate to the protection and favour of the Gods, were those moral qualities once nobly exemplified by this people, "temperance, concord, and military valour." Another Greek historian, Polybius, extols the consummate wisdom of a political system which was so constituted (namely, in the Republican or Consular period), "that it was impossible even for a native to assert whether this Government were aristocratic, democratic, or monarchic."

Among the monumental centres of Rome, the Forum, called *par excellence* "Romanum," is not only, as "Childe Harold" meditatively observes :

The field of freedom, faction, fame, and blood,
Where a proud people's passions were exhaled—

but also the spot where, rather than anywhere else within this city's walls, we are reminded of public virtues, political energies, the vitality and patriotism of a great nation and victorious State. From the glare of luxurious pomp, the memories of imperial guilt and iniquitous tyranny which invest the ruins on the Palatine, we turn with a sense of relief to the Forum. There the evidences from the Past, and the historic memories that haunt the scene unite their testimony in favour of free institutions, reminding us of what is indeed confirmed by so many proofs, that it is Liberty which is ancient, and Despotism which is modern ; that the Republican politics of old time (whatever their

possible or inevitable defects) provided guarantees for national prosperity, and developed the best qualities in popular character, whilst the unchecked monarchic dominion tended to general corruption, to demoralizing influences, depravity and decay.

Forum, in the literal sense of the word merely a market-place, derives its name *à ferendo*, (from bringing, getting, purchasing); the correspondent Greek, *αγορα*, having the fuller signification of a place for public assemblies. Glancing at etymologies, we may here observe how the Roman influence has extended over the modern world in philologic accords running through many European languages. As the residence of the Cæsars on the Palatine gave its name to all those of royalty—and in many countries to those of aristocracy and wealth alike, wherever the Latin element prevails—so did the habit of the place-hunters frequenting the Via Sacra, or other localities within the Forum, whilst canvassing for votes at municipal elections, impart a new sense to the word *ambire*, that, namely, of “competing for office;” and hence its substantive, *ambitio*, came to signify all strivings for eminence or intrigues to obtain public favour and reward—*ambition* (like its Latin original) resolving itself into the simple elementary meaning of “a walk round the Forum of Rome.”

Narrow is the arena on which so great a drama was enacted in the Republican and Imperial City! the ascertainable measurements of this region, according to good authorities, being 671 English feet in the extreme length, 202 in the extreme breadth, and 117 feet at the narrower, the south-eastern, side. A wildly picturesque marshy vale, overshadowed by primæval forests, and shut in by rugged heights, was that low ground between the Palatine and Capitoline hills when the “Roma Quadrata,” ascribed to

Romulus, was founded about seven centuries and a half before our era. After the wars and finally confirmed alliance between Romans and Sabines, in which, notwithstanding vaunted victories, the latter, under Tatius, seem to have secured the more substantial advantages, the colonists agreed to unite under the same government, and to surround the two cities* and two hills with a wider cincture of fortifying walls than those the still extant ruins of which are before us on the Palatine. Now was the swampy waste rendered serviceable for civic purposes; the forest was cut down; the stagnant marshes were drained, the clayey hollows filled up; the wild valley became the appointed arena for popular assemblage; though Dionysius tells us it was for some time on a spot sacred to Vulcan (the "Vulcanale"), probably a terrace on the slope of the Palatine overlooking the Forum, that the people used to meet for political affairs, elections, etc. During many ages there were, it appears, no habitations save on the hills; but from time to time picturesque groups, announcing the growth of religious worship and incipient civilization, used to be seen on the levelled ground between the Palatine and the Capitol: priests bearing white lambs for sacrifice to Jupiter, augurs with boughs and garlands of verbena, from a grove on the Saturnian hill, for new year's offering to their kings, or white-robed vestals engaged in the worship of their Goddess, in whose sanctuary it was their chief duty to keep the sacred fire perpetually burning.

The Forum as an enclosed public place amidst buildings, and surrounded by graceful porticos, may be said to have owed its origin to Tarquinius Priscus, between the years 616 and 578 B.C. That king (Livius tells us) was the first

* The ancient Saturnia (supr. p. 263) may have been still extant, as well as the Tarpeian fortress defended by the Romans against the Sabines, at the date of these events.

who erected porticos around this area, and also divided the ground into lots, where private citizens might build for their own uses. Booths, probably wooden (the *tabernæ veteres*), were the first rude description of shops here seen. Few edifices still known to us by name, fewer represented by any extant ruins, rose within the period of the ancient Kings on the Forum.

It was said that in some dim distance of pre-historic times, wandering Pelasgi raised an altar on the southern slope of the Capitoline hill to Saturn, whose undutiful son eventually superseded him as Zeus, or Jupiter; also that Hercules, the heroic deliverer from evil and benefactor of poor Humanity, revived the worship of Saturn in purer form when he appeared, a beneficent guest, amidst the primitive inhabitants of these regions, and here succeeded in for ever abolishing the human sacrifices with whose blood that altar had been stained. On the same site was eventually founded (by Tullus Hostilius, according to Macrobius, *v.* his *Saturnalia*, l. 1, c. viii.) the Temple of Saturn, still before us in ruins. Varro ascribes the origin of that fane to Tarquinius Superbus, but it seems certain that it was not solemnly dedicated till after the expulsion of that last king, and through act of the Dictator, Titus Largius, B.C. 495 or 500. Here were kept, among other sacred things, the ashes of Orestes, brought from Sparta, and here was deposited the treasure of the State, conformably with what was decreed by Valerius Publicola, Consul together with Brutus, B.C. 509.* The officials appointed for custody of that wealth bore a title which

* "The first person who, after the expulsion of the kings, chose the Temple of Saturn for the deposit of the public treasure, was it not Valerius Publicola, persuaded that this was a place sufficiently fortified, against which it would be difficult to attempt any contrivance for attack?"—*Plutarch*, "Roman Questions."

implies the connection between the State Treasury and the Temple : *Quæstio de ædificiis Saturni.*

The introduction of the worship of Saturn is memorable. In the belief from which it springs we perceive a primordial element, and the foundation of an idea pervading many mythologic systems—that of a Golden Age, a blissful epoch when mankind lived under the sway of Divine justice, in the perpetual smiles of calm prosperity and holy peace, till that terrestrial Paradise was profaned and its pure enjoyments for ever lost through the intrusion of worldly interests and passions, with their train of fatally consequent hatred and rivalries, warfare and homicide. That Golden Age, as imagined by the Roman mind, is finely described by Virgil in the eighth book of the *Æneid*.^{*} The Saturn of the Greek mythology, borrowed by the Romans, was a God manifesting himself as man, visiting earth to bestow blessings, to teach liberal arts and civilizing industries. Letters and the coinage of money were said to have been also learnt from him by the ancient world (c. S. Cyprian, *De Idolorum Vanitate*). In the rites of his worship the Romans observed the Greek usage of sacrificing with unveiled head. The Saturnalia, first celebrated in Rome at the dedication of his temple, extended originally over three, but finally over seven days, during which all social distinctions were ignored ; slaves were admitted to equality with their masters ; and the chains which the emancipated from slavery used to hang, as thanksgiving, on or below the statue of the god, were taken down to intimate that perfect

* See also Horace, Epode xvi. ; and Ovid, *Metam.*

Nondum justitiam facinus mortale fugarat, &c.

“ Nor justice yet had fled from human crimes,

Of all their godheads she the last remained ;

For awful conscience, in those happy times,

Ruled without fear, and without force restrained.”

freedom had been enjoyed by all alike under the thrice-happy Saturnian reign. Varro mentions the practice of sending wax tapers as presents during this festival ; and when we remember the other usage of suspending wax masks, during the Saturnalia, in a chapel beside the temple of the beneficent Deity, the analogies between these equalizing fêtes and the modern Carnival become more apparent.

The most ancient among buildings not on the Forum alone, but in all Rome, which still stands as originally erected, in its interior at least, though its exterior, on the side towards the Forum, was restored A.D. 21, is that prison called after Ancus Martius, and said to have been founded by him B.C. 616. This, and the interesting discovery, recently made, of subterranean chambers belonging to the same system of dungeons, into two of which we descend below the church of S. Giuseppe, I have already noticed in these pages.* In the Forum of the kingly period stood the Temple of Vesta, founded by Numa, which was probably a mere *ædícula*, with the image of the Goddess under a domical roof, on the site now occupied by the church of *S. Maria Liberatrice*, near which have been found the epitaphs of several Vestal Virgins. Another fane alike ascribed to Numa as founder, and also entirely of bronze, just large enough to contain an image, was that of Janus, near the south-eastern base of the Capitoline hill. We may observe the remarkable significance of the worship rendered to this two-faced god — another example of the Greek origin of almost all that was distinguished by deep

* The early Christian Emperors had not the humanity to order the disuse of these terrific dungeons. Ammianus Marcellinus (l. 28, c. 1.) mentions the fate of an accused person confined there under sentence of death, A.D. 368, in the reign of Valentinian and Gratian. That prisoner, he adds, was removed, and, according to ancient usage in the case of criminals of mark, put to death, not without torture, in his own house.

meaning or poetic feeling in the Roman religion. Janus, like Hercules, was of Grecian birth ; like Saturn, he arrived a stranger in Italy, and reigned, a beneficent king, on a site afterwards comprised within the walls of Rome. He founded a colony on the hill still named after him, and there did he hospitably receive the divine Saturn, a fugitive driven from the celestial regions by his rebellious son. On that hill the two kings reigned together over a people privileged and happy under their righteous sway. The Latian Eden of pre-historic times, dreamt of and sung by poets, and the idea of which so profoundly enters into the religious traditions of many lands and of different beliefs, is thus to be found on a site comprised within the fortifying walls, nor far from the most populous quarters, of modern Rome !

A well-known custom was observed at the bronze chapel of Janus on the Forum, the more curious seeing that (as we learn from Ovid's *Fasti*) there were other *ædiculæ* dedicated to that god in Rome, but not one of which was chosen for similar observances—the closing, namely, of that small *sacellum* in time of peace, and the opening of it during war. The language of Latin writers (Ovid, *Fasti* l. 255, Macrobius, *Saturnalia* I. 19) seems to imply that the original “Janualis” (as it was called) was not a temple, but a gateway leading to the ancient Sabine city, Saturnia, on the Capitol ; and that, in the place of, or beside that gateway, was eventually raised the bronze chapel with the same dedication.* The usage alluded to can only be accounted for in reference to the relations originally existing between the two colonies, the Romans on the Palatine and the Sabines on the Capitoline hill. The Janus Gate was

* The so-called “Templum Fatale,” mentioned as extant on the Forum till the XII century, is supposed by the authors of the *Beschreibung* to be no other than that bronze *ædicula* of Janus.

left open during war in order that the two cities might pass succour to each other, and concert for mutual defence against a common foe. It was shut during time of peace, because such perfect harmony did not prevail as to preclude all apprehension of possible discord between them.* The relations are thus placed in clearer light than we find even on the page of Livius. In such examples we see how the monumental may serve to supplement the written record. More interesting, and entitled to greater regard than the grandest ruins, is the thought or belief which brought them into existence — the Religion which created the temple, the Legislation for which was reared the Curia, the Jurisprudence whose decisions were pronounced in the basilica of the Republican or Imperial metropolis, still before us in decay.

Let us now pass over a period of four centuries and a half, endeavouring to picture to the mind's eye the "Forum Romanum" on the day when its more numerous and splendid structures, temples, basilicas, &c., looked down upon a memorable scene here enacted in the month of March, 44 years before the Christian era—the funeral of Julius Cæsar. The actual spot where the ashes of the Dictator were interred is now made known to us through the discovery of a ruin-heap, all left of the temple raised by Augustus, and dedicated to the deified One, B.C. 29. Almost immediately after those funeral rites attended with so much lugubrious pomp and popular excitement, an altar was erected on the spot, where Roman citizens began to make vows, and offer sacrifice in the name of "Divus

* On the Capitoline declivity, near the ascending *clivus*, which still retains its antique pavement, we see the low remnant of a structure that may have been a gateway: a single course of stonework, blocks of tufa, dusky yellowish in hue, and much worn by time. Could this be the *Porta Janualis* in question? I should answer: it is possible.

Julius." That altar being removed by order of the Senate, a porphyry column, twenty feet high, with the inscription "*Parenti Patriæ*," was set up in its place; and, finally, a temple, with a peristyle of four Ionic columns, before which Augustus placed a new tribunal for orators, the "*Rostra Julia*," and the interior of which he adorned with paintings by Apelles. The divine honours paid to Romulus had been the sole anticipation of such officially decreed deification of a mortal in Rome. The idea of the immediate interposition of the gods to avenge the murder of Cæsar was expressed by Augustus through his act of founding another, probably much more splendid, temple to Mars Ultor, according to the vow made by him before the battle of Philippi. Strange the opposition of opinions, as well as intensity of emotions, excited by that deed of fatal results, the assassination of the victorious Dictator! Plutarch, from his monotheistic point of view, declares that it was the Divine Power which punished all active accomplices in it. Dante places Brutus and Cassius together with Judas Iscariot, condemned to the same eternal tortures, in the lowest abyss of the Inferno. An English poet (Akenside) extols the act of Brutus as the most sublime deed of heroic virtue ever accomplished by man!*

The heroic age of Roman History was now closed—the epoch of Kings and Consuls, of the originally patrician

* Cicero, without justifying the deed, considers the fate by which Cæsar perished to have been drawn down upon him by his evil ambition: "It has been lately shown" (he writes soon after the event) "that no power can resist the hatred of the many. Nor indeed is the destruction of that tyrant, who by arms forced his country to endure him, and whom it obeys still more after his death, the only proof how mighty to destroy is the hatred of mankind, but the similar deaths of other tyrants, few of whom have escaped a similar fate."

Offices, l. II. ch. vii. (Bohn's edition).

and finally democratic Republic, the period which Livius represents as "more than any other productive of virtues." Yet many are the proofs that public morality and piety towards the gods had deeply declined before the establishment of the Empire. During several centuries the territory subject to Rome was of little extent, scarcely exceeding a radius of eight kilometers round the city-walls. The population, reckoning only those admitted to the honours of citizenship, was little more than a million and a half at the close of the third Punic War (B.C. 159); and when the Civil War between Cæsar and Pompeius ended, not more than 2,100,000.

The dramatic poet Plautus assists us in determining the topography of the Forum within the later period of Republic government. In his comedy of "Curculio" he specifies the classes of persons who used to haunt this spot, and severally to prefer certain localities within these limits; the Forum, it appears, being then divided into three parts: upper, middle, and lower.*

The first important edifice raised on this area after the expulsion of the last king, was the Temple dedicated to Castor, but commonly called that of Castor and Pollux. It was founded in fulfilment of a vow made by the Dictator Aulus Postumius at the most momentous crisis in the battle on the banks of the lake Regillus (B.C. 495), when the last blow was given by Roman victory to the Latin

* In Foro infimo boni homines, atque dites ambulant,
In medio propter canalem, ibi ostentatores meri

———— supra lacum

In alteri de nihilo audacter dicunt contumeliam.

Plautus wrote this about the year B.C. 184. Perhaps the "canal" here mentioned by him, may be that stream flowing under the pavement of the Julian Basilica, which has been but lately brought again to light, and which we may identify also with the "lacus Servilius." (*supr.* p. 139.)

league for the restoration of Tarquinius. That fane was not dedicated till fifteen years afterwards, by the Dictator's son; and was twice restored, or rebuilt; first by Tiberius during the lifetime of Augustus, again by Domitian. According to the poetic legend, the Divine Twins charged against the foe on white steeds, thus interposing visibly for the Romans; and, immediately after the victory, they both appeared on the Forum, watering their horses at the fountain or lake called Fons Juturni. There, after announcing that glorious event to the people attracted by the appearance of such god-like youths, did they mysteriously vanish! On the same spot that fane was founded, the ruins of which are usually recognised in the Corinthian columns of a beautiful peristyle near the north-eastern base of the Palatine—and below the raised terrace occupied by which has lately been discovered a narrow stream of pure water,—that very Fons Juturni, we may conclude, so glorified by legendary associations. (Cicero, *De Nat. Deorum*, l. ii. 2.)

The Roman mind was singularly devoid of originality in its religious conceptions; its belief and worship being almost in every instance derived from foreign sources; its ceremonies and divinations from Etruria, its more poetic mythology from Greece, and that later admitted into the cycle of belief and observance, with elements more spiritual and mystic, from Oriental regions. The worship of the Dioscuri was essentially Greek, having been most prevalent in the Doric and Achæan cities. Those twin sons of Zeus and Leda joined the Argonautic expedition during the period of their manifestation in mortal form; cleared the Hellespont from dreaded pirates; and on one occasion, while they were sailing on the ocean in a violent tempest, were seen with lambent flames around their heads, at the moment of which phenomenon the waves became suddenly calm. Hence was attributed to them the power to protect

mariners and to allay tempests.* Meteors, such as are frequently seen in storms at sea, were called after them; and when two such meteors appeared together, it was deemed a sign of fair weather. Down to modern times has descended, in modified form, the belief in Castor and Pollux; and their temple on the Forum reminds us of pleasing superstitions transmitted from the Heathen to the Christian mind:

The star of tempests, beaming on the mast,
The seaman's torch of hope midst perils gathering fast!

A sign of the increasing taste for Fine Art (the specimens of which had hitherto, in every instance, been imported from abroad) was apparent in the Forum of this period. On every side were seen honorary statues, erected, besides the memorial column, to real or imaginary Heroes, to distinguished military leaders, or to those who had died in successful campaigns. Among the earliest such monuments were the statues of Horatius Cocles and Clelia (erected B.C. 506); and the last ever raised on the Forum to an Emperor was the image in solid silver, weight 1500lbs., of the second Claudius (A.D. 268-270). Among the memorial columns on this area, the earliest on record is that raised, B.C. 338, to Caius Moenius, for a victory won in the Latin War; the next, to Caius Duilius in honour of the first naval triumph of the Romans against the Carthaginian fleet, B.C. 260. Behind the ancient rostra were erected statues of three Sibyls; and that these images were extant, or at least remembered, in mediæval times is inferrible

* See Horace, l. iv. Ode VIII.:

Clarum Tynclariidæ sidus ab infimis
Quassas cripiunt æquoribus rates.

— the sons of Leda

Thus—one twin star—from Ocean's nether deep
Snatch tempest-shattered barks.— (*Lord Lytton's version.*)

from the name given in sundry ecclesiastical documents to the north-eastern region of the Forum. "In tria Fata"—singular record of the idea of that mysterious power, immutable Fate, surviving after all the splendours and triumphs of Rome's great Forum had passed away, all its monuments been reduced to long disregarded ruin! The younger Pliny (Ep. 17, l. i.) highly commends a person who had obtained from Trajan the permission to erect a statue on the Forum: observing that it was not more honourable to have such a memorial erected to oneself than to raise it for another's honour on a site so illustrious! The elder Pliny mentions statues of Pythagoras and Alcibiades, which stood on the *horns* (curving extremities) of the Comitium. The statue of Pompey the Great was thrown down from its pedestal on the Forum after the battle of Pharsalia, but was generously replaced by the victorious Cæsar. The situation of the Comitium, an enclosed space without roofing, cannot be determined, some supposing it to have been at the southern, others at the northern extremity of the Forum. A late memorable discovery (*v. supr.* p. 145,) seems to confirm the latter conclusion—if (as conjectured) the marble panels with sculptures on both sides, found erect under the ruins of a mediæval tower near the north-eastern angle, served to flank the entrance to that arena of political affairs.

Alike uncertain is the original place of the Rostra Veteres—the ancient tribunal for orators. No permanent tribunal for such purpose is known to have been placed in the Forum till the year of the city 417; anterior to which it seems that the spot for public speaking was the so-called "Vulcanal," on the slope of the Palatine. In the year 336 B.C., the Romans having gained a naval victory over the citizens of Antium, several of those enemies' ships were burnt, others transported to the Roman docks; and the

bronze prows of the latter were used to decorate a pulpit, now raised for public speaking, probably near the centre of the Forum. Julius Cæsar, no doubt for a political motive, removed both this tribunal and the Comitium with it. Long after his time, the poet Claudian, in his lines celebrating the sixth Consulate of Honorius, indicates the site of the Rostra as below the Palatine: "Subjectis Regia rostris." This transferred tribunal may be identified in a massive structure of tufa stonework, rectilinear, and so placed, near the arch of Septimius Severus, that a person standing on the summit would have the Capitoline hill at his back, the whole extent of the Forum in front. What we see is but a remnant, discovered by the clearing of the accumulated soil in the time of Pius VII., and now over-arched by the vaulting that supports a modern road. We still perceive the cavities for inserting the prows (*rostra*), or imitations of them in bronze, on some of the large square-hewn stones. The form and position of this structure correspond to the details in a relievo on the arch of Constantine, where that Emperor appears addressing the people from the rostrum, on occasion of his triumph over Maxentius. Among the reminiscences which inspired an English Poet on the Forum,

—where the immortal accents glow,

And yet the eloquent air breathes, burns with Cicero,

it is interesting to know that here, from this tribunal, did the great orator often address his audience; and here were the severed head and hands of Cicero exposed to insult after he had fallen (B.C. 43), the most illustrious victim of the Triumvirs.*

The conquest and almost total destruction of Rome by

* Varro, cited by Porphyry, says that the tomb of Romulus was behind the Rostra — of course meaning the earliest of those tribunals on the Forum.

the Gauls (B.C. 390, or 387) must have caused integral change to the Forum in all its aspects. One might suppose that the circumstances of such a tremendous catastrophe would have remained distinct in local memories, even though never committed to writing. The tragic picture of the venerable Senators awaiting their doom, seated motionless and silent on their curule chairs, till the work of massacre begun, is one of the most grandly impressive among scenes and events associated with this site. The narrative of that great disaster by Livius is somewhat incoherent. His words imply that the whole city, the fortress on the Capitol alone excepted, was left in smouldering ruin; yet elsewhere, he reports the decree obtained by the deliverer Camillus from the Senate, "that all the temples, having been in possession of the enemy, should be restored, their bounds traced, and expiation made for them—that Capitoline games should be exhibited in honour of Jupiter, *Optimus Maximus*, for having in time of danger protected his own mansion and the citadel of Rome."—(Baker's version). Almost in the next page, the Historian mentions a debate of the Senate held in their ancient place of assemblage, the Curia Hostilia, which cannot, therefore, have perished in the flames. The primitive temple of Vesta was certainly destroyed. From its ruins the four virgin priestesses escaped to Caere (now Cerveteri), carrying with them all such of their sacred objects as were portable, after burying the rest in earthen vessels (*doliola*) under the house of the Flamen Quirinalis. Their fane was soon rebuilt, but was again burnt down about 120 years afterwards. At that second conflagration, the Pontifex Maximus, Cæcilius Metellus, risked his life to save the thrice-sacred Palladium from Vesta's sanctuary, and lost his eyesight in the heroic effort, fortunately successful. He was rewarded by the honours of a statue, with an epigraph, erected on the

Capitol, the unique privilege of going to the Senate-house in a chariot instead of on foot, and the cognomen of "Pius," transmissible to all his descendants. (Liv. l. xix. Valerius Maximus, l. 1. c. IV; Pliny, H. N. l. vii. c. 43, § 41.)

The irregular and unsystematic method in which the City was restored, is mentioned by historians. "The haste of the builders," says Livius, "took away all attention to the regulation of the courses of streets; for, setting aside all regard to distinctions of property, they built on every spot found vacant. The form of the City appears as if force alone had directed the distribution of the lots." (Baker's "Livy," l. x. § 54.) The first noteworthy edifice on the Forum among those that arose new, not among those restored, is the Temple of Concord, founded by Furius Camillus, the conqueror of the invading Gauls, appointed Dictator for the fifth time, who intended in that sacred structure to commemorate the accord between Patricians and Plebeians, brought about through the measure which allowed both classes to be eligible, and members of each to be alternately elected, for the Consulate. The Senate often assembled in the cella of this temple; and here it was that Cicero denounced the conspiracy of Cataline. After a fire had much damaged the edifice, B.C. 84, it was restored, probably by the same Lutatius Catulus, the ædile, who built the upper storeys of the Tabularium.

Previously to the date here assumed, that of Cæsar's funeral, for our review of the Forum in the last period of Republican rule, four great buildings had arisen on this site, of not one among which any vestige can be positively pointed out: the Basilicas or high courts of justice—characteristic monuments of the genius and vocation which elevated Rome to the rank of Lawgiver for the world she effected so much to civilize. First was raised, B.C. 185, the Porcian Basilica, so

called from its founder Marcus Portius Cato, the Censor; and this edifice was among several reduced to ruins by the fire kindled at the tumultuous funeral of Clodius (B.C. 51), whose antagonist Milo, responsible for his violent death, was defended by Cicero. Next was founded, B.C. 180, the Fulvian Basilica by the Censor, one time Consul, M. Fulvius Nobilior. Next in order of date, B.C. 163, the Sempronian, probably on the site of the Julian Basilica still before us in roofless ruin—the former being founded by Sempronius Gracchus, twice Consul, and father of the celebrated, but alike unfortunate, Tribunes. Lastly arose the most splendid of these great edifices, the Æmilian Basilica, founded about the year 45 B.C. by the Consul Lucius Æmilius Paulus, and for the expenses of which building Cæsar advanced 1500 talents, equivalent to 7,500,000 francs. Its quadruple colonnades of purple-veined Phrygian marble are mentioned by Pliny (H. N. xxxvi. c. 15); and the ground-plan of this majestic edifice is preserved to us on one of the fragments of the antique map of Rome, incised on marble, found behind the church of *SS. Cosmo e Damiano*, and now in the Capitoline Museum. It was dedicated, B.C. 14, by another member of the Æmilian family, and after being injured by fire, was restored partly at the expense of Augustus, who assisted the same patrician house for that object. A second restoration, A.D. 22, is mentioned by Tacitus. In the “*Sylvæ*” of Statius (l. 1, § 1), this grandest among the basilicas of the Republic is styled “*regia*,” a regal structure.* The last notice of it is found in the “*Regionaries*,” towards the end of the IV. century; and it is conjectured (*v. Nibby*, “*Roma Antica e Moderna*”) that Theodosius removed from its deserted, if not already ruinous courts, the graceful shafts of *paonazzetto*

* *Belligeri sublimis Regia Paulli.*

(Phrygian) marble, to adorn the extramural church dedicated to S. Paul. Admitting this, we may still persuade ourselves that we look on the vestiges of the splendid Æmilian Basilica in the flat pilasters of purple-veined marble, now erect against the walls of the transepts in the restored *S. Paolo* on the Ostian Way—themselves but remnants of the colonnades overthrown and shattered by the fire, 1823.* It is well known how the Christians took suggestion from the plan and architecture of the Roman Judiciary Courts for the cathedrals of their worship. Christian Rome contains at this day four Basilicas ranking as Patriarchal, seven major Basilicas (inclusive of those four), and seven other churches invested with similar character though not equal rank; altogether, fourteen major and minor basilicas, the first four being the privileged cathedrals of the Pope.

The first erected triumphal arch on the Forum (B.C. 108), in honour of Fabius Maximus, called “Allobrox” from his victory over the Allobroges, stood at the southern side of this area at the period here referred to; but no vestige of it remains; and it is supposed to have been overthrown in the IV. century—more probably, in one of the sieges and pillages occurring in the more disastrous century that ensued. The triumphal arch, as a grand sculptured trophy of victorious Emperors, appears much later than that “Arcus Fabianus” of the Republic.

I may now invite my readers to pass in thought over another long interval, not less than two centuries and a half, and contemplate the Forum after the last addition had been made to its stately group of public edifices and

* It is not improbable, as conjectured by archæologists, that the front of the church of *S. Adriano*, near the north-west angle of the Forum, may present to us a remnant of the Æmilian Basilica. The brickwork now serving as a church-front, and intercepted by many arches now walled up, is evidently antique.

monuments under the Empire—namely, that latest erected among the arches, of the class just alluded to, in honour of Septimius Severus and his two sons. Strange indeed were the vicissitudes and metamorphoses which had passed over this historic centre during the interval from the death of Julius Cæsar to the reign of the African Severus! The people who could hail as deliverers of their country the assassins of the great Dictator, had submitted to, and superstitiously deified, a succession of the worst tyrants that ever lived or reigned. Among twenty-one Emperors, all had received divine honours, with exception of Tiberius, Caius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius. The insane voluptuary Caius had profaned the temple of the Dioscuri by breaking open a passage into its cella from an advancing wing of his palace; and used to seat himself, demanding divine worship, between the statues of the Twin Gods in that sanctuary! Almost every edifice of the republican period had, before this time, disappeared from the Forum; and on the Capitoline hill remained alone unchanged, where the massive structure is still in part preserved, the front and arcades of the Tabularium overlooking this historic area at the north-western side. Even the long-cherished and frequently restored “Cottage of Romulus” on the Palatine had been destroyed by the great fire, together with the Temple of Vesta and other public buildings, in Nero’s reign. Another conflagration had been fatal to the superb Temple of Peace, and to its purlieus richly adorned with sculptures, and called the “Forum Pacis,” which Vespasian founded A.D. 75. The Curia Julia, or Senate House, restored by Augustus, now looked down upon the “Forum Romanum,” probably from the same spot where had stood the ancient Curia Hostilia. That edifice having been burnt down in the fire kindled at the funeral of Clodius (A.D. 51),*

* Publius Clodius, a Roman soldier of noble birth, but infamous for

Faustus, the son of Sylla, undertook to restore it; only six years after the new Curia had been commenced it was demolished under pretext of raising a temple to Felicitas on the same spot, but in reality, as supposed, with the motive of a desire to suppress the memory and renown of the sanguinary Dictator, Sylla. The Triumvirate, or rather Julius Cæsar, beside whom his colleagues fell into the shade, founded another Curia, which was finished and dedicated to Julius after his death by his grand-nephew Augustus. This later Senate-House became a museum of art under the first Emperor. Its walls were adorned with paintings—scenes from the Punic War, the Gallic Invasion, the delivery of Rome by Camillus, and the victories of that leader in battle against the Gauls,—the artists being two Greeks, named Niceas and Philochares. In its portico stood a Greek statue of Victory brought from Tarentum, before which every Senator used to offer incense on an altar as he passed into the hall of assemblage (Silius Italicus, *Punic.* l. 1, 617). Some archæologists assume that to this Augustan Curia (or to its portico consecrated as a temple) pertains the beautiful ruin of a Corinthian peristyle, now generally known as the temple of Castor and Pollux. The opposite theory, which determines the sacred character for that ruin, as a temple, is (I believe) better supported. Admitting that the Corinthian columns do not pertain to the “Curia Julia,” we may, nevertheless,

his evil conduct, was slain by the retinue of Milo in an encounter which took place between the two when Milo was on his way towards Lanuvium, and Clodius was returning to Rome. Cicero, who defended the former from the charge of murder, says: “It lately brought the greatest honour to our friend Milo that with gladiators, hired for the sake of the Republic, he repressed all the attempts and madness of Publius Clodius.” (*De Officiis*, ii. xvii.) The death scene is supposed to have taken place on the ascent towards Albano, where the Appian Way reaches the base of the Latian hills.

recognize the hall of senatorial discussion in a lofty structure of brickwork, the best ancient Roman masonry indeed, at the rear of those columns, and immediately under the declivity of the Palatine. Interesting is it to be assured that we have here before us the still erect, though roofless, walls of that edifice whence proceeded the legislation of the Roman World, that hall of august assemblage which Cicero designates as "the Temple of the sanctity, the intelligence and wisdom of the State!"

The fane of the Dioscuri, which overlooked the Forum of the third century (in the time of Septimius Severus), was that restored by Domitian, and with how much splendour we may infer from the profusion of marble fragments, statuary, friezes, sculptured rilievi, &c., recently exhumed around it. Near it, westward, stood the "Ædes Cæsaris," or temple-tomb of the deified Julius, now to be recognized in a terrace of ruins brought to light, after long oblivion, with the semi-circular platform of the "Rostra Julii," placed by Augustus, still extant at the threshold of a peristyle no more seen. Between these two buildings and the Capitoline hill extended the great Basilica founded by Augustus on the site of the Sempronian, and dedicated, like the Curia, to "Divus Julius." Works commenced and directed by Canina in 1853, also pursued with activity in later years, have brought to light the now low-reduced ruins of that Basilica Julia, a spacious platform with much of its fine intarsio pavement (now restored), overstrewn with many fragments of marble ornamentation, pedestals with epigraphs for memorial statues, and broken sculptures, statues and relievi, some of superior character; also still erect portions of the arcades in brickwork, dividing the interior into aisles, and surrounding the whole oblong parallelogram. So long ago as the XVI. century an epigraph, edited by Gruter, was found on this site, recording a resto-

ration of the Basilica by a Prefect of the City, A.D. 377, as also the erection of a statue within its walls—possibly that of Julius Cæsar (no more extant), which was found near the neighbouring Consolazione Hospital, and is mentioned by Flaminio Vacca. This erecting, or restoring, of the effigy of the great Dictator by a Prefect of Christian Rome, would indeed be singular proof of that reverence for his memory which survived through mediæval vicissitudes, and which appears in the pages of Dante!

One anonymous writer, quoted by Eckhard, tells that a great conflagration in the reign of Carinus, A.D. 283, swept over the Curia Julia, the Græcostasis, the Basilica of Augustus, and the entire Forum of Cæsar, all which edifices, he states, were restored by Diocletian; and this must have been the last restoration of the classic architecture on either Forum, respecting which we are informed.

On the south-western side of the "Forum Romanum" (as we are now considering it under the later Empire) stood the Temple of Antoninus Pius and Faustina, originally approached by an ascent of twenty-one steps (all now buried) from the Via Sacra. Its columns, monoliths of green-veined Carystian marble (forty-five feet high), still stand with the inscribed architrave; and time has also spared the lateral walls of the cella with their beautiful friezes, displaying finely sculptured reliefs of griffins and candelabra. But these graceful ruins have been lamentably maltreated; the shafts of the columns are deeply furrowed for inserting the rafters and roofs of paltry houses thrown up against them in mediæval times; and the whole is now obscured, as well as disfigured, by the intrusive buildings of an ugly church, *S. Lorenzo in Miranda*, founded at an early date, but, as we now see it, (rebuilt 1602) a specimen of the poorest seventeenth-cen-

ture Italian style. The temple was founded by Antoninus Pius in honour of his deified Empress, shortly after her death in the third year of his reign (A.D. 141), and was dedicated after his decease, A.D. 161, to himself also, as an inscription added on a lower architrave (an anomalous detail) records. Faustina was not worthy of her virtuous and only too confiding lord. We may dissociate the memory of such a woman from that of the just Ruler who nobly exemplified on a throne the principles of the Stoic Philosophy whose disciple he had been from his youth; who preferred the title of Pacifier to that of Conqueror; and used incessantly to repeat the maxim "that it was better to preserve the life of a single citizen than to destroy a thousand enemies."

A view of this temple, in its original form, is introduced in the background of one of the rilievi from the demolished Arch of Marcus Aurelius, now set against the wall of a landing place above the great stairs in the Conservators' Palace on the Capitol. The equestrian statue of the last-named Emperor, the son-in-law and successor of Antoninus Pius, probably stood on the Forum before the fane dedicated to his adoptive parents. In the middle ages that effigy (the only antique equestrian statue in bronze still preserved entire) was removed to the Lateran piazza, and probably owed its rescue from destruction to the fortunate popular error which regarded it as the authentic image of Constantine. The equestrian statue of Domitian, whose place was not far from that of M. Aurelius on the Forum, and the terrace-like basement for which has been lately uncovered, is said to have been actually converted, through change of the head, into a portrait of the first Christian Emperor—and as such respected.

The sites of various buildings and enclosed, but roofless, areas connected with the Senate House are uncertain.

The Secretarium Senatus is supposed to have occupied the place of the church dedicated originally to S. Luke, afterwards to S. Martina also. The "Senaculum," a raised platform without roof, is supposed to have had its place on the spacious summit of a pile of masonry, now stript of its outer encrustation, either stone or marble, between the arch of Severus and the other still higher platform occupied by the temple of Concord. In a map of the Forum drawn up by Signor Rosa, this theory is adopted—it seems admissible.

I have pointed out the still recognizable remnant of the Rostra removed by Julius Cæsar from the Comitium to the base of the Capitoline hill. Near it we see the later erected tribunal for public oratory, called Rostra Capitolina, of the imperial period, and on one of the horns of whose curving platform was placed by Augustus the miliarium Aureum, a cippus of gilt-bronze on which were inscribed the distances of all the Roman roads beyond the city-gates. The semicircular elevation now before us, with remains of its coating in rich marbles, is probably the "Rostra" restored by Septimius Severus. Not far, westward, from the arch of that Emperor, stood another similar triumphal monument, now totally vanished—the arch of Tiberius, erected A.D. 13, to commemorate the victories of that Prince, assisted by his brother Drusus, and the later recovery of the standards lost when the Roman legions were defeated by the Germans under the heroic Arminius, (Hermann), A.D. 9.

By the jointly achieved victories of Tiberius and Drusus, B.C. 15-14, all the possessions lost in Germany were recovered, and the Vindelici, Raeti, with other fierce tribes resubjected to Rome. These triumphs are celebrated by Horace in two odes, those of Drusus being especially dwelt on in Ode IV., those of Tiberius in Ode V., fourth

book ; but all the honour of the re-establishment of the Empire on its larger basis is given by the poet to Augustus. Near that arch of Tiberius, probably on one side of the rostra, stood an *ædícula* to the Genius of the Roman people, erected B.C. 41, during the dictatorship of Julius Cæsar—a monument to the idea of their own divinely appointed supremacy which then possessed that people's mind.

Most magnificent among the temples now overlooking the Forum from the southern slope of the Capitol, was that of Concord, rebuilt by Tiberius during the lifetime of Augustus (A.D. 10), and dedicated by the former fifteen years after he had, when Consul, decreed such renovation of the fane founded by Camillus. It was subsequently restored by Septimius Severus and his son Antoninus, as shown by an epigraph exhumed on this site, where also was found another inscription recording the courtier devotedness of a citizen who offered in this temple five pounds' weight of gold and as many of silver, for the welfare of Tiberius (*pro salute Tib. Cæsaris.*) The dedication of this edifice, in its renewed splendour, aroused the attention and was celebrated by the pen of Ovid, even from his sorrowful exile in Pontus. (*Fasti*, l. vi. 637.) Little now remains of it except the lofty terrace on which stood the portico and cella, but about half of which area is buried beneath the modern road ascending the Capitol on the eastern side. Some beautiful fragments of its architecture are, however, preserved in the Museum of the Tabularium. On the spacious platform where that fane once proudly rose, remain three large basements for statues, also some portions of richly chiselled cornices, and the pavement of Numidian and Iasian marble—italicé, “giallo antico” and “porta santa.” On one immense block of the latter (pink and brown) marble is seen a small concave design, formerly

filled with gilt bronze, of the caduceus of Mercury, intelligible symbol of Concord, and alone sufficient to determine the character of a building now preserved in such scanty relics. What remained of this temple in the Middle Ages was, it is supposed, destroyed together with a baronial castle built over it, by decree of the uncompromising Senator Brancaleone, in the year 1258, when the principal fortresses of the turbulent barons were thus unsparingly treated—the Senator's expedient for striking those petty oppressors of mediæval Rome in their strongholds, wounding them where most vulnerable. Next to the temple of Concord stands another ruin, three beautiful Corinthian columns, all now left of a magnificent peristyle, which reminds us of the primæval worship of Saturn, and the deeply significant mythology connected with it. This is the latest restoration of that ancient fane of the god, due to Septimius Severus and his son, as recorded by the inscription on its architrave, of which but one mutilated word, *restituer* (*restituerunt*), remains. Opinions are divided as to the identity of the Saturn Temple; some antiquaries assuming it to be the other fane lower down on the Capitoline declivity, and now consisting of a badly restored Ionic portico with eight granite columns, architrave, and lofty stylobate. We know that the temple in question communicated with the State Treasury, the so-called “Sanctius Aerarium;” and it is palpably evident that during ages when the ponderous *aes rude* was still in circulation, such a deposit of the public money must have occupied large or numerous chambers, the ruins of which would be conspicuous. No vestige of such buildings is found in the vicinity of the peristyle and still partly preserved cella of the temple lower down on the Capitoline hill. We may therefore conclude that that on the higher ground, represented by the Corinthian columns, is the fane of

Saturn; that on the lower, the Ionic edifice, the fane founded by Domitian in honour of his father and brother, and commonly called "Temple of Vespasian," though dedicated to Titus also. This determination is confirmed by epigraphic evidence; and assurance is made doubly sure through the light thrown on the subject from the simple records of a German pilgrim, the "Anonymous of Einsiedlin," who copied the then better preserved epigraph from the Corinthian peristyle, comprising the single word still left in imperfect state: *Severus et Anton.—restituerunt*; and also the longer epigraph, as we still see it on the architrave of the Ionic portico: *Senatus Populusque Romanus incendio consumptum restituit*, with the addition, *Divo Vespasiano Augusto*. The temple founded by Domitian was restored by order of the Senate after the fire here alluded to, and which is mentioned by the ecclesiastical historian Zosimus as occurring in the reign of Maxentius. Its restoration under the last (save one) of the heathen Emperors, must therefore have been the last of which a fane for heathen worship in Rome was the object. Poggio Bracciolini mentions it as still standing entire at the date, 1452, when he wrote his eloquent essay, "*De Varietate Fortunæ*." In the rear of the lofty artificial terrace on which stands the other temple, we see on the massive stonework of the Tabularium the easily discernible outlines of two arched doors, both walled up with similar ancient stonework. These we may suppose to be communications between the fane of Saturn and the chambers within that great fortress-like building on the Capitol, where the public money was kept; and we have here confirmatory proof that the Corinthian colonnade represents the edifice dedicated to the God—the Ionic, that dedicated to the two Emperors.

In an angle formed by the front of the Tabularium and the modern road ascending the Capitol on the western side,

risers another Corinthian colonnade restored (injudiciously, I think) in 1857, with five columns of granite added to the five antique ones with shafts of fluted marble, behind which open seven vaulted chambers built in brickwork. Here we see the "Portico of the Dii Consentes" (or Consentii), the twelve superior gods and goddesses, six of each sex, styled also "Dii Majorum Gentium," who were the special counsellors of the supreme God, according to Etruscan mythology. The original epigraph, on the architrave of the colonnade, records a restoration of their images (*sacrosancta simulacra*,) by the Urban Prefect, Prætextatus, one who held his office under Julian—and in this restoration we have monumental proof of the zeal with which that Emperor applied himself to the desperate effort of a heathen revival. Seven of the statues of the Dii Consentes were made of silver, offered by two Curators, who adorned the platform in front of this portico with marble decorations, supplying it also with bronze seats for public use. The terrace, thus laid out and embellished, served, like our modern Exchanges, for the assembly of men of business, and was called, from the name of one of those Curators, "Schola Xantha." Seven other vaulted chambers, below this terrace, are supposed to have been the offices of notaries, who there passed the day transacting business or waiting for engagements.

We have yet to consider the latest among monuments of the Western Empire still erect within the limits of the Forum—the arch raised in honour of Septimius Severus and his two sons, A.D. 205. A long inscription on its attic (repeated both sides) asserts the haughty claims of the *Populus Romanus*, notwithstanding their abject submission to so many ferocious tyrants, one of whom, Caius called Caligula, characteristically desired that all had but a single neck to afford him the pleasure of decapitating all by one

sword-stroke! The Senate and People record on this arch the victories of their rulers as won for, and securing the aggrandisement of, *their own* Empire: "Imperium populi Romani propagatum." A lesson of deeper meaning may be learnt from these chiselled lines, one of which ("Optimis fortissimisque Principibus"), as is evident from the disposal of the cavities for the nails serving to fasten the inlaid gilt bronze letters, cannot be the original, but is substituted for some other line after the name, introduced above, of Antoninus the elder, with omission of that of Geta, the younger son of Severus.* The fratricide Emperor Antoninus, known by the nickname of Caracalla, who slew his victim (A.D. 212) in the arms of the wretched mother vainly striving to protect the one from the other of her children, ordered the name of his brother to be erased from all inscriptions, and his images alike destroyed wherever erected, as apparent to this day in the mutilated reliefs on the other arch raised by the bankers and goldsmiths in honour of Septimius Severus and his sons, in the Velabrum. Dion Cassius tells us that "to write or utter, even without design, his (Geta's) name, was sufficient for being declared and condemned as guilty. Poets were forbidden to give that name to any character in their dramatic works." The fratricide, who had attempted violence also against the life of his father during the campaign in Britain, was "tormented" (the same historian tells us) "with frightful imaginings; he fancied himself pursued by his father and brother with naked swords in their hands." He invoked the souls of the dead, particularly that of Commodus—a strangely chosen protector!—to rescue him; yet, with ferocious inconsistency, scrupled not to offer to the gods,

* Through inspection of the erased parts and of the marks left by the removed letters, it has been made out that the original line, the fourth from the top, was probably *P. Sept. Luc. Fil. Getæ Nobiliss. Casari.*

in a temple at Alexandria, the sword with which he had slain his brother.*

The sculptures on the Septimian Arch, representing the Oriental victories of that Emperor in the years 195, 198, betray an unaccountable and hopeless decline of art when compared with the beautiful relievi, of date 125 years earlier, on the similar monument in honour of Titus. The choice of subjects for artistic presentment on triumphal arches was not left to the arbitration of sculptors, but prescribed according to an authoritative, and, as we might say, hierarchic norma. On the summit was to be placed the imperial effigy in a bronze chariot, drawn by two, or four, horses. On the two fronts were to be represented the campaigns and victories of the honoured Emperor. On the keystone was to be the image of Rome personified as an amazon; on the spandrils of the chief *fornix* (central arch), winged genii were to hover as figures of the four Seasons—emblems also of the eternal Empire, supposed to be enduring as the natural succession of those Seasons themselves. At the spandrils of the minor arches (or elsewhere if there were but one fornix) were to appear the personified cities and rivers of the conquered countries; on the frieze, smaller relievi of the triumphal procession; along the basement story, winged Victories with trophies, and captives led in bonds, the mournful accessorial groups which ever accompanied the proud procession along the Via Sacra and up the Clivus Capitolinus.

* The moral of this example is finely expressed by Coleridge:

“Just Heaven instructs us with an awful voice,
That Conscience rules us, even against our choice;
Our inward monitress, to guide or warn,
If listened to; but if repelled with scorn,
At length as dire Remorse she reappears,
Works in our guilty hopes and selfish fears,” &c.

“*Remorse*,” a Tragedy.

This finely conceived order of artistic illustration is followed out in the example before us, only with substitution of Mars bearing trophies for the "Roma" on the chief keystone, also of Bacchus and Hercules (protecting deities of the African Emperor's family) for other figures usually introduced on the keystones of the minor arches. The reliefs on the north side represent an attack on the city of Atris in Arabia; the taking of Seleucia on the canal between the Tigris and the Euphrates; also the capture of Ctesiphon, a city the residence of the Parthian kings, on the latter river. Near the highest angle at the spectator's right is represented the siege of Babylon, and a rudely designed building with a dome is intended for the famous temple of Belus. On the south side are represented the campaigns in Mesopotamia; the sculptures here being so much damaged, apparently by the action of fire, that little can be distinguished. We can discern, however, the Persian dragon, adopted by the Romans among their standards after those successful wars of Septimius Severus. In the scene of the triumph, on the frieze, we distinguish, among the small figures in low relief, the seated Roma receiving homage from the subject Parthia, who kneels before her. In the group of captives, all in Oriental costume, driven like herds before the Roman soldiers, on the basement story, is an affecting episode of an Asiatic soldier clasping a child to his breast, with expression of the deepest anguish in his poor aged face.*

* This arch passed through vicissitudes in mediæval times. A castle was built over and around it by a baronial family named De Bratis. A small church was thrown up against its front on the side towards the Forum, of which association with Christian worship we see a record to this day dimly preserved, in a much worn monogram of the Holy Name, within a circlet, incised on the marble pavement of the minor *fornix*, at our left on the southern side.

Here we see in contemporary and authentic presentment the Roman triumph, one of the acts in whose gorgeous pageantry took place on the *clivus*, at a short distance from this arch, between the temples of Saturn and Vespasian. In the former of those fanes the conqueror deposed on oath that he had correctly reported the amount of booty and the number of captives taken. Between the two temples the splendid procession made halt; the miserable prisoners were led away from its ranks, and the victor gave orders, from his car drawn by milk-white steeds, decisive of their fate—often that of death by strangulation or starvation in the Mamertine dungeons. There were, it is true, exceptions honourable to the humanity of the conquerors; but, in its generally apparent moral aspects, the Roman triumph was the glorification of cruelty; its intent and circumstances reminding us of that official disregard for the attribute of mercy which so deeply stains the annals of the Republic and Empire alike. Rulers and Generals habitually ignored that which

—becomes

The throned monarch better than his crown—

and failed in noble deference to what is higher than conquest, greater than sovereignty.* There were, in all, thirty-six triumphal and ornamental (namely, sculptured) arches in Rome—the first triumphal one having been raised, B.C. 196, in honour of Stertinius, a successful military leader. (Liv. lxxxi. c. 34.)

Near the arch of Septimius was brought to light through

* Even the ideal of a triumph suitable for a virtuous and clement Emperor, Trajan, is thus depicted by the younger Pliny: “Videor jam cernere non spoliis provinciarum et extorto sociis auro, sed hostilibus armis captorumque regum catenis triumphum gravem—videor intueri immanibus ausis barbarorum onusta fercula, et sua quemque facta vinctis manibus sequentem, etc.”—*Paneg.* xvii.

works in the earlier years of this century about one-half of a curving platform, with remains of rich marble incrustation on the outer side, and a circular brick basement at the eastern extremity. This is believed to be the later rostra of the Empire, at one end of which stood the "Milliarum Auræum," at the other the "Umbilicus Romæ," from which all distances within the walls were measured, as those of the great highways beyond the city-gates were measured, and inscribed, on the former. This so-called "Rostra Capitolina," as it now rises before us, is probably (as above stated) a restoration. Other triumphal arches besides that of the last-named Emperor, stood on the Forum, perhaps unimpaired, till the sieges and disasters of the V. century: one raised by the Senate to Augustus after the victory of Actium (Dion. li. 19); another raised by that Emperor himself, near the *Ædes Cæsaris*, to commemorate the recovery from the Parthians of the standards lost by Crassus; another, probably near the north-eastern angle under the Capitoline hill, in honour of Marcus Aurelius. Some valuable reliefs from the last of those arches are fortunately preserved; but the other memorials of conquest have vanished without a trace.*

Let us now pass over another long interval—three centuries—and contemplate the Forum as it appeared at the beginning of the seventh century of the Christian era. In the year 608 was erected the last monument to be called in any sense classic, which still stands in its place within these limits: the memorial of the Greek Emperor Phocas, no longer a "nameless column with the buried base," as when Byron saw and described it, its pedestal having been uncovered in 1813, and the dedicatory inscription conse-

* Some remains, travertine stonework, of the arch of Fabius Allobrox (mentioned above) were destroyed in 1540, when the then extant epigraph on its front was removed to the Capitol.

quently brought to light. But that epigraph is mutilated, as supposed by order of Heraclius, successor to Phocas on the Byzantine throne, who also probably ordered the statue of gilt bronze at the apex to be taken down. We still see in the chiselled lines the name of Smaragdus, the Exarch, who raised this memorial, almost the sole monumental trace left in Rome by the feeble government of the Greek Exarchate, whose seat was Ravenna.* The now imperfect epigraph accredits with all king-becoming virtues, and apostrophizes as *optimo, clementissimo*, "crowned by God," &c. a soldier who raised himself to the throne of Constantinople, A.D. 602, by means of revolt against his lawful sovereign Mauritius, whom he caused to be put to death, after being compelled to see his five sons butchered before his eyes. Not content with this, Phocas ordered the widowed Empress and her three daughters to be assassinated without any intelligible political motive for that crime! After a reign of eight years the usurper was deposed, and put to death like a common malefactor, his body being dragged through the streets and burnt in a market-place. Such the princes to whom Rome was subjected in these times under the Eastern Empire! More momentous than any political was the moral revolution which had taken place in the ancient metropolis during the interval since we last endeavoured to picture to the mind's eye the realities of the Forum. Interpenetrating society, that revolution had changed, together with the religious principle, the tendencies and ideas, the arts and literature, the whole tissue and complex relations of national and social life. There are two legends, the scene of both which is here before us, and whose contrasted characters well

* Restorations of the fortifying walls and gates, by Belisarius, and the Porta Appia (or of S. Sebastiano), rebuilt probably by a later Exarch, are among the few works due to those officials.

serve to illustrate the spirit of Heathen and Christian times. Classic legend presents to us the yawning gulf, the self-devotion of Curtius, valour and patriotism personified in him whose sublime self-sacrifice delivers Rome from disaster and danger; and on the same spot Christian legend imagines the mystic triumph of the saintly Pope Sylvester over the pestilential dragon which, issuing from underground, slew numbers by its venomous breath, a portent and terror to all citizens, till at last that holy Pontiff came with cross in hand, threw a chain around the monster's neck, and drove him back, submissive and powerless, to the mouth of the abyss, from whence he never more emerged—a picturesque allegory of the overthrow of Paganism through Christian faith, the purifying of a corrupt social state through virtue of doctrines and influences that emanate from the Cross!

The temples still rose, majestic in their antique architecture, around Rome's Forum, though incense no longer burnt, nor were victims slain, nor libations poured at their altars in the period here referred to. Twenty years after the Emperor Gratian had deprived the heathen priests and Vestal virgins of revenues hitherto guaranteed by the State. Theodosius passed a law, A.D. 383, ordering all the fanes of the ancient idolatry to be closed, and prohibiting the accustomed sacrifices under pain of death; yet was it deemed necessary to revive this same law by new enactment in the time of Honorius, A.D. 408. It was, however, provided that such temples as served for public adornment, and contributed to the splendour or renown of great cities should be preserved intact, while many others were left to perish, some through deliberate demolition.

Only one fane of the ancient superstition in Rome had yet been dedicated to Christian worship and reopened as a church—that, namely, which has been called both the

Temple of Romulus, the Temple of Remus, and by German archæologists supposed to be that of the Divine Penates, the civic protectors—a quadrangular edifice with a rotunda in front, which serves as vestibule, or atrium, to the principal part.* This temple, manifestly of the period of decline, was dedicated to the oriental saints, Cosmas and Damian, by Pope Felix IV. A.D. 527, and thus rescued for Christian service. As to its rank and importance under Heathenism, it is remarkable that no classic author mentions it.

In the dry catalogue of the “Regionaries” we find the supposed earliest notice of it. Joannes Diaconus, in his life of S. Gregory the Great, also refers to it by the name of “templum Romuli.” The date of its origin has been established by the evidence of epigraphy; the inscription on its façade, beginning *Imp. Cæsar. Constantinus Maximus*, being extant in a drawing of the plan and elevation of this edifice, preserved in the Vatican library. Fuller light has been thrown on the subject by the Chev. de Rossi, who clearly shows (in his “Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana”) that this temple was raised by Maxentius, and dedicated to his early lost son, Romulus, and that, after the downfall of that Emperor, the honour of the work was attributed, as in the case of other buildings erected by Maxentius, to his triumphant antagonist Constantine. The rotunda had a rectilinear portico, with columns of Carystian marble, two only of which are left standing, but not in their original place. In the rear wall of the quadrangular edifice were found, mixed with fragments of antique tombstones, those precious portions of an ancient map of Rome, incised on marble, either originally made or restored in the reign

* The consecrating and re-opening of the Pantheon for Christian worship took place either in the year 608 or 610, and with the permission, still requisite, of the Greek Emperor, the above-named Phocas.

of Septimius Severus and Antoninus his son, which now rank among the treasures of the Capitoline Museum. This invaluable treasure-trove (secured towards the close of the XVI. century) was due to an architect, Antonio Dosio; the marbles were first transferred to the Farnese Palace; finally (1742) to the Museum where we now see them. An inference which seems admissible is that this specimen of antique ichnography adorned the walls of some temple, probably that of Venus and Rome, and was removed, as mere building material, to that consecrated as a church by Felix IV., perhaps for some repairs carried out by the Pope's order.*

The first church which arose on the Forum with construction almost (if not entirely) new, was *S. Adriano*, founded among the ruins of the magnificent Æmilian Basilica, by Pope Honorius I., about A.D. 630. Not only did the heathen temples look down, probably with the unimpaired beauty of their classic architecture, on this historic arena, but other edifices also, emblems of the institutions and powers of the ancient Empire, as the Basilica of Augustus and the Curia Julia. Within the walls of that Basilica had arisen, where we still see it, now a ruin amidst ruins, an earlier oratory for Christian worship, founded by Pope Julius I., A.D. 337, in the western aisle of that imperial court of justice, whose arcades were filled up with the brickwork of the IV. century, still recognisable from its inferior character. When these ruins were cleared of en-

* Twenty-six compartments, on the walls of the staircase of the Museum, are filled with the fragments of this "Pianta Capitolina," several of which have been restored, not, it appears, in the best manner; but drawings from the originals are fortunately extant in the Vatican library. Not long ago a few other fragments were found in the same place during some works undertaken by the Franciscan Friars at SS. Cosmo and Damiano. Among these is seen the only known indication of an edifice the site of which is disputed—the Portico of Livia.

cumbering soil by recent works, some religious paintings (probably of the VI. century) were seen on the walls; some vestiges of marble ornamentation, with the sculptured cross, were found strewn on the floor of the aisle consecrated by Pope Julius.

Among the most interesting historic memories associated with the Curia of the imperial period, is a transaction which marks a stage in the struggle between Heathenism and Christianity at the ancient capital, where the results of that contest were so momentous. I have mentioned the altar and image of Victory in the vestibule of the Senate House, sacred to Minerva, before which image every senator had to throw incense on that altar as he passed into the hall of assemblage—an act of political rather than religious significance, but utterly inexcusable in the eyes of the primitive Christians. Altar and image acquired the character of a symbol and standard in the great conflict of principles carried on during the fourth century. The first Emperor who removed both from their place in the Curia, about A.D. 357, was Constantius, the second son of Constantine, and sole ruler over the Roman world after the deaths of his two brothers. Both objects were replaced by Julian, his successor, probably in the first year, A.D. 360, of his short reign. Altar and image were again removed, in, or soon after, the year 382, by Theodosius, who was, in fact, through his stringent laws and more decided measures against the old superstition, the actual destroyer of Pagan worship and suppressor of its priesthood. A senate still in great part, if not in its plurality, Heathen, made repeated efforts to restore those relics of the proscribed worship in their Curia, and deputations were sent with the object of obtaining that grace from successive or co-reigning Emperors, at Milan, or other cities where they then resided. On one occasion Symmachus, the most distinguished leader

of the Heathen party in the Senate, was chief spokesman before the Emperor Valentinian. He was eloquently opposed by S. Ambrose; and to that great Bishop of Milan is mainly due the final extirpation of idolatrous forms from the senatorial procedure at Rome. It is said that the panic caused by pestilence had given the first impulse, or pretext, for the demand made by Heathen senators, who did not want support among a people perhaps less generally converted to Christianity than their rulers supposed. Eugenius, a usurper proclaimed Emperor by a military faction in Gaul, A.D. 372, ordered the altar and image to be replaced during his short sojourn, after his irregular election, at Rome. His feeble effort to revive the ancient superstition was soon crushed by Theodosius, who defeated him in battle (A.D. 394), and sentenced him to death. Again, and for the last time, were the objectionable relics of Heathenism set aside—the incense-cloud no more ascended to the Divine Victoria in Rome's Senate House.

Yet one more effort was made for the revival of Paganism, and this last strange attempt was also witnessed on the Roman Forum. In the year 536 the Gothic war was raging, and greatest calamity impending over Rome, while panic prevailed among the citizens in anticipation of the long siege which actually ensued. There were those who desired to restore Heathen worship with endeavour to propitiate the neglected gods of mythology, as if *their* protection could avail more than the faith, morals and courage of Christianity at such a crisis! In the silence of night was made, stealthily as with the sense of guilt, the attempt to re-open the long shut *sacellum* of Janus, which still stood (see the description by Procopius) untouched by decay. Was it the hope that the two-faced god might be induced to interpose for the city's rescue through this return to olden observances? Whatever the intent, the effort failed, for

the bronze valves could not be moved on their rusty hinges; but the record remains, strangely betraying how long the bias and sentiment of Paganism lingered among a corrupt and enfeebled people.

A wild superstition, the offspring of popular fear and patriotic pride, is mentioned in the narrative of what passed within this city during the Gothic siege. It was rumoured that those who had gone out in the sorties from the gates to meet and combat the foe, and who had fallen in brave resistance, rose from death on the field, and still, resuscitated corpses as they were, fought against the Goths for the rescue of Rome!

Among the few public buildings, with any claim to notice, raised on the chief Forum in the period of declining Empire, was the "Secretarium Senatus," where the Conscript Fathers usually assembled after this new Senate House had been founded for their use by an Urban Prefect, one Flavianus, A.D. 399. We learn that another Prefect of Rome, named Eucharis, restored it in 407; and it is supposed that this later hall of assemblage stood at the north-eastern angle of the Forum, near the site of the present church dedicated both to S. Luke and to S. Martina. The site of an equestrian statue of Constantine, near the south-western angle of the arch of Septimius Severus, may be recognized by the remains of its basement in travertine. An inflated epigraph, the dedication of that effigy by the Consul Anicius Paulinus, was copied by the "Anonymous" of Einsiedlin.* Near that spot are seen the ruins of a small vaulted building, in the bad masonry of the period of decline, as to which nothing positive is

* D. N. Constantino maximo, pio, felici ac triumphatori, semper Augusto, ob amplificatam toto orbe rem publicam factis consultisque S. P. Q. R., dedicante Anicio Paulino juniore V. C. Cons. Ord. Praef. Urbis.

known—possibly a chapel for Heathen worship, and among the last such ever raised in Rome, of the time of Maxentius or Julian?

The civic government of the later period here in question (the VII. century) was carried on by delegates sent from the Byzantine Court with the title of Dukes of Rome, resident on the Palatine, while the highest representatives of the Greek Emperor in Italy were the Exarchs who had had their seat at Ravenna since the year 553. Another power, now rapidly advancing in self-development and with ever increasing signs of vital energy, which alone, amidst the general decline of institutions and corruption of manners, possessed the dignity of virtue and commanded the tributes of popular respect and sincere attachment, was that of the Roman Bishops, to ignore the pre-eminence of whose vocation and merits, among potent agencies of a new civilization, would be blindness before one of the most luminous facts in the history of Christendom. Never had their sacred throne—yet dependent on no material support nor requiring the poor pageantry of secular courts—been more worthily filled than by the first Gregory, justly styled as both the saintly and “the Great.” When we look on the Column of Phocas, this holy Pontiff is brought before our minds amidst interesting associations; for it was near the spot on which, a few years subsequently, that memorial was raised, that, before his election to the papal chair, Gregory saw the young Saxon captives exposed to be sold as slaves, and asking about their nationality and religion, became struck by their innocent looks and hapless fate. On this occasion, in genial mood, did he indulge in the well-known play upon words: not “Angli,” but “Angeli;” and the impression made thus casually did not prove fruitless, for it inspired the Saint with the resolution he hoped to carry out in person, of a mission for converting those still

left in Pagan darkness among the natives of Britain. S. Gregory was prevented from conducting that enterprise himself; but, after the cares of spiritual government had fixed him on the pontific throne, he confided it to others, holy men well chosen for such a task. Thus does the column of the infamous usurper Phocas link itself on the historic page, and in monumental association, with the evangelizing mission, organized by the saintly Pontiff and headed by S. Augustine, which set out from Rome for Britain, A.D. 596.*

Nearly five centuries had passed since the erection of the Column of Phocas. For nearly 300 years the successors of Gregory I. had held temporal as well as spiritual sovereignty before the most intrepid asserter of their loftiest claims, another Gregory, seventh Pope of that name, encountered the utmost fury of that opposition which was inevitable in the shock of antagonistic principles between the German Empire of the West and the Roman Pontificate now exerting an authority and affecting Divine rights beyond all hitherto dreamt of, or appropriated, by the Christian Priesthood. In the month of May, 1084, the Norman leader, Robert Guiscard, marched with his forces from Southern Italy, bent on the rescue of the heroic Pope, actually besieged in the S. Angelo castle, his last refuge, whilst the Emperor Henry IV. occupied Rome with his German army. Then broke out, whether through accident or in the result of some slight contest between soldiers and citizens, the terrible conflagration which raged with greatest intensity on the Forum, sweeping across the entire region from the Capitoline to the Coelian hill (much

* How far was this mission, which led to the origin of the See and Primacy of Canterbury, from being the cause or first movement for the establishing of a Christian Church in Britain, is convincingly shown by Dr. Hook in his valuable "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury."

further, according to what some chroniclers state), and certainly most disastrous at this centre so renowned for monumental wealth and beauty. With that catastrophe it may be said that the ancient, the classical Rome passed away, suffering such metamorphosis as completely changed her olden aspects, dimmed her antique glories, reduced to mere skeleton forms her noblest architectural creations, "temple and pillar, and memorial tomb." Modern Rome may be dated thence; and even on the Forum, though the Spirit of the Past can never be expelled from ground so haunted, from a scene so rich in classic remains, even here have vulgar realities, wretched modernizations, and bad taste intruded themselves.

That fire kindled by the Normans under Guiscard might be considered a symbol of a yet more momentous and, in moral import, more awful event—the final wreck of dominion destined for ever to pass away—the last fatal shock of destruction to the still majestic wrecks, if not to the already lost ascendancy, of the greatest of Empires. Who can contemplate without emotion such a picture—the last crushing accumulation of ruin upon ruins, the cradle become the tomb of Roman greatness in this its pre-eminent centre and most monumentally illustrious arena!*

* It is inferred that the Forum Romanum could not have been entirely buried, or filled up with accumulated *débris*, at the end of the XI. century, seeing that a silver coin of either the fourth or fifth Emperor Henry has been found, deep below the level for modern transit, on its ancient pavement, so much of which remained underground before recently undertaken works had brought so much to light. The most noteworthy epigraphs exhumed in the recent *scavi* here, have been reported above. I may give at full the two which represent, probably, the earliest and latest periods of which such records are before us within this excavated region. On the architrave of a pilaster of red

Syenite granite, in small archaic letters: *Romulus Martis F. Rex Ann.—De Cænensibus K. Mar—Martis F. Rex. II.*

On a massive cornice of marble, apparently from a portico, in large letters: *Dominis omnium Gratiano Valentiniano et Theodosio Imperatoribus T. Val. Sept. Bass.—V. C. Præf. Urb. Majestati eorum dicavit.*

CHAPTER VII.

THE CAPITOL OF ROME.

POGGIO BRACCIOLINI, commencing his meditations on the vicissitudes of Fortune in the affairs and interests of Humanity, himself on the Capitoline hill, as it stood overstrewn by neglected or defaced ruins in the earlier years of the XV. century, thus mourns over the condition of that classic mount: "Oh, how greatly does this Capitol differ from that of which our Maro sung:—

Aurea nunc, olim sylvestribus horrida dumis ;

So much so, indeed, that his (Virgil's) lines might now be suitably paraphrased:—

Aurea quondam, nunc squalida spinetis vepribusque referta !"

De Variet. Fortunæ, l. i.

Though surrounded by historic associations and identified with national glories, the Roman Capitol is but vaguely mentioned, and with diverse use even of the local terms applied to it, by antique authors. In their pages "Capitolium" sometimes signifies the fortress on the Tarpeian rock alone; sometimes the hill itself (the ancient *Saturnia*), with all the buildings upon it; but more frequently the Temple of Jove, that most famous and conspicuous among edifices here placed, which some archæologists suppose to have stood on the Tarpeian, the south-western, summit; others, on the plateau (north-eastern), now occupied by the Franciscan church and convent of Araceli. Livius often implies, in the name

“Capitolium,” the arx with all its surroundings.* Tacitus, describing the civil war between Vitellius and Vespasian, and deploring the destruction of that thrice sacred fane of the Capitoline Jove, together with other buildings around it, as clearly implies the temple *alone*, emblem and chief sanctuary of a religious system, in the same designation; the splendid temple founded by Tarquinius Superbus being, for that historian, the Capitol itself. So also does the younger Pliny understand, when mentioning that temple. Winding up his panegyric of Trajan with a solemn prayer to the gods who were guardians of empire (*custodes imperii*), but especially to the Capitoline Jove, he implores of that deity to bestow on Rome, when the day should come, a worthy successor to so virtuous a ruler; or, if it were impossible that another should prove like unto Trajan, to be at least present in, and through divine power guide, the counsels of those called to elect one worthy to be adopted by Trajan himself in the Capitol—“*Monstres aliquem quem adoptari in Capitolio deceat*”—namely, in the great temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Horace in several passages uses the revered name “Capitolium” as synonymous with political or imperial power; the sacred hill becoming the emblem of Roman dominion—*e.g.*, in his Ode on the conquest of Egypt (l. i. carm. xxxvii), where, alluding to Cleopatra, he supposes her bent on effecting ruin to the Empire and the Capitol:—

* “It was decreed first that the military youth with their wives and children, also the more vigorous among the Senators, should ascend into the Capitoline citadel (*in arcem Capitolinum*).—Exhortations were addressed to the company of young men, whom they (the Senators) followed to the Capitol and into the citadel (*in Capitolium atque in arcem*).—While these events were taking place at Veii, the citadel of Rome and the Capitol (*arx Romæ Capitoliumque*) were in great peril” (Liv. li. c. 22, 27), the historian here referring to the crisis of the Gallic invasion and capture.

— dum Capitolio
Regina dementes ruinas
Fusus et imperio parabat.*

Elsewhere, lamenting the avarice and cupidity of his time, he uses the designation in the same sense as does Tacitus, understanding therein the Temple of Jupiter, into which fane (he says), as into the ocean, men, if they were truly penitent for sin and worldliness, would cast all superfluous wealth:—

— in Capitolium,
Quo clamor vocat et turba faventium,
* * * * *
Gemmas et lapides aurum et inutile,
Summi materiem mali,
Mittamus, scelerum si bene pœnitet.†

(L. 3, c. xxiv.)

Yet one other, the sole antique edifice still erect, conspicuous and imposing even in decay, on this hill-summit, had importance in the eyes of all ancient Romans, and is mentioned by classic writers in terms that almost identify it with this historically renowned hill, or at least with the fortified, though not sacred, aggregate of monuments reflecting so much glory on Rome's Capitol. I mean that

* "In this ode" (says Lord Lytton) "the three pictures of Cleopatra constitute the action of a drama: her insolent power with its Oriental surroundings—her flight and fall—her undaunted death:—

'While ruin and death were prepared
For Rome by the fell madding Queen.'"

† "O, were we penitent indeed for sins,
How we should haste to cast gems, gauds, gold useless,
Save as the raw material of all ill,
Amid the shouts of multitudes applauding,
Into the vaults of Capitolian Jove,
Or that safe treasure-house—the nearest ocean!"

Lord Lytton's version.

edifice now popularly called, and named in guide-books, "Tabularium"—i. e. the Archivium, or Record Office, of the Republican and Imperial city alike, also connected with, indeed containing within its massive walls, the Ærarium, or Treasury of State. United with the Temple of Saturn (though actually within this strongly fortified building on the Capitol), that treasury was, we may infer, entered from the *cella* of the ancient fane on the declivity above the Forum. The still immense, though but in part preserved, structure of the Archivium, built in regular courses of lithoid tufa from Gabii (*lapis Gabinus*), is only visible on the side overlooking the declivity, where its front presents an extent of massive and firm masonry, 37 feet high and 240 feet wide; also, in a remnant of its huge masonry at each of the narrower sides; while the whole body of the building northwards is concealed by an insignificant municipal palazzo. Yet that modern building also has its historic claims, for it stands on the site of the residence inhabited by Cola di Rienzo while he held office first as Tribune, afterwards as Senator—that official abode having been burnt down on the day of the revolt fatal to the government and life of the once worshipped Reformer and Ruler of Rome in the XIV. century. The sullen towers of dusky brick with machicolations, overlooking the Forum, belong to the restoration of the senatorial residence, commenced by Pope Boniface IX. about the end of the XIV. century, and finished by Martin V. The oldest extant portion of the Archivium, or Tabularium, dates from antiquity scarcely determinable; some antiquaries (as Canina) referring these buildings to the year B.C. 175; but the two upper storeys (only one of which remains) are known to have been added when the whole was restored by the ædile Lutatius Catulus, B.C. 78. The principal storey consists of a lofty arched corridor with arcades opening

towards the Forum, and divided by sixteen Doric pilasters ; but of those arcades all have been built up, one excepted, with rude mediæval masonry, and a few vestiges alone indicate the forms or elevation of the pilasters on the southern front of this sternly majestic ruin, sole representative of Republican Rome among all monuments on or around the principal Forum.

In the Middle Ages the spacious interior of this singular building, with dim-lit halls and corridors under high-hung vaults, was divided by partition walls into numerous dwellings or shops. In the XV. century the corridor on the second storey, of date A. D. 78, was utilized as a salt magazine, in which state Poggio Bracciolini saw and described it ; and thus it continued to be used, or rather abused, till a period in the XVII. century. Later we find this edifice serving for a debtor's gaol, and so till the last days of Gregory XVI. ; its massive structure for the most part hidden by paltry buildings on the southern side above the Forum. Pius IX. sanctioned the project of appropriating the principal corridor as a museum of classic architecture, the more precious remnants of which, left strewn around ruined temples on the Forum and elsewhere, were collected to be skilfully restored under Canina's direction, and placed where we see them—a unique display among Rome's *mirabilia*. The friezes from the Temples of Saturn and Concord were restored, under the able director, by four marble cutters, who gave eight years to the task. On that of the former temple (by some supposed to be the one dedicated to Vespasian) is an interesting illustration of sacrificial rites in well-executed relievi of implements and ornaments : the *patera*, for pouring the victim's blood on altars ; the *discus*, on which to carry the flesh to be burnt ; the *simpulum* and *perfericulum*, for libations of wine or other liquids, the latter without any handle, which the former is

provided with ; the augur's *lituus*, curved like an episcopal crozier ; the *galerum*, not unlike a mitre, worn by the Flamens ; the *aspergillum*, a horse-tail for the sprinkling of holy water. The appropriation as a salt magazine has left traces to this day in the dim-lit corridor ; for the immense tufa blocks are corroded and discoloured almost to the height of the roof by that material.

The new Government has effected a thorough clearing out of the antique edifice ; dark chambers, long abandoned and inaccessible, while filled with rubbish or *débris*, have been re-opened and disencumbered ; gloomy and mysterious recesses, deep-sinking staircases, and high-arched passages have been made permeable. The whole interior has been opened to the public as a museum, accessible daily without let or hindrance ; and the *custodi* on duty are bound to give their services gratuitously. The complete clearing out of a suite of vaulted chambers on the ground-floor, only lighted by small square windows made by breaking the solid walls in mediæval times, enables us now to pursue our studies and meditations at leisure amidst the realities and memories of this gloomy old edifice.

Among the few Latin writers who mention the Tabularium, identifying it with the *Ærarium*, and also with the Temple of Saturn, is Servius : “ *Populi Tabularia, ubi actus publici continentur, significat autem Templum Saturni, in quo et Ærarium fuerat.*” Cicero also mentions (in one of his epistles) the steep stairs of the State Treasury—with probable allusion to a great staircase but recently re-opened to its full height and depth, which descends in profound darkness from the upper storey to the lowest level of this interior.

We now enter this building through an ingress in the stupendous stone-work on the narrow western side. Here,

observing the antique masonry, we see that the end of the great corridor has originally opened westward, but been filled up with similar, though less ancient, stone-work. The corridor was therefore open to the public, anciently serving as a covered way for transit across the Capitoline hill. Passing under a ponderous arch, at an angle with the entrance, and through a vestibule, we find ourselves in a great hall, dim-lit, lofty and cavernous, now enriched with a profusion of the beautiful relics above alluded to. Here also lie, strewn on the pavement, various epitaphs, dedications, &c., in good or bad Latinity. A broad stone staircase (partly antique) leads hence, ascending under brick arches, to an upper corridor with massive and still firm vaulting, less lofty, and divided into two parallel aisles by immense pillars of brickwork, said to have been raised in a restoration by Michel Angiolo. But that such a division entered into the original plan is evident, for the springings of the vaults, old and ruinous, are still seen above the modern brickwork in different places. Here we have to be guided by the *custode* with his torch through total darkness. Groping our way to the western end of this corridor, we reach a low doorway, or rather aperture broken open in the wall, near the angle at the left side. Entering, we now find ourselves at the summit of a lofty and very steep staircase, which yawns abruptly before our feet like a precipice; and the effect of the stupendous masonry, seen by lurid torchlight, is most striking. We descend by sixty-seven steep and partly-ruinous steps, under a vaulting of singular construction, divided into horizontal bays at different levels, and between each of which is a curtain-wall sinking lower and lower at each stage. The staircase is overhung by five of those massive walls, forming so many "flat arches," as such constructive detail, borrowed by the Romans from the Etruscans, is called. At the foot of this

descent we find ourselves under a rounded arch, on the inner side of the great structure overlooking the Forum; and may perceive the outlines of a closed door, filled up with stonework like the rest, which (we may conclude) once formed communication with the *cella* of the Saturn Temple—hence the identifying, in common parlance, of the Treasury itself with that fane. We may infer that this staircase communicated with the chambers on the ground-floor (recently re-opened), where the public money, a deposit requiring very ample space, lay heaped up in darkness and security. Here we are reminded of the vivid description by Tacitus, and may suppose ourselves on the actual stage of the scene so well narrated by him, occurring in that contest between Vitellius and Vespasian, when the Capitoline buildings were defended by Sabinus, brother to the latter, and attacked by the soldiery of the former, the still reigning, Emperor.

We must quit this interior, and re-enter the ancient edifice at the eastern side in order to penetrate into the long suite of vaulted chambers, till recently filled with soil or *débris*, which formed the ground-floor storey, and may be supposed to have served for the purposes of the Treasury. Here may we place the scene of another event, finely described in Lucan's "Pharsalia,"—the violent invasion of the sacred *Ærarium* by Julius Cæsar, and his seizure of the wealth deposited there, the most daring act hitherto achieved by him in his progress to dictatorial power.

Among incidents of importance associated with this building was the destruction, by the fire kindled in the attack against those who defended the Capitol for Vitellius, of all the State records, 3000 on bronze tablets, which had been laid up in the ancient Tabularium from old time. We know that Vespasian undertook the restoration of those documents, at least by the supply of copies or dupli-

cates; but the loss, for the purposes of history, must have been irreparable. *That* fabric had thenceforth to be raised on feeble or uncertain foundations, where Rome's ancient records were in question.*

Only one other monument of antiquity, of either republican or imperial times, remains on the Capitoline summit: though many others, so well known and oft described, stand on the declivity of this hill above the Forum. I allude to the ruins in the gardens of the Caffarelli Palace, now the residence of the Prussian Legation, on the Tarpeian height. These consist of a few courses of stone-work, a reddish-grey tufa, in regular square-hewn blocks, like the fortifications of the Romulean city. We descend into a grassy hollow, amidst the plantations and flower-beds of the pleasant garden, to visit these primitive ruins which bear an impress of venerable antiquity manifest at once to the archæologic eye, and impressive to the imagination. The formless remains of an edifice, now extant, have lost all architectonic features; and in the low, but massively built walls, we can recognize only an outline, or general plan, of what appears to be the *cella* of a temple, entered by steps (three gradines being left) from a narrow vestibule, and enclosed within an oblong parallelogram, the outer court or sacred peribolon. What was this temple, if such indeed were the character of the building in question? Undoubtedly one among the most ancient raised on any of the Seven Hills; by some archæologists supposed to be that of Juno Moneta, which stood on the highest plateau of the Tarpeian rock. I am disposed to think—or at least may suggest—that we have here before us no less venerable a monument than the very first temple known to have been founded in the city of the Kings; and, if we accept the traditions wrought up into the narrative of Livius, the one vowed by

* V. supr. pp. 76. 77.

Romulus himself to Jupiter Feretrius when he hung up the *spolia opima*, trophies of his first achieved victory, on the sacred oak in a grove overshadowing the *intermontium* between the eastern and western summits of the Saturnian hill.*

A rather obscure passage in Varro (*De Lingua Latina*, l. v.) implies the existence in his time of certain remains of the primitive city, Saturnia, on this hill; but we cannot identify those vestiges with anything now extant.† What he says about the Tarpeian rock—that it was so called “from Tarpeia, a Vestal virgin, who was there put to death

* “Bearing the spoils of the slain leader of the foes, suspended to a stage (*feretrium*) constructed for the purpose, he (Romulus) ascended the Capitol (*in Capitolium ascendit*), and there, when he had deposited them beside an oak sacred in the eyes of shepherds, he, at the same time with that offering, marked out the limits of a temple of Jove, and added the cognomen of the god: Jupiter Feretrius! ‘I Romulus, the King and victor, make offering to thee, and dedicate to thee a temple in these regions.’ This is the origin of the temple which was first of all consecrated at Rome.” Still more interesting than this narrative of Livius (l. 1, c. 5), is the testimony of Dionysius, who saw the ruins of that primitive fane as they stood when Augustus was Emperor: “After the procession and sacrifice, Romulus built a small temple on the summit of the Capitoline Hill to Jupiter, whom the Romans call Feretrius. The ancient traces (or ruins) of it still remain, the longest sides of which are less than fifteen feet (in measurement). In this temple he consecrated the spoils of the King of the Cœninenses, whom he had killed with his own hand.”—*Dionys.* l. ii. § 34.

† “Hunc antea montem Saturniam appellatum prodiderunt et ab eo late Saturniam terram, ut etiam Ennius appellat: antiquum oppidum in hac fuisse Saturnia scribitur. Ejus vestigia etiam nunc manent tria, quod Saturni fanum in faucibus, quod Saturnia porta quam Junius scribit ibi, quam nunc vocant Pandanam, quod post ædem Saturni in ædificiarum legibus privatis parietes Postici Muri sunt scripti.” The “Saturni fanum,” of course, is the original Temple of Saturn, still before us in ruins, though not those of the edifice extant in the time of Varro, B.C. 24 to A.D. 61.

and buried by the Sabines,"—certainly does not tally with other legends so damaging to the fair fame of that heroine. It is probable that the real Tarpeia was anciently held in honour ; else why give her name to a celebrated and historic spot ? Niebuhr mentions the poetic superstition, reported to him by Roman maidens, that the supposed traitress of the ancient citadel was still alive, or at least visible as a beautiful phantom richly vested, in some subterranean abyss of the Capitoline Hill.

Like a luminous point in a shadowy landscape does the Roman Capitol rise before us, in the picture of the prehistoric, the regal, the republican, and the imperial epochs. Alike through those periods, as through the stormy Middle Ages, were its memories and its special dedication allied with the cause of independent and popular government. We might compare, in order to contrast its destinies with those of a more sacred Mount—Calvary, the centre of influences and powers more high and enduring than any that emanated, or operated on the world, from the metropolis of ancient empire. A characteristic of the race which sprung from a mingled Pelasgic, Etruscan, and Sabine stock, was the tendency to revere localities rendered illustrious, or in any sense sacred. The conspicuousness of the Capitol, in both classic and mediæval Rome, is a manifestation of this feeling ; and it is observable that under Papal sway this Hill continued to be a centre of secular, opposed to sacerdotal, authority. The Popes prudently ceded it to the magistracy, under whose protection they placed the church of Aracoeli, the only one ever built on the Capitoline summit, another, of less importance, excepted, which stood on the same spot. In the former, till at least as late as A.D. 1521, was held a court of justice, presided over by the Senator. In that church political assemblies used to convene on various

occasions, as on the morning of that fearful day when Christian Rome was visited by the most tremendous disaster on record in her history—the siege and capture by the ferocious hordes under the Constable Bourbon, 6th May, 1527. A valiant young citizen made a vain effort to rouse the spirit of the inhabitants, assembled within these consecrated walls, urging them to something like organized resistance before the foe could effect entrance.

The Capitol was the scene of the solemn sacrifice to Jupiter, which formed the climax to the pomps of imperial triumph; and it was the Emperor himself, not the Flamen Dialis, who then officiated. Devout rulers sometimes ascended on their knees the stairs before the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, as till the XVIII. century pious Catholics used to mount, alike kneeling, the steep and lofty staircase leading to the front of the Aracoeli church. The first appropriation of this hill as a place of strength in mediæval times was by feudal, not sacerdotal, domination. A baronial family named Corsi fortified and held its summit in the XI. century; their towers and castles were partly thrown down by the Emperor Henry IV., in 1080; the rest by Robert Guiscard, in 1084. In 1145 Arnolfo di Brescia, who first visited Rome during that year, advised that a palace should be built, as the seat of municipal government, on this hill; the citizens being then in revolt against the Papal sway, and the Pontiff, Eugenius III., in exile at Viterbo. Perhaps some older magisterial seat had existed on the same spot, and been ruined about a month previously in that eventful year, when the popular cause for a time obtained the ascendant, and a Government opposed to the Pontificate established itself. In 1144 Pope Lucius II. headed an attack against the party who had fortified themselves on this hill, but was vigorously repulsed, and, ac-

according to one account, met with his death from the blow of a stone hurled, with other missiles, against the assailants. In 1145 the people held council on the Capitol, and came to the resolution of offering armed resistance against the Emperor Frederick I., whom they regarded as their most dangerous enemy, whilst the Pope (our countryman Adrian IV.) was crowning him at St. Peter's.

A peaceful coronation, the meed of mental sovereignty, took place in the great hall of the Capitoline Palace on Easter-day, 1341, when Petrarch received the laurel-wreath from the hands of the senator, Count d'Anguillara, after the gentle poet had recited a sonnet on the glories of imperial Rome. The people shouted: "Long life to the Capitol and to the Poet!" after witnessing that ceremony performed with pomp, and accompanied by the sound of trumpets and fifes. The laurel-wreath was finally suspended at the shrine of S. Peter, in the great basilica, by the devout Crowned One, who was then in his thirty-sixth year. The XIV. century witnessed many events and many vicissitudes, with alteration to local aspects, on the Capitoline Hill.

After the fire kindled in the attack on the municipal (or senatorial) palace by the people infuriated against Rienzo, on the day (8th October, 1354) when that once idolized reformer of the State fell a victim to ferocious assassins, the restoration ordered by Boniface IX. had given to the new buildings the character rather of a fortress than a peaceful seat for the Roman magistracy. This was objected to; and with characteristic jealousy it was stipulated, in a convention between the still ascendant popular party and that Pope's immediate successor, Innocent VII., that the same palace should be completed in a different style, such as was suitable not for a castle, but a municipal residence, with a tribunal for the administration of justice (*ad formam palatii et loci communis judicii*). In such style were the buildings

finished during the pontificate of Martin V. (1417-24). The conspicuous staircase leading to the façade of the Aracoeli church, is the only structure of the time of Rienzo that still remains to remind us of the eventful period of political and social reform, followed by anarchy and revolt, in which that personage occupies the historic scene.* Those marble stairs, formed with fragments from the ruins of the Temple of Quirinus, presented by the magistrates to the Franciscan Friars, were constructed in 1348 ; the cost, 5000 florins, supplied through offerings made during a visitation of pestilence to the Madonna-picture, which still hangs over the high altar of that church.†

The site of the famous temple of Jupiter has long been a disputed question. Archæologists of the earlier Roman school agreed to place it on the eastern summit of the hill where now stand the Aracoeli church and convent. Donati and other Italian writers first opposed this, as also did Bunsen and other Germans, assuming that the temple stood on the western summit, or Tarpeian rock. Canina, Nibby, and Emil Braun returned to the former theory. Flaminio Vacca (writing in 1594) describes the remains of large marble pilasters seen by himself on the western side, behind the "Palazzo dei Conservatori." Out of those

* To the 120 steps of this ancient staircase four more were added at the basement in the XVI. century, owing to the sinking of the soil at the level from which they rose. A tablet near the church doors, in Gothic letters, gives the architect's name, and the date, 25th October, 1348.

† Franciscan traditions represent this picture as the one carried through the streets by S. Gregory I. during a pestilence, when the Archangel was seen in air, sheathing his sword in token of the withdrawal of divine chastisement, over the castle hence called "S. Angelo;" but another Madonna-picture, and apparently (like this) a work of early Byzantine art, now in the Borghese chapel at S. Maria Maggiore, disputes the claim to such historic distinction.

marbles were wrought statues,—by Vacca himself, a lion for the Medici Villa on the Pincian hill; by other artists, some sacred figures, ordered by a Cardinal, for a chapel in *S. Maria della Pace*. Baron Bunsen superintended excavations in the gardens of the Caffarelli palace, and there saw (as he describes) the masonry of a substruction in enormous blocks of peperino (tufa), on which the whole plateau of those gardens rested. When that palace was built (1578) many remains of antique masonry were destroyed, or removed, in order to clear out the requisite space. Santi Bartoli mentions walls of massive stonework, twenty-five palms in thickness, on the Tarpeian declivity, which were also swept away. Nibby, arguing for his theory, reports discoveries which certainly seem to confirm it: massive structures in volcanic tufa, masked by the buttress walls of the Aracoeli staircase (below which are still open some dark chambers in ancient brickwork); also numerous ruins, found in the gardens of the Aracoeli convent, of the mingled lateritium and reticulated masonry in use under the Flavian Emperors, and therefore ascribable to the rebuilding of the Temple by Vespasian.

Some undescribed ruins, on some part of this hill, were known, amidst the profound mediæval ignorance of antiquity, as “*templum maximum*,” under which name they were bestowed (about 1130) by the Antipope Anacletus II. on the Benedictine monks then established where the Aracoeli friars are now. It is possible that a church on the Piazza Montanara, between the western declivities of the hill and the Tiber, and which was demolished in 1587, received its name, *S. Salvatore in Maximis*, from those ruins.

The original temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was founded by Tarquinius Priscus with the means supplied by the spoils of a conquered town, Apiola, and in fulfilment of a vow made during the Sabine war. Tarquinius “the Proud”

continued the works, expending on them the amount of 400 talents, gold and silver, from the spoils of another conquered city, Suessa Pometia. It is difficult to credit the statement of Livius that such a sum barely sufficed for the foundations alone of this temple (Liv. l. i. c. 53), which was not dedicated till after the expulsion of the last King, in the first year of the Republic, by the Consul and Pontiff M. Horatius Pulvillus. During the rites certain persons insidiously endeavoured to interrupt by informing Horatius of the death of his son, just occurred; but he continued, stifling his sorrow, without for a moment suspending the sacred duties before him.* The fane was dedicated to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, with three altars. The image of the first god was originally of terra cotta, which it was usual to dye red, with minium, for solemn festivities; but that olden image was replaced first by one of bronze, and finally, in the time of Domitian, by a golden statue raised on Jove's altar here.† In the front, or under the portico, were statues of all the Kings, probably placed by the second Tarquin, and in the midst, another, erected under the Republic, of Brutus. Pliny considered these sculptures genuine relics of antiquity, and dwells on the proof how ancient was the fashion of wearing rings, seeing that two effigies, those of Numa and Servius, had each a ring on the third finger. Julius Cæsar excited suspicion of his ambitious designs by setting up his own statue among these, and (with evil omen) next to that of Brutus.‡

* "Not even did he turn away his regards from public religious duties to private sorrow, lest he should seem to be acting the part of a father rather than that of a pontiff"—says Valerius Maximus, l. v. c. x. Cicero and Seneca also praise this proof of equanimity.

† "Sculptus et æterno nunc primum Jupiter auro."—*Martial*. l. xi. ep. v.

‡ Dion Cassius attributes this not to Cæsar himself, but to his flatterers: "They also set one of his statues, of ivory, next to that of

The primitive temple was burnt down B.C. 83, and rebuilt by Sulla with increased splendour. Valerius Maximus reports that the immediate cause of Sulla's death (at Puteoli) was a fit of rage provoked by the delay of an officer at that town in collecting the sums promised by the Decurions for the new construction. The fane was dedicated by the Consul, L. Catulus, fourteen years after the foundations had been laid. But this second temple was also destroyed by fire, as we have seen, in the attack on the Capitol A.D. 70. Vespasian built another of surpassing magnificence. We learn from Tacitus (*Hist.* l. iv. c. 53) most curious particulars of the observances and rites attending the inauguration of the works for this new edifice. The superintendence was assigned to Lucius Vestinus, a distinguished knight, who first consulted the Haruspices. Those authorities prescribed that the ruinous remains should, in order to prevent any profane use of them, be thrown into a marsh, and that the new buildings should stand on the same foundations without change of plan or scale—for "the Gods did not desire to alter the ancient form" (*nolle Deos mutare veterem formam*). On a fine summer's day the ceremonies took place: all the area destined for the building was encircled with fillets, stoles, and garlands; the first who entered it were soldiers, carrying boughs of olive trees, emblems of peace and happiness; next came the Vestal Virgins with a band of youths and maidens, all whose fathers and mothers were living, and all of whom assisted the Vestals in the ceremony of sprinkling the whole area with pure water from springs, fountains,

Brutus—an event surprising enough, as he was killed by Marcus Brutus, who was descended from the first." (*Manning's translation.*) Suetonius enumerates among the extraordinary honours paid to him: "procnomen Imperatoris, cognomen Patris Patriæ, statuum inter reges" (in J. Caesar, l. xxvi.)

and rivers. Next was performed the *Suovetaurilia* sacrifice of an ox, a boar, and a ram, the entrails of which animals were laid by the officiating Pontiff on a pile of green turf, after which that high priest invoked Jove, Juno, and Minerva, deities presiding over the Empire, to promote the completion of their sacred seat about to be raised by their worshippers; the Pontiff touching, at the same time, the fillets which bound the foundation stones, and the cords for lowering them. Priests, Senators, Knights, Magistrates, and many other citizens then united their efforts for lowering the first stone, and with it were laid coins of gold and silver, also the virgin ore of metals never yet cast into the furnace. "The Haruspices had ordered (says Tacitus) that this edifice should not be profaned by gold or any stone employed for other uses." Suetonius and Dion Cassius tell us that Vespasian himself took part in removing the ruins, carrying them away on his shoulders. Though plan and measurement were the same, the new rose loftier than the old temple; and this is the sole such edifice known to us in ancient Rome of dimensions at all considerable; the peribolos (sacred enclosure with colonnades) being 200 feet in length, 185 in breadth; the cella, or place of worship, 120 by 50 feet. This third met with the fate of the former temples, being ruined by fire shortly before the death of Vespasian. Another was built by Domitian with surpassing magnificence. Plutarch, mentioning the tradition that Tarquin had spent 40,000 lbs. weight of silver on the foundations alone of the first temple,*

* See his life of Valerius Publicola, who desired himself to dedicate the temple, but was prevented by his opponents. Plutarch narrates a similar incident to that which occurred at the dedication of the other temple. The Consul, who officiated, was falsely informed during the rites that his son had died on a campaign; he continued, after a brief reply, undeterred from the duties before him.

states that the gilding alone of the fourth temple cost—far indeed beyond the means of any private citizen—more than 12,000 talents, or 60 million francs! It rose on a lofty terrace of masonry, 800 feet in circumference, with front towards the south, and provided with a peristyle of three files of marble columns; the lateral colonnades, along the side walls, being in double file; the three *sacraria* of the deities parallel, and communicating with each other, so that in this respect the interior must have resembled those Christian churches which have naves and aisles, each terminating in a chancel and altar.

All the piety and intensity of which the antique Roman worship was capable found vent in the observances within these sacred walls. Till the time of Augustus the Sibylline books were kept here, under the statue of Jove. A multitude of ex-voto offerings from wealthy citizens and devout princes were accumulated in this interior. Augustus, as we have seen, offered to the “Jupiter Capitolinus” 16,000 lbs. weight of gold, besides pearls and gems valued at about 900,000 francs; Hieron, king of Syracuse, sent an image of Victory; Aristobulus, king of Armenia, a vine-tree made of gold; Lucullus imported from Apollonia, for like dedication, a statue of Apollo, about 14 metres high, for which he paid 150 talents (720,000 francs); various statues of Jupiter and Minerva, in bronze or marble, were offered with like intent; and among other sculptures here placed, were statues of Fabius Maximus and Scipio Africanus, two busts given by the Consul Lentulus, and a figure of a dog licking its wound, so perfect that it was deemed beyond all price, and the guardians of the fane had to answer for its safety with their lives. (Pliny, H. N. xxxiv. § 7.) The statue of Scipio Africanus, who used to pass nights within these sacred walls, was removed hence when required for the funeral proces-

sions of the "gens Cornelia."* The practice of sleeping in this temple† with the hope of obtaining propitious dreams is mentioned by Plautus (*Curculio*).

The stately fane, rebuilt under the Empire, had six Corinthian columns at the front, eight columns and a pilaster at each side. In the interior stood, besides the three chief altars, ædiculæ to the goddess Youth and to Terminus. Here also was the "Capitoline Treasury," deposited by Camillus in (or under) the throne of Jupiter. At the summit of the façade, on the central acroterium, was another image of that god, in a quadriga, erected by the Curule Ædiles, B.C. 315, and afterwards replaced in the several restorations of the temple itself. The original

* "To him alone (says Valerius Maximus, l. viii. c. xv.) the Capitolium was as a domestic atrium." Dion Cassius imputes to Julius Cæsar the spoliation of this temple, besides the seizure of the public treasure in the Ærarium: "Cæsar, wanting money, took out of the Capitol all the costly ornaments that had been consecrated to the gods." The fine description by Lucan of the violation of the sacred Treasury, and the resistance offered by the Tribune, Cœcilius Metellus, occurs in the "Pharsalia," l. iii. 114-168; and the connection between that building and the Saturn Temple is indicated in the lines:—

Tunc rupes Tarpeia sonat, magnoque reclusus
Testatur stridore fores: tunc conditus imo
Eruietur templo multis intactus ab annis
Romani census populi, quem Punica bella
Quem dederat Perses, quem victi præda Philippi, &c.

† A passage in Suetonius (*August.* xci.) may signify that Augustus not only frequented, but occasionally slept in this temple, as when he dreamt that Jupiter made complaint to him of the diminution of worshippers in his fane, to which he answered that he had caused the Thunderer (i. e., the Temple of Jupiter Tonans) to become a door-keeper to the Capitoline Jove. The former temple was erected by Augustus on this hill, B.C. 22, in memory of his rescue from lightning, which passed over the litter in which he was carried on a campaign. After that dream he hung bells to the tympanum, in order to give to his new temple the attributes of a doorway.

group of Jove in his chariot was of terra cotta wrought at Veii; and to this refers the legend narrated by Plutarch. The second Tarquin ordered this sculpture for the fane founded by him; but before its completion he lost his kingdom. The augurs, observing something unusual when the terra cotta work was being prepared in the furnace, prophesied power and prosperity to the future owners of it; the citizens of Veii therefore determined to keep it for themselves. Soon afterwards they held a festival, with chariot races; the victor, crowned for his triumph, was driving his car off the arena, when suddenly his horses started at galloping speed, and notwithstanding all the driver's efforts, bore him thus from Veii to the walls of Rome, and there overthrew him to the ground, not far from the Porta Ratumena, a gate below the northern slope of the Capitol. Alarmed and admonished by this portent, the authorities of Veii conceded the chariot of Jupiter to the Romans. The sacerdotal stamp, and the notion of divine favour, especially secured for the rising city, are obvious in this legend.

Pliny the younger mentions the ceremony of the public adoption, in this Capitoline temple, of Trajan as successor in empire to Nerva (Panegy. VIII.).

Some lines in the poem of Claudian on the VI. Consulate of Honorius lead us to infer that the splendid fane stood intact at that period, A.D. 404; but soon occurred an act of deliberate spoliation done by Stilicho, the ablest military leader of his time, who (in 408) removed all the lamina of gold, wrought in relieve, from the chief portals. The heathen historian Zosimus tells us that on that occasion were found inscribed on a panel of those doors the words—*Misero Regi servantur*—ominously appropriate to such a ruler as the young Honorius. In the sack of the city by Genseric, A.D. 455, one half of the gilt bronze tiles covering the roof was torn off. Ruins of the edifice no doubt remained

during the Middle Ages ; and the last writers to mention what were supposed to be its vestiges in masonry and marble, seen by themselves, are Poggio Bracciolini and Flavio Biondo, both in the XV. century. We have now to consider the memory, not any extant remains, of the Capitoline buildings as surrounded by an imaginative atmosphere, the offspring of child-like awe, unchecked by any knowledge of history. In the " *Mirabilia Urbis* " the Capitol becomes to the fantasy of the mediæval writer (or compiler) an enchanted palace in the midst of the impregnable arx, its walls plated with gold and glass, its front studded with gems, and surmounted by pinnacles, on which stood statues of all the subject provinces, each with a bell hung round its neck. When any province of the empire revolted it was contrived by magical art that the bell of the corresponding statue should ring ; and thus was the supreme sovereignty of the ancient world rendered in a manner omniscient. Another version of the romantic description mentions a lamp, on the tower of this palace, visible from ships at sea, and before which a mirror used to be held, with the mysterious result that all things then happening on earth, or, at least, all movements hostile against Rome, would then be reflected on that magic glass ! A French romance makes Virgil the builder, through enchantment, of that tower on the Capitol, with the marvellous statues. A remnant of the Frangipani Castle, on the arch of Titus, which was for the most part destroyed by Gregory IX. was popularly called " Tower of Virgil " (Marangoni, *Anfiteatro Flavio*).

Strange is the fate of that renowned Jupiter temple, so completely vanished that even the spot on which it stood has become matter for dispute !

The first church raised on the summit generally believed to have been occupied by it, was a small one called *S. Maria in Campidoglio*, with adjoining cloisters for Bene-

dictines. No positive date can be assigned for its origin, which Wadding attributes (*Annales Minor*, t. ii., § lvi.) to Constantine, other writers to S. Gregory I.; others supposing it not older than the VII. century. It is, however, certain that both church and cloisters were bestowed on the Franciscan Friars Minor by Innocent IV. in 1251, and that those Friars took possession in the next year. The actual buildings date from a subsequent period, and in great portion from 1464, in which year a Cardinal protector, Oliviero Caraffa, restored a great part and rebuilt (as Nibby states) "at least two-thirds of the church." The title "S. Maria in Aracoeli" was originally given solely to an isolated chapel with marble canopy and domed roof, which stands in a transept, and under the altar of which lie the relics of S. Helena, this being believed to occupy the site of an altar dedicated by Augustus as "ara primogeniti Dei," after the Cumæan Sibyl had prophesied to him the birth of the Messiah. Struck by this prediction, the master of the Roman world is said to have consulted the Delphic oracle, and received response in mystic verse:—

Me puer Hebræus, divos Deus ipse gubernans,
Cedere sede jubet, tristemque redire sub Orcum;
Aris ergo dehinc tacitis abscedito nostris.

The writers considered of authority for this deeply-significant legend are Greek ecclesiastics, Cedrenus in the XI. century, Nicéphorus in the XIV., and others later.* At the present day the Franciscan church has a character of barbaric splendour blent with vestiges of classic antiquity and the purer features of Italian Gothic, now much obscured. In twilight hours and at evening rites, especially at the midnight mass of Christmas, the scene here presented as we enter is most impressive, whatever may be objected to by criticism.

* For the later and fullest development of this legend see the "*Legenda Aurea*," written in the XIII. century.

I have never witnessed the spectacle of the "Presepio," or waxwork group of the Nativity on a theatric stage in one of its side chapels, without being struck by the manifest analogies between religious usage in Heathen and in Christian Rome; and still more naturally do such reflections occur to the mind at the extraordinary ceremonies of the Epiphany, here so attractive, when the benediction is given to kneeling multitudes with the painted and jewelled image of the Divine Infant, now lifted up and seemingly adored, just as is the Real Presence in the sacramental elements, first from the high altar, and again, with more memorable effect amidst the gorgeous surroundings—richly-robed priests, silken banners and crosses, soaring incense, and pomp of military accompaniment—from the platform in front at the summit of the great staircase, now entirely covered with throngs, especially of the peasant class, so that no stone of the old marble steps, not one "coin of vantage" in the whole lofty structure is left visible!*

The analogies between the expressions of religious sentiment under the dominance of different beliefs, must be regarded with deep interest, and cannot be estimated from the sceptical, but from the reverential point of view. It would betray ignorance or levity to ignore all that the Latin Church has done to guide, perpetuate, and beautify those outward signs of the inner life.

Before leaving the Capitol we may consider the evidence preserved in the Conservators' palace, and in forms of

* The "bambino" here so revered, and which it is still usual to carry to the bed of sickness, in order to impart with it a blessing of supposed miraculous virtues, was carved by a Franciscan friar at Jerusalem in olive-wood, from a tree on the sacred mount, at some period in the XVII. century. Besides the group of the Holy Family, the Shepherds and Magi, two other dressed wax-work figures, Augustus and the Sibyl, are placed beside the illuminated stage in memory of the legend which adds so much interest to this venerable church.

classic art, throwing light on the question above alluded to respecting the site of the Jupiter temple. Such monumental testimony is before us in a series of highly-finished reliefs, in an open court entered from the first landing place of the chief staircase—sculptures removed from a now lost triumphal arch raised in honour of Marcus Aurelius on the Forum. They are not arranged as the sequence of subjects manifestly requires. In their proper historic order, they should stand as follows: the departure of the Emperor for a campaign; the same Ruler on horseback with an official (probably a Prætor) standing beside him, and two kneeling figures, perhaps meant for the German provinces imploring his clemency or the bestowal of peace; the return of the Emperor from a successful expedition to Rome, that City, personified as an Amazon with helmed head, receiving him at the Porta Triumphalis, while she presents a globe to the imperial Victor whose head (an observable detail) is veiled, as for sacrifice, which may lead us to conclude that such rites were performed by the Cæsars on their return from foreign wars, immediately after their state ingress, and perhaps near the gates of the city. Two figures, in the background of this scene, are supposed by Visconti to be the Genii of the Senate and the Roman People. Next should come the triumphal procession: the Emperor in a quadriga ascending the Capitol, whilst Victory, a winged female, places a crown on his brow—trumpeters preceding; in the background being seen an arch, probably that for which the sculptures were executed, also a temple with Corinthian columns, apparently that of Saturn, on the southern declivity of that Hill. On the imperial chariot are figures of Juno, Minerva, and Neptune. Next comes the sacrifice before the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the finest among these sculptures, and that in which the topographic question is signally elucidated. The scene is not any sacred interior, but a platform

in the open air, where the Emperor appears in act of throwing incense on the fire lit on a small altar. He is veiled for the sacrificial rite and attended by a little boy (the Camillus), who holds the thurifer, while another youth near him is playing on a fife, and the "Popa" stands with his axe, about to slay the steer which, with garlanded head and neck, is led to the sacrifice; the Flamen Dialis and other subordinate ministers having their places in this group. In the background are two buildings with architecture distinctly defined; to the spectator's left, and therefore (supposing the scene to be on the Capitoline summit) on the site of the Aracoeli church, stands a temple with peristyle and pediment, on the tympanum of which are several sculptures, of size so small as to baffle criticism, but among which are recognizable figures of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, besides other deities. The identity of this building with the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus is attested by the detail of the ingress to its cella through three doors, as in the case of churches provided with a nave and two aisles. This circumstance precisely corresponds to the known features of the Capitoline temple, with its altars to three deities, and three portals at the principal front. The other building, which appears somewhat more distinct, and standing on a lower plain in this relief, must be the Tabularium, of which we have *two* authentic representations in ancient sculpture—that before us, and another in one of the small ill-executed *rilievi* on the arch of Constantine. In the relief before us of the sacrifice on the Capitol, the Tabularium presents a front divided by flat pilasters with Doric capitals. Along the highest cornice (or sky-line) are placed statues of men combating with animals—in the centre one who fights a lion, the other wild beasts being less easily distinguished. Conventionally represented and of small scale as they are, these sculptures seem copied from

superior originals, no other, we may believe, than the antiques destroyed in orthodox zeal against Paganism by Sixtus V.* The argument of Bunsen against interpreting the relief in the sense here assumed, rests mainly on this—that the temple of the Capitoline Jove is not described as Corinthian, the order of the peristyle here introduced; and that that fane stood (as Etruscan ritual prescribed) looking southward; while the edifice in this relief has (supposing the site to be the platform between the two hill-summits) a northern aspect. It may be urged in answer that the conventional character of architecture in backgrounds of sculptured grouping, may account for incorrectness; and that the detail of the *triple* portals for a fane with *triple* dedication, which no other Roman temple is known to have received, may be deemed almost conclusive. On the higher landing place of the staircase in the same palazzo are two other *rilievi*, very inferior to those I have described, from the other arch of Marcus Aurelius,† or, as some antiquaries conjecture, from that of Antoninus Pius, both erected on the Flaminian Way. The subjects of these sculptures are: the Apotheosis of Faustina, the consort of the latter, and adoptive mother of the former Emperor; and the dedication (or rather proclaiming of the decree to dedicate) the temple on the Forum to Antoninus Pius, as well as to the wife who died before him. We see the deified Empress soaring from the funeral pyre, borne

* *Supr.* p. 98.—Still more deplorable, if more excusable, than this act of the uncompromising Pope, was the destruction of sculptures adorning the porticoes of the Tabularium, through their use as missiles to hurl against the assailants in the struggle between the Vitellian and Vespasian parties. Tacitus (see his graphic description, *Hist.* l. iii. 71, 72) tells how Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian, defending that edifice, “revulsas undique statuas, decora majorum, in ipso aditu vice muri objecisset.”

† The arch on the Flaminian Way, demolished, in order to widen the Corso, A.D. 1653.

up by a winged figure, the Genius of Eternity, here represented as female, for such a Genius is of different sex, according to that of the individual who is accompanied, in classic art.

Still does the tradition cling like a shadow from the Past to Rome's Capitol, which appropriates this hill for political proceedings and celebrations, secular (not ecclesiastical) festivity, academic (musical or literary) performances, premiation of artists or students, &c. All know the story of the destined coronation of Tasso, his death on the appointed day (25th April, 1595), and the funeral procession from S. Onofrio instead of the poetic triumph on the Capitol. Besides the coronation which was actually obtained by Petrarch in 1341, the laurel-wreath has been placed on the heads of less illustrious poets, by Senatorial hands, in the great hall of the Capitoline palace : in 1725, by desire of Pope Benedict XIII., it was here bestowed on Bernardino Perfetti, a writer of almost forgotten verse ; again in 1776, on a lady renowned in her day as an improvvisatrice, Maria Maddalena Morelli, who was crowned, after impromptu declamation on themes given by the judges present, and who finally left her laurel-wreath, as an ex-voto, in a church of her native place, Pistoia (*v.* Trollope, "Decade of Italian Women.") In the municipal "palazzo" was performed a grand "accademia" of vocal and instrumental music, composed expressly for the occasion, on the evening of the day Pius IX. published the dogma of the Immaculate Conception at S. Peter's.

Turning to more distant times, and to the Aracoeli church, we may dwell on high and solemn memories which add sanctity to the dim-lit aisles of that Christian fane. Cola di Rienzo, whose name so frequently recurs among reminiscences of this classic hill, planted on the Capitol the standard of the "Good Estate;" was here elected Tri-

bune, and resided here both in that capacity (1347) and afterwards (1354) as Senator. During the few months of his tribunate, he celebrated a triumph, the principal scene of which was on this height, for his victory over the barons and their retainers, headed by Stefano Colonna, at the Tiburtine (or S. Lorenzo) gate. After sacred rites in the Aracoeli church, the Tribune hung up, as ex-votos, before the Madonna-picture over its high altar his steel wand of office, and also the silver crown, in form of a laurel-wreath, which had been placed on his brows in the Lateran basilica.* A more magnificent triumph, far nobler, because more religious, than those of the Cæsars, while amidst earthly pomps referring all to the Omnipotent Ruler, was accorded by Pius V., and its final act celebrated with splendid rites in this church (4th December, 1571), in honour of Marc Antonio Colonna, commander of the ships forming the naval contingent of the Pope to the fleet of the triple alliance in the battle of Lepanto. In memorial of that victory of Christian over Moslem power (5th October, 1571) the Roman Senate renewed the ceiling of the same church, supplying one of those flat wooden roofs, coffered and profusely gilt, which are of comparatively late origin in ecclesiastical architecture.

Political scenes pass next in review before us on the Capitol. On this height an emissary of French Revolution planted the tree of liberty, 28th December, 1797; and here did the French authorities proclaim the downfall of pontific sovereignty and the establishment of the "Tiberine Republic," 15th February, 1798. On the 10th June, 1809, was published here, as in all principal quarters of the city, with sound of trumpets, lowering of the pontific standard, and elevating of another instead, the annexation of Rome and

* Another old Byzantine Madonna-picture, in the Borghese chapel at S. Maria Maggiore, disputes the claim to such honours with that of Aracoeli.

the Papal States to the French Empire. On the 9th February, 1849, the National Assembly or "Roman Constituent" decreed the decadence, *de facto* and *de jure*, of that often assailed sovereignty (Pius IX. having fled from Rome on the 19th November previous)—which act, together with the establishment of democratic government, as the "Repubblica Romana," was proclaimed on this hill. A vote of the Assembly to the same effect was published from the loggia of the municipal palace here, 3rd July, 1849, the last day of the existence of that Republic represented by it. Shortly after the entry of the victorious French on the same day, the restoration of Pius IX. and of the papal throne was proclaimed on this classic hill. On this spot was made a feeble attempt at revolt with attack by night on the guards here stationed, shortly before the battle of Mentana (November 3rd, 1867). On the Capitol and in the Forum was celebrated a funereal pageant (17th March, 1872), with long-drawn procession, banners, allegoric statues, &c. in honour of the lately deceased Mazzini. Among the exciting incidents of the now-memorable 20th September, 1870, was the lowering of the pontific standard and erecting of that of the Italian King, with exulting popular demonstrations, a few hours after the entry of the Italian army by the Porta Pia. A tablet in two exemplars on the front of the municipal palace records the result of the Plebiscite, the votes of 40,785 against 46, which was proclaimed also on this hill, 11th October following.*

Modern researches on the Capitol have been rewarded by discovery of a system of shafts and tunnels, perpendicular and horizontal, that pierce this hill in every direction, and are supposed to have served for supplying the citadel

* S. P. Q. R. *Questa memoria ricorderà nei posteri il giorno 11 Ottobre 1870, quando i Romani con voto solenne unanime si vollero ricongiunti all' Italia sotto il costituzionale Governo di Vittorio Emanuele e dei suoi Successori. I voti furono : favorevoli, 40,785—contrarii, 46.*

with water—if not, as some have concluded, *favissæ*, recesses where the sacred objects of temples, no longer serviceable, used to be deposited. These cavities, however, appear too vast and intricate to have been formed for such purpose. Their highest range is at a depth of 138 palms from the summit of the Tarpeian rock. One passage extends both eastward and westward, below the *Piazza della Consolazione*, where its course is impeded by ruin, being permeable for the length of 303 palms. This passage expands into an ample corridor, having the sides lined with slabs of fine marble. A similar corridor extends northwards till it sinks into a lower storey, now full of water; and on the southern side are two passages, one 21 palms below the other, leading to springs of water. It is obvious how important were these subterranean ways—probably indeed the means of preserving the Roman citadel at the crisis of the Gallic siege. Externally are seen a few entrances to their long-winding recesses: two on the southern surface of the Tarpeian rock, above an obscure court near the Consolazione piazza; a third on the precipice at the northern side, whence that passage has been penetrated to a point below the statues of Castor and Pollux.

Approaching this hill at the northern side, where is the ascent by an inclining plane made for the state ingress of Charles V. into Rome, 1536, we may well share the feeling expressed in one of Wordsworth's sonnets:—

Is this, ye Gods, the Capitoline Hill,
This petty steep, in truth, the fearful rock
Tarpeian named of yore, and keeping still
That name, a local phantom formed to mock
The traveller's expectation?

The *palazzi* here before us, flanking three sides of a quadrangular terrace, have neither grace nor dignity in their architectural forms. One may admit the sarcasm of Fla-

vio Biondo, that the senatorial seat "as he saw it restored by Boniface IX., was one in which a private person might be ashamed to dwell." As now before us, an insignificant specimen of the modern palatial style, it completely masks, on this side, the antique structures of the Tabularium ; its façade bearing the impress of Buonarotti's hand, who added its best detail, the external staircase with double flight and a lofty platform. Giacomo della Porta finished this palaco. Buonarotti made designs for the two lateral ones, which were altered for the worse when those buildings were completed by Del Duca. The statues and other antiques ranged above the heavy balustrade along the ridge of the ascent, and on the level summit, alone serve to link this modernized part of the Hill with classic antiquity ; but those sculptures, effective from a distance, have no character of high art—excepting indeed one masterpiece beyond price.* The Marcus Aurelius on his steed, in

* The two lions of black granite, at the foot of the ascent, probably adorned a temple of Isis and Serapis, on the site of which they stood till transferred, about A.D. 1556, to their present place. The lion on which Rienzo was seated amidst the furious crowd, when the assassins struck him, has disappeared. The colossal Castor and Pollux with their steeds (much restored) were found in the Jews' quarter ; they are supposed to have stood in the Theatre of Balbus, and were transferred by order of Gregory XIII. in 1579, to the Capitol. The statues of two of the sons of Constantine (probably Constantine II. and Constantius) are from the ruins of the Thermæ of the Emperor, their father, on the Quirinal Hill. The piles of armour and weapons (miscalled " trophies of Marius ") were removed from the extant ruins of the castellum (or decorated reservoir with fountains) of an aqueduct near S. Maria Maggiore, by order of Sixtus V ; but are supposed to have been first erected on the Forum of Trajan. Winckelmann refers them to the time of Domitian. The recumbent colossi of the Tiber and the Nile, against the front of the staircase before the municipal palace, are mentioned by Biondo as placed in a street on the Quirinal, and were then (XV. century) believed to represent Rome and Bacchus ! The Rome Triumphant, a seated figure,

attitude that seems at once to exhort with eloquence and command with majesty, is the only one extant of twenty-two equestrian bronze statues known to have stood in Rome till at least so late as the V. century of our era. This was originally gilt. While supposed to be the image of Constantine, it was removed from its original place on the principal Forum, by Pope Clement III., about 1187, to the piazza before the Lateran; finally, by order of Paul III., to the spot where it now stands, re-erected under care of Buonarrotti, by whom the marble pedestal was made out of a massive cornice found on the Forum of Nerva, 1538. Among the festivities appointed by Rienzo for the occasion of his receiving knighthood in the Lateran basilica, the horse of Marcus Aurelius was converted into a fountain of wine and water, those liquids flowing from its nostrils for the whole day. A Prefect of Rome rebellious against a Pope, John XIII. (966), was punished, besides other barbarous cruelties, by being hung by the hair of his head to this bronze horse, then in its original place on the Forum. Hospitalities were offered to the Roman people, still more profuse than those of Rienzo, by several Popes, Urban VIII., Innocent X., Clement IX., and Clement X., on occasion of their installations at the Lateran, when the two Egyptian lions at the foot of the Capitoline ascent poured wine from their mouths, as, in some similar festivities for the pontific "Possesso," did also the fountain on the platform-summit. On the north-west declivity, where the new authorities have improved a bank of barren soil into a

in a niche between those two statues, with head and arms of Parian marble, and draperies of porphyry, was found, according to Nibby, at Cori (the Latian Cora), though another writer (Montagnini, *Mirabilia*) mentions its discovery in a subterranean chamber, magnificently adorned with stucco relief, silver borderings and rich marble incrustations, under a vineyard on the Esquiline Hill, near S. Martino ai Monti.

pleasant garden with a staircase and a zig-zag road for easy ascent, were discovered in the recent works some massive remains, in lithoid tufa, of the Servian fortifications, in this instance carefully preserved, and made visible, in two portions, under arches raised expressly to shelter them. These relics may assist us in evoking before the mental gaze the picture of the antique Capitolium* on its northern side; its declivities fortified by buttress walls, without approach by stairs or practicable way; the superb Temple of Jupiter on one of its horns, or eastern and western summits (I must conclude for the site of Aracoeli); the citadel on the Tarpeian rock; several other temples raising their colonnades and tympana, of classic style, within that arx and on other disposable spaces;† the Tabularium and Ærarium, with its sculpture-adorned porticos, on the intermontium. All the local aspects and architectural features are now essentially changed; the monumental glories vanished like “the baseless fabric of a dream.”

* The traditionary origin of this name, through discovery of a human head below the foundations of the great temple, can only be considered a philologic myth.

† Among those of exceptional dedication, and said to have been founded by Romulus, that of Vejovis, a deity of ill omen, or Evil Spirit, (supposed by some to be no other than Jupiter the Infant)—probably no building but an enclosed space, destined as refuge for husbandmen and their herds during war or inundations. Within the arx were the trees, probably a grove walled round, whence the Fetiales took consecrated boughs of verberna when they had to conclude a treaty between Rome and other cities or countries.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FLAVIAN AMPHITHEATRE (OR COLOSSEUM) AND
THE CHRISTIAN MARTYRS.

THE last of the Roman Pontiffs who was canonized as a saint (in 1712), Pius V., used to say that whoever desired relics from Rome need but gather the soil, all saturated with the blood of martyrs, in the Flavian Amphitheatre. A like sense of local sanctities is expressed in the legend of S. Gregory the Great, who, when asked to send some precious relics to a Greek Empress, presented to the Byzantine envoys a handful of earth from the same arena, which, when aware that they received it with surprise and contempt, he pressed between his hands till blood was seen to ooze from that hallowed clay ! These two stories rest on a notion which the archæologist may find erroneous, for we have reason to believe the amphitheatric arena was not an earthy platform on *terra firma*, but a boarded stage like those on which the modern actor treads. But the memories thus associated (as the two sainted Popes justly felt) with the ruins of the great edifice in question, are the most deeply interesting—"the charm of this enchanted ground"—and far more truly sublime than all the material grandeur and vastness of scale here displayed to our admiration. Legends are a symbol of truth ; and if the highest interest attached to antiquities be that proceeding from their connection with the history of Humanity and Civilization, or Religion, assuredly the light reflected from Christian annals, from the fate of those who met with dreadful death, suffering for conscience sake, within the

walls of that vast amphitheatre, may excite still more wonder and emotion than all its architectural features, all the characteristics of its construction, or the perfect adaptation of parts to a general purpose in the whole enormous fabric. A countryman of ours, the venerable Bede, is the first writer who can be cited as applying to this building, in the VIIIth century, the name by which it is now popularly known. He quotes as a proverb already current, what with scarcely an altered word is versified by Byron :

“ While stands the Colosseum, Rome shall stand,
When falls the Colosseum, Rome shall fall,
And when Rome falls, the world.”

In the Latin original: *Quamdiu stabit Coliseus (sic) stabit et Roma ; quando cadet Coliseus, cadet et Roma ; quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus*. This saying seems to imply that the edifice was still standing, almost in its ancient entireness, when the venerable Bede lived and wrote.

The *uses* to which a building has been applied form its main title to *historic* importance. Regarded in such connection, the Flavian Amphitheatre, whilst in the highest degree attractive to the eyes of the archæologist and architect, may be deemed the most signal monument of Evil, the most striking evidence of legalised cruelties, and systematic outrage against Humanity ever raised by man in enduring material. Considering all that it signifies and all that it serves to record, we may agree with the modern historian who says of imperial Rome that, in the eye of Deity, she was “the Representative of all errors and of all crimes.” It needs but average acquaintance with ancient manners as depicted in classic literature to measure, in this instance, the depths of iniquity among local memories, and distinguish how many stains, *besides* those of blood, darken the walls of that ruined edifice ! I need say no more on a

subject which will not bear further exposition, and may be understood by the reader. Such a contrast between the ancient and modern spirit of society, of belief and institutions as is suggested to our thought within those walls, leads us to estimate, on the one hand, the brutalized and degraded social state, the dark realities possible even at a high stage of Latin civilization; and, on the other, the purifying powers of Christianity. This lesson is more eloquent than all the appeals of the pulpit, more affecting as it here speaks to us, on the arena surrounded by ruin, than are all the creations of sacred Art, all the magnificence of ritual in the stateliest temples of Catholicism at Rome. A striking moral antagonism meets us in the pages of the Latin and later Greek literature between the precepts of philosophy and the usages of common life—between the theories of virtue and their habitual, public, often outrageous contradiction in practice. The writings of Cicero, Seneca, Plutarch, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, convince us that a noble estimate of human duties, a deep sense of the value of human life, a full recognition of the mercy that should season justice, were attainable by the mind and reconcileable with the belief of antiquity. The masters of the Stoic School were teaching at Rome, or within the knowledge of Roman citizens, during the very period when homicidal shows in the arena were a favourite amusement, those moral principles through which their system approached nearest to the ethics of the Gospel; and the sense of the preciousness of the life which was habitually sacrificed for the public entertainments most in favour, is finely expressed in a well known line by Juvenal: *Nulla unquam de morte hominis cunctatio longa est* ("Never in any case can delay be too long when the life or death of man is in question"). Cicero, referring in one of his familiar epistles to such shows of the arena as attracted the Roman populace in his day, pro-

tests against them long before gladiatorial combats had been seen in any permanent amphitheatre : “ Magnificent are they indeed (he says), but what pleasure can there be to a cultivated mind in the spectacle of an unarmed man exposed to be torn by a furious beast, or of a noble animal transfixd by darts ? ”

A living author, who presents to us the moral life and intellectual status of the ancient Romans with exhaustive treatment and immense range of well-directed learning, Friedlander, compiles all the proofs and examples at hand to show the salutary influences of philosophic schools over that civic life ; but I believe the general conclusion must be that the high estimate of duties, the exalted aims inculcated by philosophic schools under the Empire were confined in their effects to a cultivated few, were little diffused over the practice, or reflected in the temper, of the many. The homicidal combats of Gladiators were first exhibited in Rome, B.C. 263, on the Forum Boarium, and among the funeral pomps prepared by Marcus and Decimus Brutus for the obsequies of their father. During some time afterwards they were only displayed at the public funerals of conspicuous persons ; and it was usually round the pyre, on the chief Forum, that the gladiators fought. Finally such homicidal shows were introduced at all the more solemn obsequies, even those of patrician matrons. Under the Empire, Knights and Senators, private citizens, even in some instances women (to the disgrace of their sex) descended into the arena, for fight, like hirelings.* But

* Tacitus, referring to the reign of Nero, says : “ In the same year were exhibited gladiatorial shows on a scale no less magnificent than those of previous years ; but many women of noble birth, and many senators disgraced themselves by appearing on the arena.” Suetonius mentions similar shows in the time of Domitian, when women took part with men in the amphitheatric combats (*nec virorum modo pugnas, sed*

the usually chosen actors, or victims, in those bloody pageants, were captives, slaves, and condemned malefactors. These, the regular gladiators, were trained and lodged with due care for their health and strength, in colleges called "ludi." If dismissed and set free, as the final reward of long services or successes, the gladiator could never hold equestrian rank, whatever his fortune or merits; the slave who was manumitted or dismissed from such an employ, which inflicted the stain of infamy even in Roman eyes, could never rank with other freemen, but belonged to an inferior class designated as *peregrinus dedititius*. The first amphitheatres raised in this city were temporary wooden structures; the first known to us being that erected by Julius Cæsar, on the Campus Martius, for public entertainments at his grand triumph of four days' duration. Great was the variety of the shows then exhibited in the ephemeral edifice: a naumachia, a slaughter of many wild beasts, a combat between antagonists mounted on forty elephants, and other contests, in which so many human lives were lost that this waste both of blood and treasure for amusement resulted in making Cæsar (as Dion Cassius states) extremely unpopular. The first permanent amphitheatre in Rome was that raised by Statilius Taurus, at the desire of Augustus, on a site probably near the Monte Citorio, westwards of the piazza Colonna, on which now stands the great building formerly serving for police-courts and prisons, now for the Parliament of the Italian Kingdom.

et feminarum), Domitian. IV. Juvenal describes such shameful spectacles on the arena—

Where the bold fair
Tilts at the Tuscan boar with bosom bare. —*Sat.* I. 22.

Nor was this practice put down till the reign of Septimius Severus, when a decree abolished it as illegal for the future. (v. Walford's "*Juvenal*," in Collins's "*Ancient Classics*."

Probably the outer walls alone of that amphitheatre were of stone, the rest woodwork, as we may infer from the fact of its being destroyed by fire in the time of Nero. Another temporary amphitheatre was erected by Nero's order; another permanent (*i. e.* architectonic) one was commenced by the Emperor Caius, but never finished. At length arose, on ground once occupied by a lake among the pleasure-gardens of the "Golden House," the marvellous Amphitheatre, called after its founder of the Flavian family, commenced by Vespasian soon after the conquest of Jerusalem, A.D. 72, finished and dedicated by Titus, A.D. 80, but not (it seems) raised to its full altitude, with a lofty attic above the triple-storeyed arcades, till the time of Domitian, between the years 82 and 96. Dion Cassius tells us that more than 9000 animals were slain on its arena at the fêtes for the dedication. Eutropius reports the number as 5000.* The unrivalled scale of this edifice among buildings of its class accounts for the name by which it has been long known. With no courtly exaggeration does the poet Martial assert its rank among the wonders of the ancient world, and declare that all monuments ever reared by Kings yielded to this unparalleled creation of the Flavian Cæsars.† It is scarcely necessary

* The former writer states that, among these spectacular displays "troops of cranes fought together, and four elephants, together with 9000 other animals, both wild and tame, were killed; and even women (though none of high rank) lent their aid for slaying them. Many men engaged in single combat; many others by companies in land and sea-fights; for the amphitheatre was suddenly filled with water, and there appeared bulls, horses, and other domestic animals, trained to go through the same exercises in the water as on land." He tells us that these shows lasted 100 days; and that on the third day there was a nautical combat, in which 3000 men were engaged.

† *Omnis Cæsario cedat labor amphitheatro;
Unum pro cunctis fama loquatur opus.*

to particularize the measurements given in all guide-books : the height 160 feet ; the length, taking the diameter of the external ellipse, 615 feet ; the width, measured alike externally, 510 feet : the ground occupied, about five acres. The number of spectators who could be seated on the gradines is estimated at 87,000, without including several thousands more who had standing room on the highest terrace, a covered gallery running round the whole ellipse, where alone were women admitted, excepting the Vestal Virgins privileged to sit in the same rank with Emperors and Senators. One writer calculates that the cost of the outer structure alone, in square-hewn travertine blocks, would amount to 17 million francs. The first restoration of this amphitheatre was ordered by Antoninus Pius after a great fire, destructive to many other buildings whilst greatly damaging this (*v.* Capitolinus). In the short reign of Macrinus, it was struck by lightning A.D. 217), and Dion Cassius, an eye-witness, states that the upper storeys or tiers of seats were totally destroyed by the fire thus kindled ; all the other parts being scorched, or more or less injured, though heavy rains were falling at the time. In consequence, the combats were held for many years in the Circus Maximus, the amphitheatre being abandoned. Its subsequent restoration was commenced in the reign of Heliogabalus, and finished in that of Alexander Severus—*i.e.* between A.D. 222 and A.D. 235. The thousandth year of Rome occurring A.D. 248, magnificent shows, slaughters of wild beasts, &c. were ordered for celebrating that anniversary by the Emperor Philippus. In A.D. 281, the Emperor Probus, on occasion of his public triumph for military successes, exhibited, besides the chase of many animals, combats by 300 pairs of gladiators, all prisoners of war, mostly Africans, on the same stage. This amphitheatre stood with all its arrangements, splendours,

and appropriate spectacles as of old, when described, with vivid presentment of the imposing scene, by the poet Calpurnius (Eclog. VII.) about A.D. 282, Carinus and Numerianus then reigning;* and that the whole structure preserved its ancient integrity till the end of that century appears from the words of Ammianus Marcellinus, who mentions it with wondering admiration. (l. xvi. c. x.)

It is evident, seeing the effects of the conflagrations reported, that the whole upper storey must have been originally of woodwork, nor restored in masonry till after the fire A.D. 217. Remains of the architecture of that period are now strewn around the arena: broken columns, cornices, &c. of marble and granite, also some of the marble tripods used for burning perfumes—the columns for supporting the roof of a gallery carried round the highest part, and where the spectators had only standing room. In these fragments we observe the characteristics of decline, as in the rude chiselling of Corinthian capitals, contrasted with other examples, here before us, of that order in its purity. In the stonework of the attics, round the inner ellipse, we see inserted, to fill up space, many fragments of wrought marble, no doubt from other buildings—a barbarous expedient that also indicates decline. Under the Christian Emperors' sway other disasters and other restorations ensued. An earthquake did much injury to the amphitheatre and other buildings, A.D. 442 (v. Paulus Diaconus); and the record of repairs carried out subsequently is before us in two inscriptions, now placed near the southern entrance to the arena, giving the names of the reigning Theodosius II. and Valentinian III. with that of the Urban Prefect, Rufus Lampadius, who ordered the requisite works. Again did

* *Balteus en gemmis, en illita porticus auro*

Certatim radiant—the Poet's lines attesting the splendid decorations of the porticos and cincture walls (*baltea*) between the storeys of gradines.

buildings suffer from earthquake about A.D. 508 ; after other repairs were undertaken by the Prefect, Decius Junius Bassus, as recorded in two epigraphs (dug up in), the latinity of which curiously shows how language was corrupt—in one exemplar (both now placed near the chief entrance at the northern side) the word “abomili,” in reference to the earthquake, being spelt “*abomidi*.” The actual level of the arena is supposed to have been about twelve feet lower than the present. Coming to what uses this stage was appropriated—the gladiatorial combats and exposure of victims to wild beasts, we may remember that the shedding of human blood for public entertainment was borrowed by the Romans from the Etruscans, among whom prevailed the dark superstition that such sanguinary shows were acceptable to departed spirits—hence their display at funerals. And here we are reminded by an idea running deeply through ancient mythologies, of mysterious efficacy in bloodshed—a belief which is supposed to originate either in the sense of guilt or fear of supernatural punishment. Marcus Aurelius humanely endeavoured to check the rage for amphitheatric spectacles, their sanguinary excess, first by diminishing the funds appropriated for their cost, next by ordering that the gladiators should fight with blunted weapons alone. We may suppose, therefore, that, during the nineteen years of the Emperor’s reign, such combats, if not bloodless, were rarely attended with sacrifice of human life. But the estimate generally set on that priceless object in ancient times is singularly betrayed in a passage of Dion Cassius, where that historian, mentioning a public triumph conferred by Claudius on one of his generals after the successful war in Britain, tells us that gladiatorial combats were among the entertainments provided, in which not only freedmen but also many British captives were com-

pelled to take part; and because a great number lost their lives in those shows, Claudius (by no means one of the most cruel Emperors) greatly rejoiced—literally, “*gloried in this.*” The infliction of a dreadful death, through exposure to beasts on the arena, for the simple offence of abandoning the state religion, would be incredible, and in utter contradiction with the principles of Roman jurisprudence in the case of those who suffered for their profession of the Christian faith, were it not apparent that a species of revolt partaking of political treason was imputed to them. Tolerant indifferentism characterized the polytheistic worship and sagacious legislation of the mighty Empire; and the persecutions here in question, notwithstanding the naturally humane instincts fostered by a system which “found familiar place for every god,” can only be accounted for through reference to the common misunderstanding as to the belief, and the hideous calumnies as to the religious usages, of the primitive Church, especially with regard to her holiest mystery, that most carefully veiled from profane regards—the sacred key-stone and rallying-point of Christian worship from the time of its celebration in subterranean cemeteries—the Eucharistic Sacrament. We have extant proof of this in the blasphemous caricature discovered, some years ago, among the Palatine ruins, and referred to the time of Septimius Severus, representing in rudely scratched outlines a crucifixion with the head of an ass to the figure on the cross, and a man standing below in the attitude literally signified by the term *adoration*.* Local traditions may exaggerate; but exaggeration is not itself a discredit to truth, rather a proof of the profound impression caused by extraordinary realities. We may reject the tradition that in the cemetery

* Raising (that is) the hand to the mouth, and kissing it, in act of reverence.

(or catacomb) of S. Calixtus alone, are interred 174,000 martyrs, and that 10,000 such sufferers for faith are interred in the other subterranean burial place below the three churches on the site where S. Paul was put to death. Though the earlier evidence respecting the fate of such martyrs be but slight, its general validity cannot be questioned; and in the very first instance it proceeds from an adverse source. Remarkable is the passage of Tacitus describing the punishment of the Christians by Nero—the first persecution at Rome. Soon after the devastating conflagration of A.D. 64, that Emperor is supposed to have desired to avert from himself to those innocent victims the suspicion of having caused the disaster. “He (Nero—says the great historian) punished with exquisite tortures those persons, hated for their crimes, whom the common people call Christians; the originator of that name being one *Christus*, who, under the reign of Tiberius, was put to death by the procurator Pontius Pilate. For a time that pernicious superstition had been suppressed; but it broke out again, and not only in Judæa, where this pestilence had birth, but also in Rome, whither flows and is practised all evil, where all atrocious and infamous usages are admitted. First, therefore, were arrested those who confessed; afterwards, on their denunciation, an immense multitude, not indeed because guilty of the crime of incendiarism, but because convicted of hatred against the human race” (or, as some read this passage, “being hated by the whole human race”); “and a sort of irony was added to their punishment, some being covered with the skins of beasts and torn to death by dogs; others fastened to crosses; others set on fire,* so that, when the day declined, they

* “*Flammandi*”—set on fire after being smeared over with pitch or other combustible matter.

(the latter) might serve to light up the darkness." Nero (says the historian) "celebrated in that place (namely, the Vatican gardens) the Circensian games, driving his car himself, dressed like a charioteer, and mingling as a spectator among the crowd; hence arose pity for those wretches, who, though deserving of every imaginable punishment, were not put to death for the public good but to satisfy his cruelty alone." As observed by Tertullian in his *Apologia*: "When you (he addresses the Heathens) call us *Chrestiani*, because you do not know our real name, you give us a name implying goodness and benevolence"—i. e. in the sense of the Greek *χρηστος*, sometimes substituted for *χριστος* by heathen writers.* No report as to the number who suffered under Nero or other Emperors is given by ancient historians; and we are informed that the very first proceeding in the persecution under Diocletian, A.D. 303, was the destruction of all the sacred books and registers kept in the Christian churches. We may conclude that the originally compiled "Acts" of martyrs for the most part perished in that catastrophe, owing to which loss we are left in ignorance as to those put to death under Domitian, Trajan, and Hadrian. Ecclesiastical historians divide the eras of persecution into either ten or twelve: first, that under Nero, A.D. 61 to 68; last, that apparently the most violent, under Diocletian and Maximianus, which raged from A.D. 303 to 310. To these may be added, either as the eleventh or thirteenth persecution, that during the short reign of Julian, A.D. 361-2. There is no proof that, during the intervals between those onsets, the condition of the Christians under the Empire was generally

* Suetonius (*in Claudio* xxv.) unable to distinguish between Christians and Jews, thus mistakes the sacred name when mentioning the expulsion of the latter from Rome, by order of Claudius: "Judæos, impulsore *Chresto* assidue tumultuantes, Româ expulit."

depressed or calamitous ; that either their lives were in peril, or their religious usages proscribed ; and late researches in the vast field which we may designate by the title of De Rossi's admirable work, *Roma Sotteranea*, supply evidence that at least for the burial of their dead the Christians had the same liberty as other citizens under Heathen emperors. Alexander Severus, who placed a statue of the Saviour beside those of Orpheus and Abraham in his private oratory, allowed the Roman Christians to open a public place of worship, where now stands the basilica of *S. Maria in Trastevere*. Gibbon concludes that the number put to death for their faith throughout the Empire, in the persecution under Diocletian, scarcely amounted to 2000. With the evidence now at hand, I believe this may be contested. We may refer to the significant testimony of epitaphs from the cemeteries called Catacombs, so much more amply supplied than in that historian's time ; especially to such exemplars as contain, after proper names, certain numeric signs, long supposed to imply the order or number of the *loculi* (or excavated tombs), but now otherwise explained, seeing that many such epitaphs have been found with the designation *Martyres*, or *Christi Martyres*, followed by numerals, 30, 40, 150, and in the highest known instance, 550, obviously indicating those who had won that glorious title. Towards the end of the IV. century the eloquent and devout Prudentius reports what he had himself observed in the lapidary style of such memorials : *Sunt et multa tamen tacitas claudentia tumbas—Marmoræ quæ solum significant numerum*. (" There are many marble tablets covering silent tombs, on which is signified nothing more than a certain number.") The same Christian poet mentions elsewhere the interment of sixty martyrs in the same cemetery—"all (he adds) among those obscure victims whose names are known only to Christ."

The "Martyrs of the Colosseum," as we might call those who suffered for faith on the arena here before us, were, no doubt, numerous. Seventeen Christians are known by name, besides the many who suffered alike without leaving any record, as having met death on this fatal stage. Some antiquaries (*v.* Marangoni *Anfiteatro Flavio*) infer that, so early as the time of Domitian there were victims who died for their faith within this building. Many years ago was found in the cemetery called after S. Agnes a metrical epitaph, now in the crypt-chapel underneath S. Martina on the Forum, which records the name and fate of one Gaudentius, put to death under Vespasian, but of whom nothing else is known save what these rude Latin verses announce. The allusion made therein to a theatre has led to the inference that this Gaudentius was himself the architect of, or one of the builders engaged in, the amphitheatre. Translation from such an original must to some degree be conjectural, but I hazard the following, observing that the barbaric latinity can scarcely be of the Flavian emperor's time: "Such rewards dost thou reserve, O cruel Vespasian? Thou art rewarded with death, Gaudentius, but rejoice—admitted, as thou art, into the city promised by the author of thy glory, there where all things are given by Christ, who has prepared for thee another theatre in heaven."* If this victim actually yielded up his life within the building he laboured to raise to its majestic completeness, the memory of his death would enhance the pathetic and solemn associations of an edifice more imposing perhaps in ruin than in that completeness long lost!

Though the above, and a few more vague intimations,

* Sic premia servas Vespasiane dire
Premiatus es morte Gaudente letare
Civitas ubi glorie tue Autori
Promisit iste dat Kristus omnia tibi
Qui alium paravit theatrū in celo.

might justify the belief that Christians were exposed to wild beasts on the same arena before the end of the first century, the earliest detailed and trustworthy account of such martyrdom is in the "Acts of S. Ignatius," the third bishop of Antioch, who is said traditionally to have been the child blessed, and presented to the Disciples as a model of humility, by the Redeemer. While Trajan was at Antioch, Ignatius was cited to appear before him, because accused of opposition to the established religion, and was condemned to suffer death at Rome—an order probably motivated by the fear that his public execution in the city where he had won reverence and love in his apostolic office, might kindle public feeling, or excite tumult. The holy bishop, after receiving his sentence with cheerfulness, set out for his long journey on foot, guarded by ten soldiers like a common criminal. At Smyrna he had an interview with S. Polycarp, the disciple of S. John; and thence did he address his affecting extant letters to the Christians at Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralles in Lydia, and at Rome, desiring the latter to make no attempt for saving his life. Having reached this metropolis in December, A.D. 109, he was destined to suffer at the recurrence of the next great festival, celebrated with public shows in the amphitheatre—namely, on the 1st of February, 110. On that day he was exposed to lions on the arena; and soon after those animals had been let loose against him, as he knelt calmly amidst the gazing multitude, Ignatius ceased to live, his body being devoured, all except the larger bones, which were reverently collected and carried back to Antioch, probably by some Syrian Christians, who had followed him from thence. That martyr's remains were brought back from Antioch to Rome, A.D. 637, after the whole Syrian region, as well as Palestine, had been subjected by Moslem conquest; and those bones now lie under the high altar of

S. Clemente, not far from the spot where he suffered. The earliest trustworthy account of his martyrdom is in an ancient Latin version from a Greek original now lost, and first edited (I mean the translation) by Archbishop Usher. Another extant narrative, in Greek, is by the Byzantine writer Metaphrastes, who is not altogether trustworthy. Both these narratives are inserted in the well-known *Acta Sincera Martyrum*, by the learned French Benedictine, Ruinart. The Roman martyrology now in use is believed to be, in its nucleus at least, ascribable to S. Jerome, and founded on primitive documents collected or drawn up by the seven ecclesiastical notaries appointed for the service of the local church by Pope Clement in the first century. Seeing the loss of the Christian documents destroyed in the time of Diocletian, we must exercise critical reserve in admitting what remains as authentic. As we descend the stream of time, these so-called "Acts" become more and more overloaded with the marvellous—a literature founded on records of fact, but embellished by imagination to a degree almost unlimited. The preternatural taming of fiercest beasts, become powerless before the Christian hero or heroine, and crouching down to lick the feet of their destined victims, who are divinely protected amidst all ordeals, rescued from all torture and perilous exposure either by visibly intervening angels, or by sudden suspension of natural laws—such are the frequently recurring marvels in these singular legends! Yet the apparent purpose of all such miraculous agency is sure to be finally defeated; for the last act of the tragedy is, in all instances, Death! A curious example of the gradual development of such legends is in the case of S. Agnes, whose affecting story is no doubt true in its leading details. The *Legenda Aurea* reports that she was placed amidst flames (as represented in the mosaic of the VII. century at

her church on the Nomentan Way), without being injured, though several spectators were burnt to death on the spot! The circumstance of those flames being extinguished by her prayers, was added later. Prudentius, writing in the same century in which Agnes suffered (A.D. 303)—omits all these particulars in his beautiful hymn to her honour,—merely describing her decapitation, though he indeed mentions an apparently miraculous rescue for her protection, *i.e.* the preternatural growth of her hair, so as to cover her entire person, when she was exposed to insult in the vaulted cells round the Circus Agonalis, still open below another church dedicated to her, at least as early as the VIII. century, on the Piazza Navona. In the latter years of the IV. century Pope Damasus wrote the metrical lines in honour of this Saint, chiselled on a marble tablet still to be seen on the wall of the staircase by which we descend into the extramural *S. Agnese* basilica. S. Damasus, as well as Prudentius, omits the later added episode of her being beloved by the Urban Prefect's son, of that rejected lover being punished for insolence to her by instant death, and resuscitated through the victim's prayers. It is mentioned by Baronius that the practice of early ages was to have the *Acts of Martyrs*, in compendious form, read at the worship both of the Latin and Greek rites; but that the Roman Church would not admit the rehearsal of more fully detailed *Acta*, as appointed by a council at Carthage, A.D. 409, because (that historian states) "many of these writings had been composed by ignorant persons, and some interpolated by heretics." Thus did the Roman Church show her superior critical discernment. The great moral lesson of those legends fortunately remains embedded in that precious ore of truth which may be separated from fiction, and which shines with purest light through records of noble realities—of enduring energies, of celestial love stronger than death, of luminous testimony to the spiritual

and unquenchable life in the "immortal being with our dust entwined," exemplified in the fate of numbers who suffered with heroic resignation. It seems ascertainable that the Flavian amphitheatre, or its vicinity, was the usual site chosen for the death of Christian victims at Rome. Several were beheaded near one of the entrances; and usually on one of those rounded black stones called in consequence *pietre scellerate*, of the species known to science as *lapis æquipondus*, or *nephriticus*, many specimens of which are kept in Roman churches to this day.

The known instances of suffering for Christian faith on the amphitheatric arena, those, namely, which are still commemorated (see the Latin Missal and Breviary), and enter into the scope of my subject, may be given in chronological order. Under Trajan (and, it appears, before the death of S. Ignatius) 270 Christians were there slaughtered by the arrows of the Pretorians, after they had been condemned to labour in the sandpits on the Salarian Way. In A.D. 118, Placidus, a patrician and officer of cavalry, who, after his conversion, took the name of Eustachius, was exposed, together with his wife Theopista and their two sons, to wild beasts on the same arena; though all are said by the legend to have been miraculously preserved from one death only to suffer another far more dreadful—being shut up within a brazen bull, beneath which fire was kindled—a version of the well-known story of the cruelties of Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum, which we may fairly question, considering the state of laws and manners in Rome at that period—the last year of Trajan and first of Hadrian. The brazen bull of Phalaris is mentioned by Valerius Maximus, writing in the reign of Tiberius, as among the most horrid examples of atrocity in the annals of all known countries.*

* "Sævus etiam ille ænei tauri inventor, quo inclusi, subditis ignibus, longo et abdito cruciatu," &c. *Memorabilia*, l. ix. c. 11, § 9.

Can we suppose such an instrument to have been first introduced for public executions under either of those more just and humane Emperors, which a writer under Tiberius brands with infamy and abhorrence? In the year 226, Martina, a Roman maiden of patrician birth, who, left early an orphan, had given all her wealth to the poor, was exposed to lions on the arena, and (according to the legend) left unhurt; but was at last beheaded, after undergoing most cruel tortures. Her festival, 30th January, is kept with splendour at the church on the Forum, where her remains lie.* Another preternatural rescue from wild beasts is narrated of Abdon and Sennen, two Persians of noble birth, said to have been slain by the gladiators (A.D. 253), after being brought on the arena naked and bleeding from the scourge inflicted because they had dared to spit at the idol they were commanded to worship. It seems doubtful, however, whether those martyrs suffered in Rome or in Persia, whence (according to some accounts) their bodies were brought to be interred in the cemetery now known as "Catacomb of S. Ponziano."

Other martyrs as to whom the circumstances of their death only are on record, are said to have been burnt in fires kindled before the statue of Nero (changed into an Apollo), near the northern side of the amphitheatre, A.D. 259. In A.D. 272 a Roman lady named Prisca was here exposed to the lions, but (according to the legend) miraculously preserved from injury; alike rescued when thrown into a fiery furnace, though at last beheaded, a death which seems tacitly

* Here were those relics discovered in the reign of Urban VIII., who commissioned Pietro Berettini (da Cortona) entirely to rebuild that church, henceforth called *S. Martina e S. Luca*. The martyr's relics are enshrined in a magnificent altar of gilt bronze, designed by the same architect, in a splendidly adorned crypt-chapel.

owned to be beyond all powers of deliverance. About A.D. 300, Vitus, a young Sicilian of patrician birth, baptized in spite of his father's opposition, together with his nurse Crescentia, and her husband Modestus, alike converts, was sent with those companions from Sicily to Rome for judgment as criminal. These three victims expired amidst the tortures of the rack, after the young Vitus had first been exposed to lions on the arena, then thrown into a cauldron filled with molten lead and pitch, but alike preserved in both instances by an Angel visibly interfering ! The legend adds that the bodies of those three martyrs, left unburied on the Campagna, were for several days guarded by eagles from other creatures of prey ! In the VIII. century a church, near the arch of Gallienus, was dedicated in this city to Vitus and Modestus ; but the actual *S. Vito* (now almost deserted) is of the date 1477. That Sicilian Martyr became one of the most popular saints among the Italian peasantry, who used to regard him (if indeed they do not still) as a celestial protector against the bite of serpents ! Other less fully detailed stories of martyrdom in the amphitheatre, are those of Eleutherius, an Illyrian bishop, put to death under Hadrian ; of Alexander, a bishop of Jerusalem, and of one Potitus ; all these having suffered under Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. I may allow myself a digression to consider the fate of five victims, two of them women delicately brought up and of superior station, Perpetua and Felicitas, who suffered, A.D. 205, not in the Flavian amphitheatre, but in another of Roman foundation in the Mauritania province. Felicitas, a patrician matron, had given birth to a child in the prison a few days before that appointed for her death ; yet not even this circumstance availed to secure her any respite. No miraculous elements are mixed up with the story of this martyrdom, either respecting the two ladies or their three companions, who were alike torn by

wild beasts on the same day. The more deeply affecting in its simplicity is the tragic narrative, given with traits of sublime fortitude, in the *Acta* edited by Ruinart; and this single fact, the spectacle of the cruel death of such sufferers displayed for public amusement—suffices to illustrate the inhuman depravity, the brutal ferocity of manners under the Empire at that period.

We now reach a time when the Church was expanding her life and authority, with progressive power and splendour, after Constantine had secured freedom for the religious *status* of Christianity, long before himself becoming an avowed convert, as at a later stage in his somewhat hesitating career. The first of his beneficent decrees against the atrocities of the amphitheatre was that issued from Berytus, A.D. 325, prohibiting gladiatorial combats for ever. That Emperor, just in legislation, inconsistent in conduct, forbade the exposure even of criminals for death as a public spectacle. But it appears that these righteous laws soon became a dead letter, even before A.D. 357, when they were revived by his son Constans, and again between that date and A.D. 386, when Theodosius prohibited homicidal shows, together with all other public amusements, *on the Sundays alone*, as his edict imports. That the gladiatorial shows were still exhibited till the end of the IV. century, is evident from the third enactment of the law against them, for both the eastern and the western states, by Arcadius and Honorius, A.D. 397. At last we find both historic evidence and generous protest against such cruel practices from the genius of Christian poetry, true to its high mission. Prudentius in his theological poem, *Contra Symmachum*, written, about A.D. 384, in opposition to the Heathen party headed by the Senator Symmachus, indignantly denounces the cruelties still witnessed in the amphitheatre, while he appeals to the humanity of the reigning

Emperor, Valentinian II. I translate from his verse into plain prose : " Behold the iniquitous sanctuaries of the infernal Dîs, to whom falls immolated the wretched gladiator, laid low on the fatal arena. Alas for the victims of Târtarian power in this yet unpurified Rome ! Wherefore does the impious altar of frantic amusement yet demand its sacrifices ? Why must we still see the youth of the land led forth to wanton slaughter, and the cruel lust of pleasure still fed with blood ? Wherefore are still presented to sight the funereal dust of the cavea, and the gloomy spectacles of amphitheatric pomp ? Let it be prohibited to offer murderous sacrifice by the slaughter of our fellow-creatures ; let none be slain in the imperial city to afford pleasure by their last agonies ; let no blood-stained weapons inflict death for sport any more ! "

Thus had this eminent poet to denounce a great evil continued more than seventy years after Christianity had become the officially recognized religion in Rome ! That the action of that faith in reforming social life and institutions at Rome was slow, cannot surprise us ; for a religion working from within to without did not at once attack, or suddenly overthrow, either the external forms or the manners and practices in which antagonism to its principles was embodied ; attaining its beneficent ends more surely, though gradually, by striking at the root or basement where the evil existed. The official death-blow was given to Heathenism in the Western Empire by the edicts of Theodosius, and especially those passed A.D. 392 ; but the general suppression of Heathen worship, and the final closing of its temples in Rome, dates from about the year 408, and the reign of Honorius. The old superstition, retiring from great centres, retained much longer its hold over obscure places and rural populations. From " Pagus," (a village) derived the name now given to its followers, *Pagani*—

Pagana. In the highly curious history of the decline of Heathenism we see how long the spirit can survive after the public recognition and authorized agency of a system have passed away. The tenacious life of the classical superstition in Rome, indeed throughout Italy, reminds us of the mediæval demonologic legend about the phantom knight, who continued to combat in the lists, challenging and charging against all opponents, till night closed on the scene ; this mysterious champion being in fact a necromantic and unreal mockery, the shadow of some redoubtable warrior already laid low by his death-wound in the trampled dust !

Later than the reign of Theodosius, the entertainments, fêtes, and manners still popular in the Western Empire, continued to be in many respects most anti-Christian. Till the end of the IV. century it seems that not only the gladiatorial combats, but the practice of exposing criminals to beasts in the amphitheatres, for the amusement of crowds, was still customary. We find an example of this in the life of S. Ambrose by Paulinus, a contemporary cleric of the Milanese Church, who narrates the following story : In the year 396 the usual spectacles of the amphitheatre were ordered at Milan to celebrate the investiture with the consulate of the young Honorius. The public had already assembled when Stilicho, the famous general, sent guards to arrest a convicted criminal, one Cresconius, and bring him into the arena to be there devoured by leopards. They found him taking sanctuary in the Cathedral. S. Ambrose himself and others of the clergy interposed to protect him ; but notwithstanding their efforts and the local sanctities, the unfortunate man was dragged away by the guard, whose leaders, we are told, were “ perfidious Arians.” Cresconius was led forth to die for the amusement of multitudes ; but the leopards, when let loose, instead of making him their prey at once, bounded from the arena up the terrace-seats

where were seated those who had ordered the profaning of the sanctuary, and disregarded the commands of a holy prelate. Those officials were dreadfully mangled by the beasts, though the biographer does not state that their wounds were mortal. He adds, however, (and this story is the more remarkable seeing that Paulinus tells of what had happened in the city where he lived at the time, and addresses himself to readers among whom many may have been witnesses of the scene,) that this quasi-miraculous event made a great impression, induced the valiant Stilicho to submit to penance for several days, and to release the criminal with safety for life, commuting his punishment to exile.

With regard to the temper of the society amidst which homicidal shows were exhibited and enjoyed, we might apply the quaint language of one of those Chronicles to which I have alluded: "The multitude of Christians lived in neglect (of their duties), and sat in the councils of vanity." The first Christian Emperors were, with few exceptions, of ordinary or worthless character. Retiring from the post of danger, probably foreseeing a tempest now announced on the horizon through signs and omens of approaching catastrophe, they took refuge in the sea-girt Ravenna, fearing to remain in the ancient capital, as to which Honorius and the two Valentinians little concerned themselves. It was about seven years before Gothic invaders entered Rome, and the charm of invincibility had been broken for ever when Alaric passed with his hosts at midnight, A.D. 410, through the Salarian Gate, that a signal victory was obtained over those foes by the ablest Roman leader, the above-named Stilicho, at Pollentia in Liguria. The Senate consequently decreed the honours of a triumph, not to the gallant General himself, but to the insignificant Emperor. It was long since a reigning Cæsar had been seen within Rome's walls, when Honorius arrived here, with a pompous retinue, in

December 402. Now was prepared a programme of festivities like those of the "trebly hundred triumphs" in the palmy days of ancient Empire. Gladiatorial combats were ordered among other shows; neither Christian principle, nor the humane legislation already sprung from it, being regarded before the absorbing claims of pleasure. Among the myriads of spectators thronging the great amphitheatre on that day (1st of January, 403), was one obscure stranger who did more for the cause of humanity under the declining Empire than had hitherto been effected by all the laws of its Christian rulers, with regard at least to the suffering and death inflicted for public sport..

An Oriental monk named Telemachus, or Almachius, actuated either by the resolve to fulfil a fixed purpose formed before setting out on his long pilgrimage, or by a sudden inspiration of heroic charity, no sooner had seen the homicidal contest commence than he left his seat among the humbler classes on the higher gradines, descended into the arena, and interposed between the armed gladiators; there, falling on his knees, appealed to the multitude present, adjuring them to compassionate those hired victims, to renounce such cruel pastimes for ever! He was answered by a tempest of rage, sarcasm, insult; the popular wrath against the interference of an obscure monk with the favourite entertainments sanctioned by an orthodox Emperor, and celebrated in his honour. Many left their seats and procured stones, eager to punish the rash intruder on the spot. Telemachus, overwhelmed by the stony shower, soon fell, a bleeding corpse, among the gladiators. We are not informed of any further suspension in the round of pleasures and pomps prepared for that day. According to another account, the heroic monk was put to death by the gladiators themselves at the behest of the Urban Prefect. His self-sacrifice is described by authority which neither

Gibbon nor any other accredited historian has disputed, being first mentioned in the ecclesiastical history of the Greek Theodoretus, a contemporary, who finished his work about A.D. 450. He tells us that "the admirable Emperor (Honorius), apprised of this circumstance, numbered him (Telemachus) with the victorious martyrs, and abolished those iniquitous spectacles" (l. v. c. 26). Less honour has been rendered to the memory of that self-devoting man than might have been expected. He is not even named in the Roman Missal or Breviary, though commemorated (I believe) in the Greek Church on the 1st January; and it is known that a pious Theatine priest appointed a Mass to be celebrated for his anniversary, each New Year's Day, in a chapel fitted up within an arcade on the southern side of the Colosseum. Otherwise the name of Telemachus might have been forgotten. But not in vain did this last of the martyrs who suffered in the great amphitheatre, so nobly distinguish himself among those—

Who poured their lives out smiling—in that doom
Finding a triumph if denied a tomb !

A reaction of pity and humane feeling, combining with the legislative edicts moulded on a Christian basis, led finally, and soon after this event, to the suppression of the sanguinary shows on the arena for ever. The gladiatorial profession disappeared; and Rome at least was freed from such foul dishonour to her civil character and social life, as those bloody spectacles of the amphitheatre. Would that we could say the same of all Christian Europe at this period! but historic evidence is to the contrary. Homicides, ordered for public entertainment, continued till a later date. Salvianus, a priest of Marseilles, in his eloquent work on the Divine Government (*De Gubernatione Dei*) written in

the V. century, later than the reign of Honorius, makes indignant protest against the sacrificing of human life for public sport (the victims at this time being probably common criminals), still exhibited within the walls of amphitheatres in the Western Empire, though no longer in the ancient metropolis; and, we may trust, abolished before the end of that century in which Salvianus lived.

The mediæval vicissitudes of the Colosseum throw a romantic colouring over its history in ensuing ages. In the XI. century this building was fortified; in the year 1130 it was held by the Frangipani, who, having given refuge in an adjacent fortress to a much harassed Pontiff, Innocent II., sustained a regular siege of the amphitheatre, undertaken by an Antipope.* When, A.D. 1312, the Emperor Henry VII. arrived in Rome for his coronation, he obliged the Annibaldeschi family, then owners of this fortified edifice, to give up as well the ancient building as all their other castles in the city. In the year 1250, Brancaleone, one of those senators who ruled with a rod of iron, having vigorously bearded in his den the lion of lawless Aristocracy by causing the overthrow of 150 baronial castles in Rome, decreed, and probably commenced, the total demolition of the amphitheatre, which the dauntless reformer held to be a dangerous stronghold of ruffians, such as ought to be dislodged at any cost! Among the last public games in which bestial (not human) blood was shed on this arena, were those exhibited in the time of Theodorick (who certainly had sovereign honours awarded to him at

* The countless holes which riddle the surface of the stonework, and have puzzled antiquaries not a little, may be ascribed, in great part, to this appropriating of the edifice as a fortress, for which beams and staples were inserted; though, no doubt, many were caused by the extracting of iron clamps, not one piece of metal being left. Even in the VI. century, and in times of peace, the material of this ill-used building began to be despoiled—v. Cassiodorus, *Ep.* l. ii. 7, iii. 31.

Rome), A.D. 519 and 523 ; on both occasions for the fêtes at the opening of a Consulate ; on the first, the Consul being that King's son-in-law. In 1332 an attempted revival of these amusements was beheld on the same spot : a grand spectacular bull-fight, attended with much pomp and circumstance, as described by the chronicler Monaldeschi, an eye-witness. All the Roman baronial families were represented by the flower of the urban youth, who appeared on the arena, each in gorgeous costume, and with some mournfully amorous motto on helm or shield. But sad was the close of that day's pageantry ! The number or fury of the bulls proving too much for the inexperienced champions, who had promised so bravely, eighteen young men were stretched in death, and seven others left bleeding from serious wounds on that fatal arena. Scarcely a noble family that was not put into mourning by such tragic issue of favourite amusements. This was the last of such spectacles in the great edifice.

Another appropriation of these ruins, more novel and singular, was for the performance of Mystery plays, a dramatic display first introduced, in its rude nucleus, at some period within the XI. century. The Church, after long denouncing and making every effort against the theatre, at last had the sagacity to take under her protection, set her seal upon, and appropriate the long exclusively profane stage. In the XII. century the sacred Drama developed into splendour. One performance, long popular and usually produced at Easter, was : "The Advent and Judgment of Antichrist ;" another, the "Creation," with Adam and Eve in Paradise, frequently acted at Palermo. Among such dramas annually performed at Florence, were : the "Ascension," the "Annunciation," and the "Descent of the fiery Tongues." Usually the most awful or most sacred subjects were preferred ; and we read of one dramatic entertainment with the attractive title : "Hell Opened." In the Colos-

seum such religious entertainments were provided, during about three centuries, by the Archconfraternity of the *Sacro Gonfalone* (or Sacred Standard), founded in 1263. Till A.D. 1540, used to be acted within these walls, on each Good Friday, a Mystery Play with dialogue in *ottava rima* and lyric choruses sung to music: the subject, the Passion and the Resurrection,—the title thus given by Tiraboschi: *La Rappresentazione del nostro Signor Gesù Cristo con la sua santissima Risurrezione*. It seems to have been owing to some obstacle from the sinking of the structure near the part chosen for performance, *not* through any concession to new religious or social tendencies, that this annual entertainment was discontinued during the pontificate of Paul III. Sixtus V. desired to utilize the vast ruins by establishing a woollen manufactory in them; but this was never carried out. The earliest recognizable sign of the devotional purpose which, at last, secured safeguard from injury through consecration of this building, is before us in a rude painting, made in the XVI. century, of the Crucifixion, with a pictorial map of Jerusalem, over an inner arcade on the north side. The first chapel within these ruins was erected by Clement X. in the year of Jubilee, 1675, or (as some state) restored only by that Pope, having been founded earlier than 1660. Clement XI. resolved to restore the outer cincture of arcades, and to found a church, dedicated to all Martyrs, on the Arena, which by way of preparation, was blessed by that Pope; but the church (designed by Fontana) never arose on the site chosen. In 1741 a hermit was appointed to guard and reside at the oratory above mentioned; and in the first year that he entered on such duties the unfortunate man was stabbed by a robber, though not mortally, for the sake of despoiling that chapel under his guardianship. The reigning Pope, Benedict XIV., consequently ordered all the ingresses to be closed by iron gates, locked and barred at

night. Before such precautions had been taken, these ruins had become so notoriously a haunt of evil doers that the whole neighbourhood fell into bad repute. At last the much abused amphitheatre was reclaimed from profanations when Benedict XIV., in 1749, caused to be erected the plain wooden Cross in the centre, and the fourteen painted shrines round the ellipse for the stations of the "Via Crucis," a devotion for the first time celebrated on this arena after Cross and shrines had been solemnly blessed on the 27th December, 1749.

The person who, with due sanction, instituted that devotion of the Via Crucis, was a zealous and energetic Franciscan, beatified by Pius VI., and canonized by Pius IX. as S. Leonardo da Porto Maurizio. He it was who began this observance, on the above-named day, in the vast Flavian amphitheatre. The perpetual celebration of such devotions on the evenings of Sunday and Friday, and daily during Holy Week, was entrusted to a Sodality called *Amanti di Gesù e Maria*, founded by the same Leonardo at his convent of S. Bonaventura, on the Palatine, in 1754. Benedict XIV. finally declared the whole ground within the Colosseum to be sacred, conformably with which consecration the Cardinal Vicar celebrated Mass, and gave communion to many worshippers, the 19th September 1756, on the arena now purified by the genius of Christianity. I have yet to mention another beneficent appropriation of a part of these ruins for some time, from the year 1881, as a hospital dependent on that of the Lateran; one memorial of which we see in a relief-bust of the Saviour, between two candelabra, the sacred device of the Lateran Chapter, above some of the arcades on the lowest story.* For some cen-

* In one instance this device is seen in painting, older than the sculptured examples, over an arcade near the principal entrance at the northern side.

turies the Colosseum continued to be used as the common quarry, from whence the baronial families took whatever brick or travertine they wanted for their buildings. That many Roman palaces were built with such spoils is notorious;* and in the last instance the landing place of the Ripetta (on the Tiber) was made with stone-work so obtained, in 1703. But there is no proof of such Vandalism as the deliberate overthrow of any erect portions of the ruin ever being permitted in modern time; only the masses already laid prostrate being thus utilized.

Lastly, we have to consider the recent restorations, on the whole judicious, but in some parts deplorably disfiguring. These works were commenced by Pope Pius VII., in 1805, on the exterior, and with the erecting of an enormous buttress at the southern side of the outer ellipse. Continued by French authority, they secured interesting discoveries in 1813: a subterranean system of corridors and chambers, some of the former having cavities in the roofs, all these corridors (there are seven) being rectilinear; the masonry that of the period of decadence, travertine and irregular brickwork mixed. This part, so important as throwing light on the usages of antiquity, one regrets to find inaccessible, the pontific authorities having ordered the ingresses, by two now ruinous staircases near the chief southern entrance to the arena, to be closed on account of the influx of water and bad air in those underground places. The restorations of the interior were resumed under Pius VII. in 1815, and in that year was opened the passage, also subterranean, formed by Commodus for communication between the amphitheatre and his palace on the Coelian Hill—this passage being paved with mosaic, and

* First that built for himself by Cardinal Barbo (Pope as Paul II.) begun in 1455, and now called Palazzo di Venezia.

its walls lined with marble along the lower part. It was the scene of an unsuccessful attempt against that Emperor's life by one Quintianus, and is still open to view, at the side near the imperial "pulvinar," though not permeable.

During the exile of Pius VII. the French in office revived dramatic performances in the Colosseum with Voltaire's "Mort de César;" for which occasion (in truly French-revolutionary taste) the statue of Pompey was brought from the Palazzo Spada, in order that great Cæsar might fall in mimicry, as in reality, at the foot of his defeated rival's effigy. During the eventful pontificate of Pius IX. this arena has been the chosen scene for political gatherings and demonstrations, strikingly picturesque amidst the silent grandeur of ruin. Here, in the spring of 1848, was declared with emotional oratory the sacred obligation of the Romans to participate in the war for liberating Italy from Austrian rule, and the obligation also on the part of the Pontiff to bless and sanction such patriotic enterprise. Here, in sequence and fatal reaction against the pontific policy pursued, was rung by later orators the knell of Papal sovereignty, with popular jubilation at the overthrow of a once beloved ruler, who could not, or would not, understand the conditions for preserving his throne. None present could forget the scene here witnessed on the evening of September 22nd, 1870, when a municipal Junta was elected by popular acclamation, in lieu of another more tumultuously elected on the Capitol the evening after the siege on the 20th inst. previous. Banners, devices, military music and exulting *vivas* seemed, on that occasion of less irregular assemblage, like tokens of a movement so pregnant with consequences to the future, that the pomps, even the horrors witnessed within these walls in olden time, might be forgotten amidst such interests.

The beacon-lights of our journey along historic fields,

the landmarks for our refreshment and guidance, are those evidences of moral or intellectual progress, without which the ruin and the monument would be meaningless things, silent to the inner as to the outer ear, and History itself but a long file of mournful records. I have endeavoured to sketch the vicissitudes, almost unique, to which has been strangely subjected the vast structure so imposing in its decay, and in its solitude peopled with memories so multitudinous. Looking around us within its walls, we may be struck by the thought that the building once appropriated to wasteful pomps, cold-blooded cruelties, and pitiless sacrifice of life in the last degree disgraceful to ancient civilization, has become, in one aspect, a sanctuary for devout souls—a trophy of the transmuting power and Spirit which emanate from the precepts of One whom Tacitus and Suetonius scarcely thought it necessary to name. We behold in these rescued ruins a symbol of moral conquest which an Apostle, whose voice was raised in Rome, asserts and predicts for the Supremacy now owned with adoration at the shrines in the Flavian Amphitheatre :—

“ HE shall reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet.”

CHAPTER IX.

CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES :

THE CONSTANTINIAN PERIOD ; UNDERGROUND
CEMETERIES, OR CATACOMBS.

WHEN the light of the setting sun, blent with the mellowing touches of Time, gives an almost golden tint to the Arch of Constantine as it rises in marble relief against the background of cypress and ilex trees on the Coelian hill, we may dwell with interest (in the pleasant evening-hours) on the contrasted characteristics of Roman art at its zenith and in its deep decline, alike presented before us on the storied surface of that monument. The highest excellence of Roman sculpture is exemplified in the relievi and colossal statues of which the now lost Arch of Trajan was despoiled for adorning this later trophy of imperial victories, while the period of decline, almost to a level with barbarism, is represented by the bas-reliefs prepared expressly in honour of the first Christian Emperor. But not even those art-works, so valuable as illustrating the phases through which antique sculpture passed under the Empire, invest that monument, still standing perfect, with such historic importance as do the words of the epigraph chiselled on its attic, and repeated at both sides,—before reading which it is well to consider the salient facts which occurred during the few years immediately preceding that in which this memorial of Constantine was erected.

Memorable among the *fasti* of Roman Empire was that day, 27th October, 313, when Flavius Aurelius Constantine,

then in the seventh year of his reign, entered Rome amidst the customary pomps of "the trebly hundred triumphs," and passed along the Via Sacra to the Capitoline summit for due celebration of his victory achieved the previous day, on the plain called Saxa Rubra, a few miles beyond the Flaminian gate, over his adversary Maxentius, a profligate and hateful tyrant, whose defeat proved, in fact, the overthrow of Heathenism before the now rapidly progressing successes of Christianity. About twelve years after that victorious ingress, and six years before Constantine took the step, so injurious to the old metropolis, of transferring the seat of government to the capital founded by himself on the Bosphorus, the Roman Senate raised in his honour that arch which, with lamentable example of official Vandalism, and implied incapacity in the artistic produce of the day, was decked with sculptures torn from the Arch of Trajan,—in part, also (as some critics conclude) from that of Gordianus, alike with the former swept away by unknown vicissitudes.

The epigraph on the Arch before us states that this trophy was raised by the Roman Senate and people to "the Emperor and Cæsar, Flavius Constantinus, Maximus, Augustus, the Father of his Country, because, through the instinct of Deity and the magnanimity of his mind (*instinctu Divinitatis mentis magnitudine*), he had, by means of his legions and justly wielded arms, avenged the Republic by the overthrow alike of the Tyrant and of all his faction."*

* "Imp. Caes. Fl. Constantino Maximo P. F. Augusto S. P. Q. R. quod instinctu divinitatis, mentis magnitudine, cum exercitu suo tam de tyranno quam de omni ejus factione uno tempore justis Republicam ultus est armis, arcum triumphis insignem dicavit." Over the lateral arches are inscribed the formulæ: *Sic x.*—*Sic xx.*—*Votis x.*—*Votis xx.*, conveying the acclamations of the Senate and People for confirming the imperial dignity in its then possessor, after each period of ten years—the

The phrase quoted above—"instinctu Divinitatis"—is so singular, so unlike the familiar terms of classic epigraphy, that archæologists long assumed it to be a substitute for some other words more conformable with Heathen conventionalities—as "Nutu Jovis optimi maximi," or something of similar import. But the Chev. de Rossi has ascertained, through minute inspection, that such cannot be the case ; that (as apparent from the cavities for the nails fastening the bronze letters now lost), there has been no alteration of the antique original in this instance.

What then the obvious inference, but that a Senate still, perhaps in its totality, Heathen, agreed, with consent of an Emperor who, after emancipating the Christian Church from oppression, long hesitated before himself professing Christian faith, and was not baptized till he lay on his death-bed, to adopt a mean term by way of transaction between opposite religious systems. And thus was it allowed that the record chiselled on this marble monument should contain words of manifestly monotheistic sense, which might be reconciled alike with the more philosophic Heathenism and with orthodox Christianity, which could have given no umbrage either to Cicero or S. Augustine. The sculptures wrought expressly for this Arch serve to illustrate the annals of the primitive Church, though we cannot class them among Christian art-works. They represent, in small reliefs, the siege and capture of a city (either Verona or Susa) by Constantine in his campaign against Maxentius ; the battle of Saxa Rubra, with the defeat and death of the latter Emperor ; the triumphal procession, the allocu-

decennial and *vicennial* vows for the 10th and 20th years of Constantine, according to the system of Augustus, which preserved a semblance of republican rights in the periodically renewed bestowal of sovereign power on the reigning Cæsar. The *vicennalia* of Constantine were celebrated A.D. 326.

tion by the victor from the rostra on the Forum, and the distribution by Constantine with his own hand of the “congiarium,” or largess to the people, among the festivities appointed for his triumph. On the key-stones of the central arch are figures of Rome personified; and in the lateral archways four *protomes* (or relief-busts), much mutilated, of Constantine and his sons. In the medallion on the western side is represented the moon, as a goddess in a chariot, attended by Hesperus; in another, on the opposite side, Aurora ascending from the eastern ocean, preceded by Phosphorus, the morning star. Besides these are the other allegoric figures, the four Seasons, &c. usually introduced on such arches, and doleful groups of captives driven like cattle for slaughter before the victor’s chariot. Considering the remarkable terms of the epigraph, and the connection between the subjects of these sculptures and other events of mighty import, we may recognize in the arch before us the earliest monumental record of publicly professed Christianity at Rome.

About a year after the events alluded to (A.D. 313), Constantine and his colleague Licinius issued two decrees granting full toleration with liberty of worship alike to the followers of Christ, and those of all other religions professed throughout the Empire, but without any implied acceptance of the former faith by those co-reigning Emperors.* Beginning at this epoch, signalized as that of “the Peace of the Church,” we may consider in chronologic order the monuments of the now emancipated Christianity at Rome. Proofs and tokens, in various forms, of the birth, development, and influences of Christian Faith, long anterior to its recognition by the State, in that city, are not wanting. We may

* “It is consistent with the peace and tranquillity of our times that each may have the privilege to select and to worship whatever Divinity he pleases,” &c.

reject the tradition of the confinement of S. Peter and S. Paul in the Mamertine prisons ; we may doubt the assumed fact of the sojourn of S. Paul and S. Luke in the vaulted chambers below *S. Maria in Via Lata*, on the Flaminian Way (now the Corso) ;* yet may feel assured that we have before us the mansion of the Christian Senator, Pudens, who is mentioned by S. Paul,† and is said to have there entertained both that Apostle and S. Peter, in the now subterranean remains of an extensive building under the church of S. Pudenziana, between the Viminal and Esquiline hills.‡ Recent discoveries have invested those remains

* These massive buildings, undoubtedly antique, are known to belong to the *Septa Julia*, an immense quadrangle, divided into many departments, for the assembling of the tribes and centuries (or companies of 100 men) to give their votes at elections. The area so appropriated was originally but an open space enclosed and divided by woodwork. Cicero (Ep. xvi. l. 4) first proposed to erect a marble edifice for such uses ; and that project was eventually carried out by Agrippa, who surrounded the *Septa* with porticos, and adorned its halls with paintings, dedicating the whole structure to the “*Divus Julius*.” It is, therefore, obvious that the tradition of the imprisonment of the Apostles in such a building must be rejected.

† “*Eubulus greeteth thee, and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren.*” (2 Timothy iv. 21.)

‡ He (says the compiler of Papal Biographies known as *Anastatius*) “made a church in the *thermæ* of Novatus, and dedicated it in honour of his sister *Pudentiana*.” Novatus was a son of Pudens ; and the *thermæ* formed for public use in a part of his family mansion are supposed to have been frequented during several centuries. Baronius mentions ruins on this site, extant in his time ; and Piazza (“*Sacre Stazioni*”) notices them as being well known when he wrote, towards the end of the XVII. century. Nibby, referring to the earlier local memories, states that “S. Peter abode here for seven years ; he here celebrated the divine sacrifice ; and here did he consecrate the saints, Linus and Clement, who eventually succeeded to him. Pudens, converted by him (that Apostle) to the faith, here received baptism, together with his four children, from his hands.”—(*Roma Moderna*.)

of a patrician mansion with peculiar interest. Baronius preserves the church-tradition that S. Peter, arriving in Rome A.D. 44, resided first among the Jews who had been settled in the Trastiberine quarter since the reign of Augustus; but, being expelled by his countrymen after he had begun to preach to the Gentiles, subsequently became the guest of that Senator, whom he had converted. Public baths, called after either Novatus or Timotheus, the sons of Pudens, were afterwards opened in this house, which became also a hospice, and was much frequented by the Oriental Christians arriving at Rome, till finally a church (the first opened for public Christian worship in this city) was consecrated within the same buildings by Pius I., Bishop of the Roman see from A.D. 142 to 157, who was the grandson of Pudens. The latter may be identified with the personage who was governor, or præfect, of some province in Southern Britain, and is named in an epigraph, now at Chichester, recording the erection of a temple by his means. And this Pudens we may suppose to be the same who is mentioned by Martial in an epigram addressed to one Rufus on occasion of the marriage of the Senator with a British lady, who changed her original name of Gladys for Claudia, a Roman name.* The church now known as S. Pudenziana, is first mentioned as "titulus Pudentis" in the acts of Synod held at Rome, A.D. 499.

* "Claudia Peregrina, Rufus, is about to be married to my friend Pudens. Be propitious, Hymen, with thy torches," &c. (l. iv. *Epig.* xiii.) The lady here styled "Peregrina" (a foreigner) is supposed to have been the daughter of Caractacus, the British King, who was conquered and brought in chains to Rome, A.D. 47. The Spaniard Martial addresses Pudens in another epigram (l. iv. xxix.); and as the poet was in Rome from about A.D. 49 till the latter years of a long life (ob. A.D. 104), he may have been the friend of the Pudens who entertained S. Paul, and of his wife, the British princess. (v. Morgan, "St. Paul in Britain," and Mr. J. H. Parker, "House of Pudens.")

It was rebuilt from the foundations by Pope Adrian I. (772-795); and tastelessly renewed in the style of the XVI. century by the Gaetani family—the graceful campanile, of the XII. century (time of Innocent III.) being alone left untouched by such pseudo-restoration. The splendid façade of white marble, with much gilt and coloured decoration, has lately been erected by the Cardinal Buonaparte, cousin to the late Emperor, who takes his “title” in the Sacred College from this church. Fortunately the mediæval reliefs round the central doorway are left untouched. An altar at the end of one aisle, which was restored by Cardinal Wiseman, the late “Titular,” is said to contain part of the wooden table on which S. Peter consecrated the Eucharist in the Christian Senator’s house. The buildings of the antique palace occupy a much greater area than the church above them; and in their masonry an experienced eye can recognise the work of the first, mixed with that of the second century of our era. Part of the original structure forms the rear of the tribune, behind the high altar; and here we see ten arched windows in brickwork of the Augustan age filled up with that of the time of Hadrian or Antoninus. In order to inspect the other remains, we must descend below the church into subterranean darkness. In a series of long narrow chambers we discern the same distinction between the masonry of the earlier and that of the later period. The flues for baths are extant near the angles of some of these now dark and deserted chambers. It is conjectured that the largest, formed of three halls united into one, may have been the original church consecrated by Pius I.; a supposition confirmed by the remains of ornamentation in stucco on the vault, and some plain decorative painting in red colours on the walls. Some tessellated pavement (uncovered only to slight extent) is seen on the floor. There are windows in the upper wall-surfaces, now built up, which

may have been formed to give light to the church. This dark deserted place, in which we must grope our way by taper-light, and where heaps of débris still encumber the ground, obstructing our progress from room to room, may be considered the first Christian Church founded in Rome. Strange indeed are the neglect and oblivion into which it has fallen, notwithstanding such claims to profound, even religious interest, in this metropolis of Latin Catholicism and seat of its supreme Pontificate! Yet still greater surprise than that excited by the actual conditions of this ancient building may be felt when one learns that the Cardinal Vicar refused the permission requisite for allowing Mr. J. H. Parker to undertake at his own cost, as he liberally offered to do, the works for clearing out and making permeable to its whole extent the long-forgotten palace of Pudens. It is to that eminent archæologist that we owe the rediscovery of this ancient patrician residence, as well as the fullest illustration of its history in his published lectures. The refusal to sanction works that might have thrown fresh light on such a centre of interest in the range of Christian antiquities at Rome, might indeed astonish those unacquainted with the spirit prevailing, adverse to Protestant and foreign intervention even for promoting laudable objects, in that city, under its late government. The remains of the house of Pudens were certainly known to antiquarians long after the church had been built above them—for which see Ugonio, "*Historia delle Stationi*," 1588.

Another ancient patrician mansion, consecrated by similar associations, and through the founding of a Christian oratory within its walls, is before us in the buildings discovered below the church of S. Clemente on the Coelian hill; the house, namely, of that Clement who is mentioned by S. Paul, and said to have been ordained

Bishop of Rome by S. Peter ; this see having undoubtedly been held by him for about nine years before his martyrdom, A.D. 100.* The remains of his residence are in some respects similar to the buildings of Pudens ; but we cannot so well identify in this, as in the former case, the very chamber appropriated for Christian worship. The numerous and interesting wall-paintings in the church now forming a crypt below the more modern basilica of S. Clement, may be referred to periods between the IX. and XII. centuries—scarcely, in any instance, to earlier date, with exception of two heads (life size) distinguished by a superior, indeed classical, style.

It is believed that Pope Calixtus I. founded another public church in Rome, about A.D. 222, on the site now occupied by the beautiful basilica of the XII. century, *S. Maria in Trastevere*. The ground was conceded to the Christians by the young Emperor Alexander Severus, who decided in their favour when the right of property was disputed between them and certain tavern-keepers ; the imperial judge being aware of the intent to dedicate that spot to sacred uses.† Above that primitive church rose another, no doubt more important, founded A.D. 340 by Pope Julius I., and restored, about 735, by Gregory III. It is known that before the last and direst persecution in the 19th year of Diocletian, A.D. 303, the Christians possessed twenty-five

* “Clement also, and other my fellow-labourers, whose names are in the book of life.”—Philippians iv. 3.

It is noticeable that Eusebius does not even allude to the martyrdom, where he mentions the death of S. Clement: “In the third year of the above-mentioned reign (Trajan’s), Clement, Bishop of Rome, committed the episcopal charge to Evarestus, and departed this life, after superintending the preaching of the Divine Word nine years.”

† Lampridius (*Vita Alex.* § 49) reports the very words of his sentence: “Melius esse ut quomodocumque illic Deus colatur quam populiariis dedatur.”

public places of worship in Rome, besides fifteen suburban churches called basilicas, which were probably connected with the underground cemeteries called "Catacombs." That the Christian oratories were numerous and conspicuous, if not beautiful, buildings, as raised long before the year 313, is evident from the rescript under that date addressed by Constantine to all the Bishops of the Empire, urging them to admonish all presbyters, deacons, and the faithful over whom they presided, "to be zealous in their attention to (or care for) the buildings, of churches; either to repair or enlarge those which at present exist; or, in case of necessity, to erect new ones." (Eusebius, "Life of Constantine.") In the above cited Rescript of Constantine and Licinius, it is observed that the Christians were known to have possessed, besides places of worship, "other places also, belonging not to individuals among them, but to the right of the whole body," i.e., the aggregate Church. Eusebius, describing the consequences of the cessation of hostilities against them, mentions "temples rising from the soil to a lofty height, and receiving a splendour which far exceeded those that had been formerly destroyed"—namely, in the last persecution under Diocletian.

In the range of Christian epigraphy no fewer than 11,000 examples, all Roman, and of date anterior to the close of the VI. century, are edited by the Chev. de Rossi, the earliest being of A.D. 71; two being of the second century, A.D. 107 and 110; altogether, 32 anterior to the time of Constantine. Among these the earliest with a distinctly Christian phrase (*receptus ad Deum*) belongs to the year 217; the first with the incised monogram of the holy name (XP.), to A.D. 291.*

* An epitaph found in the cemetery of S. Lucina, below the S. Paul's basilica, to a youth who died in his 20th year, and ending "Kare bale" (i. e. *care, vale*), is supposed to be among the most ancient—probably of the time of the Flavian Emperors.

For acquainting ourselves with a more varied and artistic class of monuments left by the primitive Church at Rome, we must pursue our researches through those vast subterranean corridors and chapels to which I have alluded, and the modern name for which, "Catacombs," of mediæval origin and uncertain etymology, was in former time applied solely to the crypt below the S. Sebastian basilica on the Appian Way, in which (according to legends) the bodies of S. Peter and S. Paul were twice deposited during long intervals before their ultimate removal to more splendid tombs. It is well to commune in those dark and silent retreats with the heroic Dead, the martyrs and confessors of a pure Faith, whilst we inquire and meditate concerning the Truth as by them apprehended, the spirit which sustained them for heroic endurance ; and ask whether it be possible for *their* sublime ideal, *their* religious life to rise again, divinely ascendant, in the Church of the Future ? Not more strange is the contrast between the simple yet deeply significant and symbolic art in those subterranean places and the gorgeous architecture with its appropriate rites in the Papal basilicas, than is another contrast which has often occurred to me in the greatest of cathedrals—

Christ's mighty shrine above His martyr's tomb—

between the sacerdotal, regal, and military pomps of the Papal High Mass, and the quiet scene, in the guest chamber of a humble mansion at Jerusalem, when the Divine Master instituted the sacramental commemoration of His precious death, destined to endure wherever His Gospel prevails, however variously understood by His followers, or embodied in ritual !

These cemeteries may be divided, as now shown by the best authority, into forty-two separate systems or excavated regions ; twenty-six being of the more important class, and

only five of origin later than the Constantinian period, A.D. 306 to 360.*

The revived activity and opulent results of researches in that sphere may rank among events signalling the pontificate of Pius IX. More memorable, because addressing a wider range of students, is the literature illustrative of Christian antiquity called forth, and supplied with subject-matter, by those well-aimed undertakings. The contributions of the late Father Marchi, and those more generally known from the pen of the Chev. de Rossi are pre-eminent among the rest. Two works by the latter, *Inscriptiones Christianae* and *Roma Sotteranea*, are the fruits of labours pursued, and present the material collected, during twenty-one years. Great cause was there to regret the long suspense of works in those hypogaea consequent on the change of government at Rome. I need not here consider the validity of the excuses made, or of the reasons attributed to a Pontiff so generous as Pius IX. has shown himself with respect to public works and antiquarian undertakings, for discontinuing the funds long supplied for *scavi* in this range. Much satisfaction was naturally felt at the renewal of those explorations, after an interval dating from the spring of 1870 to the November of 1871. All that has been done and discovered since is reported in the successive *fascicoli* of De Rossi's *Bulletino di Archeologia Cristiana*—see especially No. IV. of the new series, third year.

The new impulse given to undertakings and studies, fortunately bearing such precious fruit, in this sphere of sacred antiquity, may be dated from the discovery in 1844, by

* For the classification, &c. of the several "Catacombs," v. De Rossi, "Roma Sotteranea," beyond comparison the best work on the subject, and the abridged English version of it by Dr. Northcote and Mr. Brownlow.

Padre Marchi, of ingress into those hypogaea known as the "Catacombs of S. Callisto"—followed in 1845 by the discovery, through the exertions of the same individual, of the long-forgotten entrance to a cemetery called after two martyrs, Protus and Hyacinthus. Thenceforth labours in this sphere were more systematically prosecuted. From 1849 to 1851 the works in two systems of underground corridors were directed by De Rossi, a monthly assignment for the costs being secured by Pius IX. Presently was ordered by His Holiness an "Apostolic Visitation of the Catacombs;" and in November, 1851, was created a "Commission of Sacred Archaeology," which soon began its task of directing and superintending all *scavi* in that range. This committee, presided over by the Cardinal Vicar, and in immediate dependence on the Pope, has never been dissolved, nor have new authorities interfered with its action; but we hear of financial distresses as cause of interruption to its proceedings since 1870.

There is reason for surprise at the comparative neglect in which certain of the most interesting cemeteries have been left since their re-opening at more or less recent dates—*e.g.* that originally named after the Persian martyrs Abdon and Sennen, whose bodies were brought to Rome, and there interred, in the fourth century; but which cemetery is now known as the "Catacomb of S. Ponziano," from Pontianus, bishop of this see A.D. 230 to 235. In the hypogaeum so-named we see the most finely characterised, and about the best preserved among wall-paintings extant in any of the underground oratories or burial places.

The works recently resumed have been principally in the two hypogaea near the Appian Way, one named after a patrician family, Prætextatus, the other after S. Callixtus, bishop of the Roman see A.D. 219-223; this last "Catacomb" being supposed to owe its origin to Pope Zephy-

rinus, immediate predecessor of Callixtus. It has historic importance as the place of sepulture for the Roman bishops during the third century ; also as the first burial place which belonged not to any private person but to the local Church in her aggregate, and as the arena chosen for solemn festivals of martyrs during at least the whole of the fourth century. Whatever is undertaken in this promising soil may be expected to lead to more or less valuable results. Works long ago commenced have been recently resumed in the cemetery of Praetextatus, entered near the Appian Way, and near the ingress to which stand two deserted old buildings, one round, the other rectangular, recognised as Christian basilicas. An opening into this cemetery was accidentally found in 1848. In 1850 was reached one of its crypts adorned with paintings of classic character ; and in 1857, another still more remarkable—consisting of a lofty vaulted hall, not excavated but built in the fine Roman brickwork of the second century ; the walls and vault adorned with paintings in which no Christian meaning is apparent—winged Genii (the four Seasons) sporting among gracefully interwoven branches of trees, foliage and vines. Here one might fancy one had entered a Pagan mausoleum, but for a well-designed figure of the Good Shepherd, with a lamb across his shoulders, on the rear-wall of an arched recess broken by the formation of a grave cut across that picture, and piercing both the wall and the rock. Presently were found here the fragments of an inscription, which, when restored, could be read as, *Beatissimo Martyri Januario Damasus Episcopus fecit*--the record placed by the zealous Pope Damasus over the tomb of the deacon Januarius, one of the seven sons of Felicitas, a Roman matron who, with all her children, suffered martyrdom A.D. 164. The tomb of Januarius, thus proved to be in this cemetery, was much revered by the Roman Christians. In the same

hypogeum has also been found the tomb of S. Quirinus, a martyr who suffered about A.D. 130; and here was the saintly Bishop of Rome, Sixtus II., beheaded, A.D. 257, suffering together with his deacons and other ministers who were pursued, discovered in the act of worship, and put to death in one of these underground chapels for having transgressed the edict of Valerianus which forbade the Christians to frequent their cemeteries any more—an unusually severe prohibition even in those times under the Heathen Empire. Another example of construction in ancient brickwork, instead of mere excavation in the tufa rock, is seen in the cemetery of Domitilla, entered from that called after the two martyred chamberlains of that lady, Nereus and Achilles (or Achilleus). Domitilla was the niece of the Consul Flavius Clemens, who married Flavia Domitilla, a niece of Domitian, and who was put to death for his faith under that Emperor's reign; his wife being, for the same cause, banished to the island of Pandateria.* The Domitilla in whose estate, on the Via Ardeatina, a Christian cemetery with chapels was opened, also suffered for the faith, being exiled to the island of Pontia in the Tyrrhene Sea. The cemetery called after her has the uncommon adjunct of a façade with vestibule and two adjacent chambers, opening

* Not only the fate of the Senator Clemens, but a general persecution of Christians by Domitian is narrated by Dion Cassius as follows: "The same year Domitian put to death several persons, and particularly Flavius Clemens, though he was his relation, and had married Flavia Domitilla, his kinswoman. The pretext he made use of to condemn him was, that he and Flavia his wife were guilty of impiety, which was the same pretence he used to punish several persons, who had embraced the manners and customs of the Jews. Some were executed, others only dispossessed of their estates." (Hist. lxxvii. 13.) The confounding of Christians with Jews, and the notion that the religion of the former was only that of an obscure sect sprung from Judaism, appears in this as in other passages of ancient writers.

On a high road once perhaps frequented, but now at considerable depth below the surrounding Campagna. The two chambers are supposed to have served, one for the residence of a guardian, the other as a place of meeting for the *gens* (Domitilla's family) on anniversaries of funerals—though the opening of a well, in fact a puteal, in this chamber, has suggested the other notion that it may have been used as a Baptistry. A sloping path leads from this singular façade to a sepulchral chapel with an *Arcosolium* (or altar-tomb), and antique decorative paintings, winged genii, birds, vine-branches, on its vault, besides remnants of other pictures, superior in style and of subjects familiar in early Christian art—the Good Shepherd, Daniel in the lions' den, the Agape or love feast. De Rossi conjectures that this may be the sepulchre of the Consul Clemens;* and that the whole adjacent structure may be of monumental character, a *memoria* raised in honour of that martyr.

Such architectural details, in the above-named cemeteries, attest the general publicity of the hypogaea for Christian use. The Roman Christians had, no doubt, like privileges with other citizens for instituting sodalities, such as those called “*sanctissima collegia*,” charged with the duty of providing for, and defraying the cost of, funerals, and whose practice it was to celebrate funereal banquets, or otherwise observe the anniversaries of the dead, especially of those who had been their benefactors. Exaggerated reports as to the normally depressed condition of the Church under Heathen rulers, are corrected by local and convincing proofs. There were indeed onsets of violent persecution. We have seen intolerance carried so far by the Emperor Valerianus as to prohibit the frequenting by the Christians of their underground cemeteries and chapels; but that edict was with-

* The relics of Flavius Clemens now lie under the high altar of S. Clemente on the Coelian hill.

drawn by his immediate successor, Gallienus (A.D. 261), who restored those places to the Roman bishop, while thus acknowledging the right of the local Church to property in them. It has been clearly shown that the statements in Church History as to bishops or priests residing "in cemeteries," should be understood to imply that they dwelt in buildings erected *above*, not in underground retreats *within*, the excavated regions. The belief that under pressure of persecution numbers lived, for safety's sake, in such hypogaea, must be rejected—not but that, in extremities of danger, some may have taken refuge in those underground cemeteries. It is known that certain of the Roman bishops did so conceal themselves during extreme peril—as did Alexander I. in the second, Stephen I. and Sixtus II. in the third century. In an epitaph to another S. Alexander, found in the Callixtan cemetery, are words that certainly imply the concealment of numbers, during peril, in such subterranean retreats: *O tempora infausta quibus inter sacra et vota ne in cavernis quidam salvari possumus*. And in the "Acts of S. Stephen" (A.D. 259) it is said that another saint, Hippolytus, *vitam solitariam agebat in cryptis*. We may imagine the occasional flight for refuge to these hypogaea amidst storms of persecution, but not the prolonged sojourn of numbers, where indeed their lives could not be sustained, in such places.

Other works were commenced, in the winter of 1872-3, in the cemetery, near the Salarian Way, named after Thrason and Saturninus, martyrs of whom we know only that they were among the victims of the Diocletian persecution. A learned writer, Marangoni, conjectures that this hypogaeum was made by the Christians condemned during that persecution to dig for the supply of clay to build the *thermae* dedicated in the name of that emperor. This cemetery has been hitherto little known or explored, though containing many

paintings and epigraphs of interest, besides an unusual number of those supposed portraits of the deceased in act of prayer with outspread arms—hence called *orantes*. A rarer work of art is a mosaic representing, in brilliant tints, several birds (all, no doubt, here introduced as symbolic or mystic) on a disk set into the tufa rock beside a tomb in one of the corridors.

Another undertaking has been carried on, not by official but private enterprise, and with interesting results, in a large section of the cemetery of S. Agnes, entered immediately below the extra-mural basilica of that saint. These works were commenced nearly three years ago, to be at intervals suspended and resumed, by the monks (Lateran Canons) of the adjacent monastery restored by Pius IX. The section of the excavations thus re-opened is at some distance from the well known and frequently visited part of the S. Agnes “Catacombs,” though undoubtedly communicating with those extensive hypogaea, which were first explored throughout, and described, by Padre Marchi. The lately discovered corridors extend in labyrinthine ramifications comprising three storeys, accessible both from the tribune of the basilica and from the neighbouring S. Costanza—that circular church originally erected as a mausoleum for the daughters of Constantine, and the only one of the edifices founded by that emperor for sacred use that still stands, in or near Rome. No paintings had been found in this section of the vast cemetery up to the time I last visited it; but the numerous epigraphs, and the evidences, in the lapidary style here before us, of ancient origin, deserve to be studied. The Latin epigraphy of different periods may be distinguished by practised eyes; and several inscriptions here seen may be referred to the second, a few to the first century of our era—the large clearly incised letters, and the absence of later-adopted Christian formulæ, alike attesting such early date.

On but few of the tombs are seen any Christian symbols in this cemetery, with exception of the monogram of the holy name in the form known as the "Constantinian monogram." One epitaph is a rare example of coloured mosaic used in the letters (Greek) Φηλικιτα Μνησοις. Another tombstone presents, on one side, a "tabula lusoria" of Pagan origin, inscribed *Victus es, leba (sic) te, ludere nescis*—thus converted from profane to sacred use. Some of the chapels have groined vaults, and are of formation quite architectonic. A singular circumstance, which has given rise to conjectures, is the connection between this part of the great cemetery extending so far below the ground near the Nomentan Way, and four Heathen Columbaria, entered, not without difficulty, from the corridors lined with graves for the Christian dead. The inference that both Christians and Pagans at any time used the same places of sepulture, and scrupled not to perform their funeral rites promiscuously, cannot be admitted, but is indeed disproved by the entire range of monumental evidences. If in any case the distinction, dictated by religious feeling, in disposing of the remains of the dead, were disregarded, such laxity was condemned by the opinion prevailing among all Christian communities. Thus did S. Cyprian, writing to another bishop of the African church, severely blame him for having allowed a deviation from the proper usage at the funeral of his own child. The total separation of the believers from the unbelieving was indeed a natural result of Christian sentiment brought to bear upon the sanctities of death, and is a fact established by the whole aggregate of antiquities in the range here considered. The juxtaposition of the columbaria may be accounted for as either accidental, or a consequence of the extension of the corridors and chapels for Christian use after the downfall (or at least official suppression) of Paganism, when no

obvious profanation would be apprehended from such vicinity of the tombs, and when the ashes were (probably) removed from their disregarded urns.

In the newly opened corridors of this cemetery are seen several of those small glass phials stained with a red substance supposed to be blood, and which, being found imbedded in the tufa rock beside tombs, are determined by ecclesiastical authority to be proofs of martyrdom in the case of those beside whose last resting places they are deposited. The decree of the Roman Congregation of Rites on this subject has been called in question; and some have assumed that such phials are stained not with blood but sacramental wine. It is fair to state in favour of the other received theory, that in one instance an inscription of decisive import — *Sanguis Saturnini*—has been found on such a vessel, not (I believe) extant, but mentioned by Boldetti, a trustworthy witness. And is it possible, one may ask, that such a singular usage as the preservation of the sacramental species in deposit near the grave, could have failed to be recorded either in Church History or by tradition through other channels, instead of being solely made known to us through memorials indicating especial honour for certain among the dead in Roman cemeteries?

From one of the corridors under the S. Agnes basilica we enter a vast extent of underground passages more spacious, and in plan different from those used for sepulture. Here we find ourselves in one of the immense *arenaria* made for extracting the pozzolana used as building material, another of which is entered from that section of the same cemetery long opened and frequently visited. It is supposed that this recently discovered arenarium contains the cavern in which Nero sought to conceal himself after his flight from the Golden House to the Villa of Phaon, on the last miserable day of his life. If we may here locate the event of

that tyrant's death, such association of the memory of the most hateful guilt with the most heroic fortitude and devotedness as exemplified by the followers of Christ, would indeed be impressive to the imagination. What if the spirit of that Emperor could haunt this scene for visitation imposed among the punishments of wickedness in the invisible life !*

It may be that the pious intent of the primitive Christians was to imitate, in the form of their tombs, that rock-hewn sepulchre, yet unoccupied by other dead, in which was laid the body of the crucified Lord. Yet the mode of interment adopted by them at Rome was by no means novel.

Subterranean cemeteries were before them in various examples, and in use near this city by patrician families (as the Scipios), by Heathens of different classes, by Jews, and by heretical sects sprung from the Christianity whose tenets were misapprehended. Below the Appian Way we enter not only the far-extending "Catacombs" of the orthodox Roman Church, but another hypogeaum, much smaller, adorned with fantastic and mystical paintings in which are recognised, in one compartment, the speculative ideas of the Gnostics; in another, the oriental worship, where spirituality blent with sensualism, of the Persian Mithras. The precise date at which the other cemeteries were opened and first frequented, must be in most cases uncertain. We may unhesitatingly refer some to the second century—a few, I believe, to the first century of our era. To the earliest antiquity belongs, no doubt, the cemetery under S. Peter's, in which it is a tradition that the inscribed tombstone of Pope Linus was found during the works for the new basilica; but the

* Antiquarians adopting another tradition point out a cavern near the Salarian Way, not far from the site of Fidenæ, as the actual scene of Nero's concealment and death.

whole of which primitive burial place is now absorbed—one might say, effaced,—by the vast structures of the modern church. To the first century also may be referred the cemetery no longer accessible (but explored by Boldetti), opened in the estate of a patrician matron, Lucina, on the Ostian Way, and in which was laid the body of S. Paul. Below the splendid high altar, with incrustations of lapis-lazuli and malachite, and lofty canopy resting on columns of oriental alabaster, in the lately restored S. Paolo Basilica, rests the sarcophagus containing those revered remains; and during the works for rebuilding that church, after the fire in 1823, the veritable tomb of the Apostle was, for the last time, exposed to view, though not opened. Antiquity coinciding with the Apostolic age is claimed for the cemetery of S. Priscilla, mother of the Senator Pudens, on the Salarian Way; but it is known that another Christian matron of the same name had a cemetery opened under her estate on that high road, about A.D. 307. Both were probably made to communicate with each other, and thus form the actual hypogaeum, which contains much that is most interesting, known as “Catacomb of S. Priscilla.” To the earliest in date must also belong the above-mentioned cemetery of Nercus and Achilleus, and that of Domitilla entered from it.

An edict of Constantine, in Greek and Latin, attests the early entertained and highly reverential regard for the tombs of martyrs; that converted sovereign reminding his subjects of “the places which are honoured as depositories of the remains of martyrs, and which continue to be memorials of their glorious departure.” Among proofs of high antiquity in this sphere may be noticed the adoption of mythologic subjects or allegoric figures from Heathen Art. We see not only the winged Genii of the four seasons in compositions by Christian painters; but also Orpheus charming wild beasts

with his lyre ; and (on sculptured Christian sarcophagi) the personified Heavens or Earth, issuing, as half-length figures, from the ground, to serve as a footstool for the enthroned Saviour. It was long before the Christian could totally sever itself from the Heathen Art, or derive its inspirations exclusively from sources independent of the antique ideal. The admission of elements from a Heathen origin seems to adumbrate, in the creations of an art still in its infancy, the spirit which continued, through later ages, to manifest itself in Latin Catholicism.

The aggregate of records and art-works found in subterranean cemeteries would indeed acquire, to every earnest mind, a value beyond estimating if we could consider them as trustworthy exponents of the doctrine and principle, the religious thought or worship of the primitive Church ; though most erroneous would it be to conclude that all in this vast range of Christian antiquities can avail for such testimony. The paintings and sculptures here before us belong to dates ranging over at least 300 years ; and many of the former art-works may be referred to periods within the VIII. and IX. centuries. We know that Constantia, the daughter of the first Constantine, amplified and adorned the cemetery on the estate of S. Agnes, where that Virgin martyr was buried after being put to death in her own house beside the Nomentan Way ; and that consequently this place of sepulture continued in frequent use, so to say fashionable, for interment during the IV. century, if not much later. We know that Pope John III (A.D. 560) ordered a regular supply of bread, wine, and lights from the Papal chapel in the Lateran palace for the sacramental rites celebrated on Sundays in the underground oratories. Boniface I., about A.D. 419, and John I. about A.D. 525, were among Popes who ordered paintings to adorn the walls of those dim-lit sanctuaries. Towards the end of the

VIII. century many embellishments, and probably restorations, were ordered in the subterranean cemeteries by Leo III. Between 772 and 795, Adrian I., a munificent pontiff, made important additions to the class of art-works, mosaics and others, adorning as well those underground chapels as the public churches of Rome. Nicholas I (858-867) re-established the celebration of masses, which had long fallen into disuse, in the above-named chapels ; and, besides restoring the extramural churches, ordered works for repair and embellishment in the cemetery of S. Pontianus, and two others alike subterranean. The first general restoration in this sphere was that carried out with much energy and to great extent by Pope Damasus (366-384), who made new ingresses, new stair-cases, and otherwise facilitated the visiting of martyrs' tombs and oratories, and the frequenting of those hypogaea for devotional purposes. Interment in such cemeteries was of common practice till at least as late as the close of the V. century, though for an interval abandoned after the siege and capture of Rome by the Goths under Alaric, A.D. 410. The visiting of the Martyrs' graves in underground chapels certainly continued, among other pious observances, and was especially practised on Good Fridays, till the time of Pope Honorius III. and the earlier years of the XIII century ; after which period it gradually fell into disuse ; and, strange to say, even the old entrances into almost all those excavated regions under the Roman Campagna were forgotten ! Only three, among those connected with, and entered from spots near, suburban churches, are mentioned as known in the XIV. century ; in the XV., only one—that, namely, below the S. Sebastian basilica on the Appian Way, still frequented at that time by pilgrims, and known as “cemetery in catacumbas.” About the middle of the XVI. century began the revival of interest and research directed to this range of Christian antiquities.

The first thorough exploration of one of the most extensive cemeteries was effected by the indefatigable Bosio (the greatest discoverer in this sphere) and Pompeo Ugonio, with other assistants, in 1593. Between that year and 1600, Bosio explored a great number of such hypogaea, opening near seven of the Roman highways.

The whole extent, now explorable, of the very interesting cemetery used for the burial of the Popes in the III. century, and called after S. Callixtus, has been re-opened within comparatively recent years. Here are seen paintings the style of which indicates much variety of dates. In the chapel containing the tomb whence the body of S. Cecilia was removed to the church raised in her honour by Pope Paschal I. in the IX. century, we see wall-pictures evidently among the latest extant in the class to which they belong—that more or less primitive among Christian art-works. A quaint picture of S. Cecilia, in the rich dress of a Roman lady covered with jewels, and also a life-size head of the Saviour, quite Byzantine in character, here before us, cannot be supposed of date earlier than the VIII. or IX. century. But the series of frescoes in another chapel adjacent, which from their intelligible illustration of doctrines concerning the Eucharist and Baptism have given to the small oratory itself the popular name, “Chapel of the Sacraments,” are all—to judge from evidence of style—among the most ancient, as they are also among the most classically characterized pictures in any Catacombs. In the S. Priscilla Cemetery is a painting perhaps intended (as Bosio conjectures) to represent the consecration to religious life of one of the daughters of Pudens by Pope Pius I., here represented as a venerable man, seated on a high chair, whilst giving a mantle (or veil) to a young woman who stands before him, with a Deacon attending. Such dedication of woman to a life set apart, but without the restraints of the

cloister, is known to have been usual at least as early as the IV. century. Symbolism, attributes, costume supply other indications of date. Never do we see the Cross, save in the form of a diagram resembling it, and known as the "hidden cross," in the earliest Christian period; and the monogram of the holy name, XP, though certainly introduced earlier, did not become common till after its display, emblazoned with gems and wrought in gold, on the purple labarum of Constantine.

The aureole of sanctity was given first, in art-presentment, to the head of Christ alone; next, to those of Angels, Evangelists, Apostles; afterwards to that of the Virgin Mary: and finally, but not till the VII. century, to all Saints, now alike receiving this attribute; the Divine Son, like the other Persons of the Trinity, being distinguished by the cruciform nimbus. Scarcely had three centuries passed before the tendency to embody Christian doctrine in a majestic and symbolic ritual became manifest in sacramental ceremonies at altars illumined by encircling candelabra or pendant lamps, while precious balsams burnt and incense sent up its fragrant cloud in the sanctuary; a Clergy distinguished by classical costume, officiating. As to vestments, it is evident that the antique, the Roman toga and tunic, were long used in those rites; and it was probably within the Constantinian period that prelates began to wear purple, that for presbyters also the white garments of antique fashion began to be embroidered with purple or gold.* In the VII. century mosaic art presents to us the figures of bishops and priests attired in vestments almost the same as those now worn by

* One of the *vetri ornati*, or gilt glasses, illustrated in a learned work by Padre Garucci, has on it the figure of a presbyter, whose costume much resembles that in modern sacerdotal use. This (perhaps as old as the IV. century) belongs to a valuable collection purchased by Mr. Wilshire.

the Latin Clergy at Mass. In the VI. century the plain wooden staff serving for an episcopal crozier was first adorned with gold : and the mitre was certainly common in the X.—probably known in the IX. century—two mosaic heads of Popes, on the portico of S. Cecilia in Trastevere, having this accessory ; and these if pertaining to the adornments of the church originally built by Paschal I. (817-824), are proof of such earlier origin for the episcopal symbol.

A blending of Heathen with Christian elements, natural to an Art yet in its infancy, and born amidst classic influences or atmosphere, distinguishes the earlier from the later produce of that Art. We sometimes see this (as I have observed) in the personification of inanimate Nature, the Heavens or Earth, among the sculptures on sarcophagi where the Saviour is seated with His feet resting either on the cosmic globe or the firmament, represented as a half-length figure with a mantle above the head. In the subject of the Ascent of Elias (Catacomb of SS. Nereo and Achilleo), Mercury, the Conductor of Souls to Hades, is seated before the chariot in which the Prophet rises heaven-ward. In the same cemetery we see a poetic application of Mythology to Christian ethics in the subject of Orpheus charming wild beasts with his lyre, emblem of the social effects of the law of love imposed by the Divine Master. The four Seasons, as boy-genii with butterfly-wings, appear long before we become accustomed to the majestic figures of large-winged Angels or Archangels in this art-range. From antique symbolism were borrowed the Peacock (signifying immortality), the Phoenix (for the resurrection), the Dove and other birds as emblems of the freed and beatified Soul ; the Stag, signifying desire for Baptism ; while from the Circus and arena were taken the palm of victory—not, originally, a symbol of martyrdom. Cupid and Psyche, Minerva, Dædalus, and other mythologic personages are

seen together with figures of Apostles or Saints among the gilt outlines on Christian glasses (*tazze*), the best collection of which is in the Vatican Library. Different indeed from the standing-point of the more modern is that of the primitive religious art, which rejects, from its prescribed range, all representations of the Eternal Being; also (among its historic themes from the Gospel), the Annunciation, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, the Ascension, in fact all subjects pertaining to the cycle of the Passion. The first approach to subjects of that class does indeed announce itself in the IV. century, and among the sculptures on sarcophagi now at the Lateran Museum, where we see the group of Christ before Pilate, who is washing his hands; also the crowning of the Divine Victim in mockery, but with singular variation of detail—a chaplet of flowers, instead of the crown of thorns, being placed by the Roman soldier on His head. Long did the purpose prevail, as expressed in art, of presenting Him to the regards of adoring veneration and love rather than in those phases of His earthly history which appeal to other feelings by the spectacle of humiliation and anguish. The Cross appears either quite plain, chiselled in marble, or painted so that its surface seems studded with gems, long before the Crucifix is seen either in painting or sculpture, the sole example of which found in any “Catacomb” is a picture referred by Bottari to date near the close of the VII. century. The painted Crucifixion, seen in a public church (at Narbonne), is first mentioned by Gregory of Tours, who lived from 544 to 595. The sculptured Crucifix appears to have been first introduced, as a symbol of worship, about the beginning of the IX. century, in the time of Pope Leo III. Alike does this art reverentially abstain from the attempt to depict the awfulness of the Last-Judgment, the horrors of infernal punishment, and all personifications of Evil, in Satan

or his Demons. Does it illustrate, one asks with interest, the Theology which was a fruit of the human intellect applied to the study of the sacred books, the synthesis of the doctrines taught by Christ and His Apostles? Not, so far as I can discover, till comparatively later periods. The IV. century is the supposable date of the first attempts to delineate the Three Persons in the Godhead, the most striking example of which before us at Rome is on a sarcophagus, formerly at the Ostian basilica (S. Paul's), and now in the Christian Museum of the Lateran. Among other rilievi illustrating, in this example, various subjects from both Testaments, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are represented *alike* in human form, similar in type and of the same apparent age: the Father seated on a throne, the Spirit standing behind Him, the Son in act of giving life to Eve, who issues from the side of Adam; the Son being introduced again in the next group, but in different form, more youthful and beautiful, as the God now incarnate and communing with mankind; His action here that of giving a sheaf of wheat to Adam, a lamb (for the wool to make garments) to Eve—emblems of their several tasks and labours consequent on their fall. Perhaps this daring departure from the reverential reserve of earlier Art was a result and expression of the feeling excited, the new impulse given to religious thought, by the recent decrees of the Nicene Council, A.D. 325, by the first publicly proclaimed definition, as drawn up by the aggregate Prolacy, of the mysteries of Triune Being in the Godhead. In the selection of subjects from the Sacred books, we observe a leading principle which serves as guide to such choice, indicating both the familiar use of the Scriptures among the Roman Christians, and a certain modesty of the imagination in their mental temper of old. The events or personages represented are generally such as typify, or adumbrate, something ulterior

and higher, other events or other personages invested with more sacred importance than those actually shown. The intended sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham, Noah in the Ark, Moses striking the rock to produce water, have obvious reference, the first to a more awful sacrifice, the two latter to Baptism; as the shower of manna in the desert, the converting of water into wine, the multiplication of loaves and fishes undoubtedly refer to the sacrament of the Eucharist. The sufferings of Job are an intelligible type, in this range where mystic meaning is so evident, of the Redeemer's; the Ascent of Elias is the event pre-figuring His resurrection. Daniel in the lions' den, and the three Israelites in the fiery furnace are frequently seen subjects, which would have spoken consolation to those exposed to storms of persecution or the danger of violent death. The raising of Lazarus pre-figures the general resurrection; the offering of gifts by the Magi implies the calling of the Gentiles into the Church; and it is credible that in the subject of the cripple carrying his bed, after being healed, may have been understood an allusion to the forgiveness of sins. It is probable that the Arrest of S. Peter, led captive between two Jews—a subject more conspicuous in this Art than in the sacred narrative—may be intended to signify the persecutions in store for the Church at Jerusalem.

The earliest known example of intended portraiture, without historic grouping, of the Redeemer, is a life-size head on the roof of a chapel in the "SS. Nereo and Achilleo Catacomb"—which, even faded and blackened as it now is, still displays a just idea of the correspondence between physical and intellectual beauty. First link of the chain carried through so many ages, in tradition handed down by the successors and heirs of artistic genius, and brought to highest development by Leonardo da Vinci and Fra Bartolomeo, this model seems to have been studied for other

works in the primitive range here considered. It is recalled to us by two finely treated colossal heads in the "S. Ponziano Catacomb," one of which is, I think, the most benignly beautiful among all early attempts at the ideal portraiture of Christ—a picture of date perhaps within the VI. century. In that cemetery called after Pope Pontianus is another unique art-work, and in connection with an object also unique—the sole Baptistry, still supplied with pure spring-water, found in any of these hypogaea. Above that font is a picture of the Baptism of our Lord, who is immersed up to the waist in the Jordan, while a winged angel, standing near S. John, holds His garments ;* and beneath is painted the Cross in glorified form, set with gems, rising from a wreath of flowers, the A and Ω suspended by chains from its arms, and lighted candelabra above those mystic letters.

The eminence assigned to S. Peter gradually, but significantly, declares itself among the ideas expressed in this primitive art, but with no indication of the doctrine which claims for the Roman Bishops a supremacy derived from him. S. Peter is long associated with S. Paul in Christian Art, and without any implied distinction—rather, indeed, with signs and tokens of perfect equality between the two. On some of the gilt glasses they are represented side by side, with the Saviour hovering above, and holding a single crown over the heads of both. The tradition that those two Apostles were co-founders of the Church in Rome is, no doubt, of early origin, and may be inferred from the prominent place given to both, without any sign of inequality, in the representations by artists engaged in the service of that local

* The Angel holds a tablet, on which are some mutilated Hebrew letters, apparently those of the name of God. (v. Palmer, "Christian Symbolism.")

Church. We are reminded that the very earliest written records which associate S. Peter with the Roman bishopric include S. Paul also in the same connection, and without any hint at supremacy enjoyed by one alone. Irenæus, quoted by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* B. v. c. 8), says that "Peter and Paul proclaimed the Gospel, and founded the Church at Rome." Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, is quoted, by the same historian, in a passage stating that "both of these (the two Apostles) having planted us (*i. e.* founded the Church) at Corinth, and having in like manner taught in Italy, suffered martyrdom about the same time" (ii. 25). The idea of the parity between these Apostles seems to have been at last superseded, or effaced, by the doctrine founded on vague tradition of an absolute headship held by S. Peter, as chief representative or minister of the perfect, in the same manner that Moses was of the imperfect Law and Covenant. This analogy is, in some instances, carried so far as an actual interchange of offices. On some of the gilt glasses a venerable man is represented striking the rock from which flows water, with name inscribed below—not, as we might expect, "Moses," but "Petrus." That Apostle receiving the keys from Christ, is a subsequently familiar subject, first (I believe) treated among the reliefs on a sarcophagus from the Vatican cemetery, and supposed to be so ancient as the IV. century. From the V. century the key, or a pair of keys, becomes the usual attribute of S. Peter, though by no means invariably given to him. On other sarcophagi that Apostle is represented with the wand, a sign of authority otherwise given in such early sculptures to the Saviour alone; and this perhaps is the symbol indicating the full development of the doctrine of his supremacy. Not less significant, however, is the manner in which the earlier prevailing idea of parity between S. Peter and S. Paul is expressed in a large wall picture,

much dimmed by time, in the apsidal recess of a chapel in the "SS. Nereo and Achilleo Catacomb," where the Saviour appears seated among the twelve Apostles, all of whom are standing, S. Peter and S. Paul alone excepted, who are both seated on chairs beside His throne.

One who had been led through studies, sympathies, and perhaps æsthetic tastes to quit the Anglo-Catholic for the Roman Catholic communion, and who expected to find in the "Roman Catacombs" the most affecting and irrefutable evidence to the primæval origin and inspired truthfulness of all which the latter Church teaches—received an impression from that faded picture in the dim-lit chapel, which led him to undertake further research, with ripened judgment and wider experience, till, so influenced by the records of primitive faith, he was brought to the conviction that the Papacy, however beneficent and operative among the agents of Christian civilization, is merely a human system, resting on no principle established by the Divine Master, nor springing from any root of the true Vine destined for ever "the fruit of death or life to bear."

The gradual elevation of the blessed Virgin to her ultimately attained rank in devotional regards may be traced through several stages. She appears at first, among subjects for early Art, in those scenes alone from which she could not be omitted, the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi. If there be one exception (and in this instance the classic style indicates antiquity), it is in a picture in the cemetery named after S. Priscilla, representing her seated, with the Child on her lap, a star hovering above, and a man vested in a pallium, with a scroll in one hand standing before this group while pointing to the star. De Rossi and others assume a very early date, if not the apostolic age, for this picture, and that the figure pointing to the star must be intended for Isaiah.

I should say that the mystic intent of this picture is to adumbrate the prophecies of Isaiah respecting the advent of the Light of the world, and the birth of the Messiah from a Virgin Mother. Not till the V. century are the subjects of the Annunciation and the Presentation in the Temple (namely, among the mosaics at S. Maria Maggiore) introduced in the range of Art where Mary has necessarily her place. On gilt tazze she is sometimes the central figure, with arms extended in act of prayer, between SS. Peter and Paul, or other saints. With the Infant Christ in her arms she is seen much more frequently in later Art; and this group became a symbol of orthodoxy after the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431) had conferred upon Mary the lofty title of Θεοτοκος, "Mother of God." A date subsequent to the sessions of that General Council may (I believe) be assigned to a picture of this subject in the "S. Agnese Catacomb," the Mother with veiled head and arms extended in prayer, the Child apparently standing, not seated, before her, the monogram XP. being painted on each side. Seeing that neither of the heads has the aureole around it, we may infer that this picture cannot be more modern than the V. century; and the monogram of the holy name shows it to be not earlier than the Constantinian period. When a woman is depicted alone in act of prayer, near a sepulchre, we may suppose that a portrait of the deceased is intended, or the personified Church; or (as probable, seeing what later devotional feeling became) the Mother of the Saviour, herself identified with such personification, as the Church thus represented by a maternal Intercessor.*

* That this idea of personifying the Church in the form of Mary was not of earliest origin, or popular in very ancient time, we may conclude from the "Pastor" of Hermes, where the Church is so introduced in female personification, without any reference to the Virgin Mother: "Lo! a Virgin meets me, adorned as if she were proceeding from the bridal

From the idea of peculiar efficacy in her prayers arose the superstition which exalts her into a heavenly Queen, attributing to her celestial powers, glories, and prerogatives, transferring the lowly Handmaid of the Lord into a being invested with goddess-like characteristics, and rendering to her a worship which reminds of that paid to Cybele or the Bona Dea by the Heathen.

A method for visiting the subterranean cemeteries, with some approach to the chronologic order of their origin and contents, may be suggested. In the first group we may examine those the antedecence of which in date seems unquestionable—named after Lucina (or Commodilla), S. Priscilla, Flavia Domitilla, S. Cyriaca, Prætextatus, S. Pontianus, Maximus and Thraso (or Thraso and Saturninus), S. Callixtus, and Hermes, the last formerly named after the saints Basilla, Protus, and Hyacinthus. The cemetery in the estate of the matron Lucina extends below and near the S. Paul's basilica, but can no longer be explored—being almost effaced, as is the ancient Vatican cemetery, by the great church above it. That of Cyriaca, another Christian matron, may be explored to but slight extent, in a corridor entered from the extramural church of S. Lorenzo. Some excavated passages and chapels, with the paintings on their walls, were till lately visible on the rocky heights above the adjacent "Campo Santo," for the enlarging of which public burial ground those portions of the primitive cemetery were unfortunately destroyed.

The S. Priscilla cemetery, one of the most interesting, belongs, as I have shown, to different dates. It contains a chapel called, from its form, "Capella Greca," regularly

chamber, clothed entirely in white, and with white sandals, and veiled up to her forehead, and her head covered by a hood, and she had white hair. I knew from my former visions that this was the Church. and I became joyful."—*Vision IV. c. 2.*

built instead of being excavated, and, apparently destined for sarcophagi (no sepulchral niches being here seen), which was supposed to have been the place of sepulture for the family of Pudens. If not of such high antiquity as the time of that Christian Senator, its ornamentation in painting and stucco certainly announces a very early origin; as elsewhere in this "catacomb" antiquity is indicated by the *quasi* classic style of art, and by epitaphs without the later adopted Christian formulas, some being painted in vermillion on tiles. In this instance we see exemplified the connection between a Christian cemetery and an ancient *arenarium*, some portions of which have been used for sepulture; though such appropriation seems to have been soon abandoned, as impracticable, and the passages of the ancient sandpit blocked up, instead of being used to their full extent for the burial of the dead.

The distinction between the ancient *arenaria* and the excavations originally made for Christian purposes may be observed here, as in the S. Hermes and S. Agnes cemeteries. I have alluded to the picture which Bosio explains as the consecration of a daughter of Pudens to the religious life, and which is in the so-called "Cappella Greca." Seeing that, besides the principal group there represented, a woman standing in the attitude of prayer, and a mother seated with a child in her arms are introduced, another writer (Bottari) conjectures that we see here a presentment of the two states of woman's life, the married and unmarried. Another unusual subject, among those painted in this cemetery, is supposed to be the soul of a Christian woman received at the portals of Paradise. The character of the art, as also the constructions, in the Domitilla and Prætextatus cemeteries are sufficient proof of their very ancient origin. Next in importance to the Callixtan "catacomb," with respect to the number and variety of art-works,

is that called after S. Agnes, one of the most interesting. The paintings here are, in some examples, of date, no doubt, within the third century, but in the greater part of the following or still later ages. Among those quite classic in character and of obvious antiquity, are : a group of Christ with eight Apostles, all seated, and a figure of the Saviour alone, seated, with two caskets containing scrolls (the Old and New Testaments) beside Him. Among paintings of uncommon subjects, is one representing the parable of the Ten Virgins. In this cemetery we see arrangements for giving instruction to neophytes in chambers provided with chairs cut out of the solid rock ; two such seats being usually prepared, one for the bishop or presbyter, the other for the deaconess presiding over those of her own sex ; and these chambers contain no paintings, or other signs of being used for worship. One large chapel is like a basilica for pontific rites, and communicates, divided only by the width of a corridor, with a smaller oratory, probably for female worshippers, such separation of the sexes being thus early attested. Many chapels in this "S. Agnese catacomb" have architectural details, pilasters, cornices, &c. cut in the solid rock, which display careful execution, and lead us to infer the improved circumstances of the Church in the IV. century.

The principal portion of the cemetery named after S. Helena, formerly after the martyrs Peter and Marcellinus there interred, extends below a small church dedicated to those saints within the ruinous mausoleum of that Empress on the Via Labicana. It is no longer accessible to the public ; and the paintings it contains are of inferior style, the heads coarsely treated though expressive, the costumes comparatively modern—of about the VII. century. Another portion of this catacomb, discovered in 1838, is entered from a villa (of the Del Grande family) on the same high-

way. It consists of a spacious corridor, with descent by marble steps at both extremities, and two large chambers, alike provided with ample niches for sarcophagi, instead of the usual excavated tombs. The pavement of the corridor is mosaic, the designs and colours of which resemble rich carpet-work, with the figure of a dove and the symbolic olive-branch, but no other sacred subject or emblem represented. Lateral passages, the entrances to which we see, are still blocked up.

Below a farm on the Via Salaria Vecchia we descend into the cemetery of S. Hermes (a martyr who suffered in the reign of Hadrian), formerly named after others there interred, Basilla, Protus, and Hyacinthus. Among all the "Roman Catacombs" this is the most awe-striking, the most sepulchral in gloom, and beset with obstacles in the path of the explorer. After once passing some hours in its dismal depths, I was glad to return into sunshine and daylight. Here also has an ancient *arenarium* been used for Christian sepulture to some extent, the wide passages being lined with brick walls under the excavated vault and massive pilasters erected in the midst, the sides of those structures being used for sepulchral *loculi* like the other wall-surfaces. The two largest chapels, lighted by *luminaria* from the roofs, are also propped up with brick walls and arches. In another spacious chapel, mosaics (an art rarely seen in these cemeteries) adorn the recess of an *arcosolium*,—their subjects, with figures rudely designed and much mutilated, Daniel in the lions' den, Moses striking the rock, and a single figure in Oriental costume, probably belonging to the otherwise lost group of the Magi before the Mother and Child.* Above Daniel's figure is painted a cross, with gilding and gems in colour on it. An

* Mr. J. H. Parker conjectures for these mosaics the date A.D. 577.

arcosolium in another chapel is adorned with a picture that seems very ancient : Christ enthroned amidst the twelve Apostles, who are all seated on low chairs, the costumes white and antique in fashion. Other paintings are in the arched recesses of similar tombs in the corridors—the most remarkable, one representing the bestowal of holy Orders by a bishop, who is seated on a high throne at the summit of stairs, while two candidates stand beside him, each with a scroll (the Gospels) in one hand. Among the few epitaphs, Greek and Latin, still left in this cemetery, is one which eulogises the dead as “*sapientissimam animam.*”

The sunset of antique Art, before a night of barbarism, manifests itself in the paintings, whose superior character I have noticed, in the S. Pontianus cemetery ; the finest being, I believe, of dates within the VI. and VII. centuries ; the others, of the period of latest restorations in these hypogaea, *i. e.* the VIII. century. Among the mural pictures here, two colossal heads of the Saviour are distinguished by a benign and noble beauty, presenting some analogies with the treatment of the same subject in the admirable mosaics (date A.D. 530) which adorn the apse of S. Cosmo e Damiano on the Forum. Striking is the contrast between such conceptions of the Divine ideal and the stern, repulsive head of Our Lord in the mosaic of the V. century at the S. Paolo basilica. Those paintings in the “catacomb” announce indeed the emancipation of Christian art from the gloomy fanaticism which threatened at one time to overshadow and subject it—which set up the strange theory that a plain and vulgar, not a beautiful or majestic, aspect should be given to the person of Christ in Art !

Other cemeteries, easily to be explored, are entered from the extramural churches of S. Sebastiano and S. Pancrazio. That below the former church, long the only one of these

hypogaea generally known, may be inspected under the guidance of a friar of the adjoining Franciscan convent. It is extensive, and contains several chapels, but no works of primitive art, though enough is seen in this "S. Sebastiano Catacomb" for acquiring a just idea of such burial places, their complicated formation, the mode of interment carried out in them, and the profound gloom of their mysterious depths, depressing to the spirits unless one can rise from the visible to the invisible. This "catacomb" seems to have been much visited in the XV. century, being at that time mistaken for the more important Callixtan cemetery, not far distant, and alike entered from the Appian Way. Several epitaphs, here placed in comparatively modern times, erroneously designate the tombs as those of Roman bishops. One was set up by an Archbishop of Bourges, in 1409, over the supposed tomb of S. Cecilia, whose original sepulchre (whence her body was removed to her Transtiberine church in the IX. century) is now to be identified in the Callixtan cemetery. Behind the tribune of the S. Sebastiano basilica we enter a semi-subterranean chapel, no doubt one of the earliest built for Christian worship, probably about the middle of the IV. century, and finished by Pope Damasus about A.D. 369. It contains, in the middle of its area, the sepulchral recess, now surmounted by an altar, in which the bodies of S. Peter and S. Paul lay (according to an early legend) for several months, and afterwards the body of S. Peter alone for a period of forty years in the third century. Round the walls of this primitive building is a low stone seat, for the use, apparently, of those who assembled here to recite the psalms or offices of the Church. Some very curious mediæval frescoes adorn the walls of another Oratory, communicating with this by a staircase, also behind the tribune of the S. Sebastiano basilica. Another cemetery extends in several subterranean storeys

between the Via Appia and the Via Ardeatina, and is named after S. Balbina, to whom was dedicated an ancient church still standing, as rebuilt in 1489, on the Aventine hill. Though made the subject of a report by De Rossi, this cemetery has not yet been thoroughly explored or described.

In 1853 was discovered the ruinous and roofless church of S. Alexander, on the site where that Pope suffered death, A.D. 119, and was interred, near the Nomentan Way. On the same level with that long-buried church extend the corridors and chapels of a cemetery named after that Martyr Pontiff. These contain no art-works, but well deserve to be visited; for here, without any long exploration, we see other interesting objects, epigraphs in Greek and Latin, terra cotta lamps, iron implements, such as are occasionally found in Christian tombs, and supposed to be instruments of torture; also some of those glass phials stained with red, which ecclesiastical authorities assume to be the tokens of martyrdom—as having held the blood poured out in such holy death. One of the three churches on the site where (and precisely within the area of one of which, *S. Paolo alle Tre Fontane*) S. Paul is supposed to have suffered death, bears the name *S. Maria della Porta del Cielo*, or *Scala Coeli*, derived from a vision of S. Bernard, who believed he saw souls liberated from Purgatory ascending heavenward on aerial stairs whilst he was celebrating mass for them. Underneath this small church, rebuilt, A.D. 1582, in the uninteresting modern Italian style, extends a cemetery whose subterranean passages are no longer permeable, named after S. Zeno, and (according to a legend scarcely credible) containing the relics of more than 10,000 martyrs, victims in the Diocletian persecution! We can now only look into one of the dark corridors through a grated window in a crypt-chapel with descent by two staircases

from the high altar. At the left of that altar opens a narrow chamber, or cell, said to be the place where S. Paul was kept during the last moments before being led out to die by the headsman's stroke. The three fountains in the other modernised church, rebuilt 1599, are said to have gushed from the spots where his head, rebounding, fell thrice before it finally rested.

In 1866 were discovered, about five miles from Rome on the Via Portuensis (close to the Civitavecchia railway), the ruins of a temple and place of meeting for the "Fratres Arvales," the twelve Priests whose duty it was to celebrate the Ambarvalia festival; the first intimation of the existence of such forgotten remains being found in a tablet, dug up on this spot, with the Acts of that sodality inscribed thereon. Works undertaken by the German Archæologic Institute, and directed by Prof. Henzen, soon led to the further discoveries; and here, among the ruins of the Pagan fane, now devoid of all architectural features, was opened the ingress to a Christian cemetery, recognised as that named after one Generosa, and also (from the estate on which it was originally formed) "ad Sextum Philippi." In the first corridor of the hypogæum we see a picture of the Good Shepherd; in a chamber, or oratory, thence entered, another more remarkable painting, distinguished by the character of the heads: Christ seated amidst four Saints each holding a crown (the ancient symbol of martyrdom), the names Faustinianus and Rufinus being inscribed over two; that of Simplicius—a martyr who suffered together with the former of those two by being drowned in the Tiber during the Diocletian persecution—the name which, it appears, must have been over the head of another figure in this group.

The finest specimen of early Christian sculpture still extant, and still left where it was discovered (though not

on the same spot) within the crypt of S. Peter's, is the large sarcophagus adorned with two orders of relievi, serving as the tomb of Junius Bassus, Prefect of Rome, who died a nyophyte, A.D. 359, aged forty-three. On the front are ten groups, divided by pilasters supporting canopies: the principal figure that of Christ represented as a beautiful youth, seated between two Apostles, His feet resting on the earth, here personified as an old man (Tellus), whose half figure emerges from the ground. Besides the usual sculptured subjects (from the Old and New Testaments) here before us, is a highly curious series of smaller emblematic rilievi, in which sheep appear performing the miracles wrought by Christ and Moses. A sheep strikes a rock with a wand, imitating the act of Moses; a sheep, using the same wand, touches three baskets filled with bread, to represent the miraculous multiplying of loaves; next to this, in curiously symbolic representation of the Baptism of Christ, is seen a sheep laying its paw on the head of another such animal placed in a stream, while from a bird, hovering above, descends a ray of light to that creature's head. The next of these singular rilievi seems intended for the reception of the Tablets of the Law, Moses being represented by one sheep, Joshua by another; next is the raising of Lazarus—a sheep touching with a wand a mummy-like figure upright in a tomb. Another rilievo, at the extreme left of the spectator, seems to represent the three Israelites, by as many sheep, in the fiery furnace! Even in this comparatively later product of Christian Art, the only subjects from the cycle of the Passion are: the entrance into Jerusalem, Christ before Pilate, who is about to wash his hands, and the denial of our Lord by S. Peter.

The porphyry tombs of Helena, the mother, and Constantia, the sister of the first Constantine, both removed from their ancient mausolca to the Vatican Gallery, are

valuable works of the transitional period when Christian art, yet undeveloped, confined itself to subjects scarcely distinguishable from those proper to Paganism. The rilievi on the sarcophagus of Helena represent battle-scenes, warriors on horseback, and prostrate captives, with miniature busts of the Empress and her imperial son. Those on the sarcophagus of the daughter, more rudely executed and heavy in design, display vintage-scenes, children treading the grape, peacocks, lambs, and also Bacchic heads—the first among those subjects capable indeed of interpretation in Christian sense, as referring to the “True Vine,” or the Eucharistic sacrament. Subjects similar to those on the tomb of Constantia are before us in mosaic on the vault of a circular aisle in the church on the Nomentan Way, originally built as a mausoleum for the sister and daughter of Constantine—the only one still erect of the many edifices founded by that Emperor, in or near Rome, and described in florid terms by contemporary writers. *S. Costanza*, as it is now called, is a rotunda 73 feet in diameter, surrounded by a vaulted aisle, with arcades resting on 24 coupled granite columns of the composite order, with attic and cupola above. The ancient doorway was entered through a porch with an arcade now fallen into ruin. Two additional entrances, opening on vaulted recesses, or tribunes, were made when this building was converted into a church. It was consecrated for public worship by Pope Alexander IV. about A.D. 1259, after restorations necessitated by the natural process of decay, and by the sinking in of the ancient cupola, even in this best preserved among the Constantinian edifices. The mosaics in the lateral tribunes are inferior works of the time of Alexander IV. Among those of the Constantinian period (which we may consider as extending from 306 to 360), are some female heads, probably portraits of the sister and daughter of

that Emperor. The cross is introduced, but as a mere accessorial ornament, in one of the compartments into which the vaulting of the aisle is divided. The original dome was covered with mosaics on its concave surface,—the subjects borrowed from Heathen Art—all which have disappeared (v. Ciampini, “*Vetera Monumenta.*”)

A pleasant walk beyond the Porta Maggiore leads us to the mausoleum of S. Helena, from whence her porphyry tomb was removed, A.D. 1154, to serve for the sepulchre of a Pope, Anastasius IV., at the Lateran basilica. After being injured by the fire which destroyed the ancient church in 1308, that sculptured tomb was left in the contiguous cloisters till, in the last century, Pius VI. ordered it to be restored and placed in the Vatican Museum. The Empress’s mausoleum, more rent and shattered by time than that of her grand-daughter, looks at a distance like a lofty and ruinous mediæval tower on the solitary Campagna; and it is not till we approach that the character of this building can be discerned—a rotunda provided with eight ample niches, alternately curvilinear and rectilinear, with as many round-headed windows above, in the ruined part of the interior; only two of the niches being saved from decay, one converted into a plain little chapel for funeral masses. Some Pagan epitaphs, and antique rilievi (a knight with his horse and his page) are set into the walls. The name, “*Tor Pignattara,*” by which this edifice is now popularly known, derives from the poor expedient of inserting earthenware vessels (*pignatte*) in the brickwork, exemplified here as well as in the Maxentian Circus on the Appian Way, another edifice of the period of decline. The modest parochial church and small manse of the *curato* on the same premises, amidst a quiet garden, where the Empress’s mausoleum stands in decay, add to the singularity of the contrast between the actual and former conditions

of the magnificent sepulchre erected by Constantine for his mother.*

We may believe that one Christian oratory within Rome's walls exists, at this day, almost in the same state as when that Emperor and Pope S. Sylvester were living. In Anastasius we read that that saintly bishop consecrated for worship a hall in the Thermæ of Trajan on the Esquiline Hill, and there, A.D. 324, held a Council, or Synod, at which, according to some writers 284 (according to others 230) bishops intervened, Constantine himself and the Prefect of Rome attending.

About the year 500, a more important church was raised on the same site by Pope Symmachus. In 1650, on occasion of some works for restoring *S. Martino ai Monti* undertaken by the Carmelites of the adjoining convent, was discovered the now semi-subterranean interior, which may be identified as that primitive church in the buildings of Trajan—a dim-lit cavernous hall divided by massive pillars into four aisles, under a high-hung vault. Some faded frescoes on the dusky walls may be referred to mediæval, not to earlier, Christian art. To the more ancient, the Constantinian, period may be ascribed the painting on one of the bays of the vaulted ceiling—a large red cross studded with jewels, and, at the angles between its arms, four books, each within a nimbus, the earliest adopted emblem of the

* S. Helena died, an octogenarian, about A.D. 326—the exact date uncertain; both Eusebius and Socrates asserting that she spent her last days in Palestine, and was buried at Constantinople. Anastasius mentions the funeral honours rendered to her by her son, who probably caused the removal of her body to this sepulchre prepared by him: “Mausoleum condidit, ubi beatissimam Augustam matrem suam posuit in sarcophago porphyretico.” Born of an obscure family in Bithynia, she wedded Constantius Chlorus when he was an officer of no high rank under Gallienus. Not till her sixty-fourth year did this pious lady, the reputed discoverer of the True Cross at Jerusalem, and foundress of many churches, become a Christian.

Evangelists in art. The father-general of the Carmelites, Padre Filippini, spent 70,000 scudi in the splendid adornments and rich marbles, &c. for the modern church, and caused that ancient part, which was filled with debris, to be cleared out and restored for public worship, still celebrated here on the days of Stations and on certain festivals.

The Popes have been most careful to preserve the scattered sculptures and epigraphs found in the primitive Christian cemeteries. Eugenius IV. and Callixtus III. (XV. century) forbade under heavy penalties the destruction or alienation of such antiques; and the learned Nicholas V. is said to have intended to collect them in a museum. Benedict XIV. charged Mgr. Bianchini to collect all the sepulchral tablets procurable for a place in the Vatican. The numerous series of such epigraphs, Pagan and Christian, covering the walls of a long corridor in that museum, was arranged, as now before us, by another learned prelate, Gaetano Marini, acting under the orders of another intelligent pontiff, Pius VI. I have mentioned the valuable collection known as the Christian Museum of the Vatican, which contains numerous objects from "Catacombs," as also from other localities. Another museum, among whose various contents are many objects and epigraphs from those cemeteries, is that formed by the Jesuit Fathers in the "Collegio Romano." The Propaganda College also contains a museum rich in antiques, of mediæval and earlier periods, most various in character and origin. Many originals, as well as copies from paintings and sculptures in "Catacombs," are to be seen among numerous relics of saints in the "Custodia di Reliquie," in the buildings of the Roman Seminary, entered at the side next the S. Agostino church, and usually open to the public on the Thursday before Holy Week. Several ancient Christian epigraphs are still left, where long ago placed, in the porticos

and cloisters of churches or monasteries—S. Marco, S. Maria in Trastevere, the extramural S. Paolo and S. Lorenzo. But all such collections, even that of the Vatican, are surpassed in value and extensiveness by the great assortment of sculptures, epigraphs, and copies from mural paintings now forming the Christian Museum of the Lateran—the epigraphs classified, as we see them, in the most suitable method by the Chev. de Rossi.

The spiritual import, the generally prevailing moral sense conveyed in the aggregate of sacred monuments found in the hypogaea around Rome,—this, the paramount question to which studies and reflection must lead us, can scarcely be answered with judgment perfectly unbiased. Where such high and deeply-felt interests are at stake, it is difficult to attain the intellectual independence requisite for impartial, clear, incisive, and strictly just decision. It seems to me that the main Truth around which this multitude of monumental records revolves, and which symbolism, epigraphs, artistic representations serve to illustrate, is no other than this—the Divine character and office of Christ, and belief in Him as the manifestation of Deity, the Messiah announced by Hebrew Prophets, the Logos imagined, or dimly foreseen, by the more exalted philosophy of Heathen schools ; the fulfilment of all prophecies and antitypes in Him ; the subordinating of all religious ideas and doctrines to faith in Him, of all practice in the life of His followers to the aim of imitating His example ; of all worship to conformity with the doctrines and spirit of His teaching.

Much evidence is also before us in this range respecting discipline, ritual, and the social life of the early Christians. The beneficent action of their religion on society may be inferred even from negative proofs. The epitaphs of the dead indicate the realities amidst which they lived. A

form of charity not uncommon among the ancient Romans was the adoption of foundlings or abandoned children, who became thenceforth the property of their protectors, and are mentioned in epigraphs as *alumni*, but never either as *servi* (slaves bought with money) or *vernæ*, slaves born of others in servitude, and in the master's house. Amidst the immense number of Pagan epigraphs at Rome the mention of such *alumni* is indeed frequent, but less so than among the comparatively few Christian inscriptions before us in the same city ; and in only six among 11,000 such records preserved from the first centuries of our era, is found any allusion to the class of slaves or freedmen, *servi* or *liberti*, so frequently named in Heathen epigraphs. Hence may be inferred the humanizing influence of the faith which, without directly assailing the institution of slavery, taught that all may alike enjoy the true liberty whereby Christ has made us free.* With regard to sacramental belief and observances, we find much that is most significant in the mural paintings, and also the sculptures here considered. A picture in the so-called "Chapel of the Sacraments," in the Callixtan Cemetery, represents a man and a boy (of about ten years) standing together in a river, the former baptizing the latter—proof that infant baptism, or at least that of young children, was practised.† Most striking are the evidences of the pre-eminence assigned to the Eucharistic Sacrament, as the chief and perpetually recurring solemnity for which the faithful assembled, and without

* This aspect of charities among the early Christians is well brought out, and with full details, by Dr. Northcote, both in the "Roma Sotteranea" and his smaller volume, "The Roman Catacombs."

† S. Justin, the philosophic Apologist and Martyr, who suffered death at Rome, A.D. 167, gives the baptismal formula used in the second century :—"In the name of the Father of all and Lord God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and a Holy Spirit."—Apol. c. 61.

which it cannot be assumed that congregational worship ever took place in the usual ordering of its observances. The primitive Christians did not meet merely to join in liturgical prayers recited by presbyters, or to listen to sermons; but to take part in what was to them the holiest and most affecting transaction, commemorative of the death and sacrifice of their crucified Lord. Most expressive is the symbolism referrible to this rite. Not a merely rationalistic, but a high and mystic meaning was attached to it. The idea of a Divine Presence—however conditioned or explainable—is shown by the association of the fish (the *ἰχθῦς*, which word in the Greek contains the initials of the name and titles of Christ) with the eucharistic elements; sometimes the bread alone, sometimes both, loaves and a phial of wine, being so explained in a sacramental and spiritualized sense by the accompanying figure.* The milk-pail, sometimes held by a shepherd, but in other instances suspended to a crook, which a lamb seems to support, or without either shepherd or sheep—therefore obviously a self-dependent symbol—may be understood as another emblem of the life-giving food, the Body and Blood received by faith in the Eucharist. The principal day when all assembled for worship was the first in the week—not with any intention of substituting this for the Jewish Sabbath, but of celebrating it as the more joyful festival of the Lord's Resurrection. In the Epistle of Barnabas (apocryphal, but certainly written in the early years of the second century) the Jewish Sabbath is treated as an utter mistake, and the

* *E.g.* The fish together with loaves, but no wine, placed on a tripod, before which stands a man who seems to be in act of blessing those objects, while a woman (the Church?) stands near in attitude of prayer; the fish swimming in water, with a basket containing loaves and a phial of red wine on its back—copies from which originals are in the Lateran Museum.

“Lord’s Day” opposed to it as of voluntary observance dependent on the feeling of the Christian communities.

It is difficult to determine the date when the practice of invoking Saints had origin; though certain that it prevailed before the end of the IV. century. The first instance in any literary document of invocation addressed to the Virgin Mary occurs in the “Life of S. Justin,” by S. Gregory Nazianzen, bishop of his native place from A.D. 328, deceased 373.* Alike difficult is it to refer to any certain date the first introduction of prayer for the dead. Among 1374 epigraphs edited by De Rossi in the first volume of his great compilation, “Inscriptiones Christianæ,” we do not find one in which such prayer is distinctly uttered, or the belief in a state of purgatorial suffering is expressed. Such intercession, and the doctrine which justifies it, were, I believe, the natural results of the growth of devotional feeling and of a reaction of intellect against the doctrine of eternal punishment; but I can find no proof that either the devotional practice or the speculative belief prevailed among the primitive Christians. Where the customary formula “in pace” is united to a verb, and that verb is not abridged, it is the indicative, present, past, or future, not the optative mood which is used in all earliest examples: e.g. *vixit, recessit, requiescit, dormit.*† In many epitaphs

* v. Mrs. Jameson, “Legends of the Madonna.” For the direct and solemn invocation of Saints, practised in the IV. century, we have epigraphic evidence in the metrical lines by Pope S. Damasus in honour of S. Agnes, on a marble tablet discovered (1728) by the antiquarian Marangoni, and now set into a wall near the staircase leading to the interior of the extramural church dedicated to her. Of ten lines in this composition, the last are as follows:—

O veneranda mihi sanctum decus alma pudoris,

Ut Damasi precib(us) faveas precor inclyta Martyr.

† I have dwelt, somewhat more fully than in these pages, on the same points of doctrine and monumental evidence in another volume, “History of Ancient Christianity and Sacred Art in Italy.”

the dead are declared to have passed immediately into a state of bliss, into the presence of Deity, without any word that implies the idea of inevitable penalties as payment of a debt due for sin from the faithful followers of Christ. Numerous epitaphs with such prayer uttered by survivors for, or immediately addressed to, the lost ones are, it is true, at hand and of unquestionable antiquity. Among others, are several in which the deceased are invited to pray for those they have loved on earth, and the survivors seem to rely, with a consoling tenderness, on the efficacy of their intercessions. But if those departed be capable of benefiting the living by their prayers at the throne of Deity, can they be supposed to be at the same time in a state of suffering, which would alienate and withdraw them from the Divine Presence? The belief in the blissful state of the righteous soul, immediately consequent on its departure from mortal life, is frequently and distinctly expressed in lines chiselled on these ancient tombstones.*

We find sufficiently clear evidence of the constitution of a hierarchy in the primitive Church, divided into bishops, presbyters, deacons, exorcists,† acolytes—not that the dis-

* *E.g.*—"Tuus spiritus a carne recedens est sociatus sanctis pro meritis."

"Dum casta Afrodita fecit ad astra viam, Christi modo gaudet in aula."

"Cujus Spiritus in luce Domini receptus est."

The following to a wife and mother, aged thirty-eight, is still more significant (date A.D. 392):—

"Non tamen hæc tristes habitat post limina sedes
Proxima sed Christo sidera celsa tenet."

On the beautifully sculptured tomb of Junius Bassus it is set forth that he, though but a neophyte, had passed into the presence of God: "Neofitus iit ad Deum," notwithstanding that the deceased, who was Prefect of Rome, must have died unbaptized.

† The following passage in Justin Martyr is supposed to include the formula used in the second century at the rite of exorcism:—"By the name

inction between the Elders in general and the Overseer (or bishop) of each local community was very strongly marked, or that it conferred very great superiority on the latter above the former—the bishop presiding over the body of presbyters. Those of prelatie rank were no doubt highly honoured, and designated as “Papa” during many ages before that title was exclusively arrogated to themselves by the Roman Pontiffs—namely by Gregory VII., for himself and his successors. Offices were assigned to women, which gave her dignity, influence, means for usefulness. Besides the unmarried maidens, widows also were set apart with a form of consecration to religious life; and from among the latter were chosen the Deaconesses charged to administer to, superintend, and perhaps occasionally instruct those of their own sex. In the time of Pope Cornelius (A. D. 251-2) the Deaconesses in the service of the Roman Church were as many as 1500. One of these, Marcella, guided by the counsels of S. Athanasius, founded the first

of this very Son of God, who was born through a virgin, and became man, capable of suffering, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and died, and rose again from the dead, and ascended into heaven, every demon exorcised is conquered and subdued.”—(Dial. c. Tryph. c. 85). The belief in the mysterious powers and various agency of Demons seems to have developed with highly imaginative and all-pervading force during the second century. Donaldson (“History of Christian Literature and Doctrine”) thus epitomizes the theory of Justin, in such reference:—“Christ uses His kingly power for two great purposes—the utter destruction of the Demons who seduce men to wickedness, and the dispensation of spiritual blessings to those who trust Him.” As I have observed, the personified Evil, the figures of demoniac beings, however characterized, are utterly unknown to the Christian Art of primitive times. The correspondent doctrine of good, opposed to evil, Angels appears early to have obtained, and risen into distinctness. Herma, in the “Pastor,” mentions six angels created first, and to whom God entrusted the whole creation, that they might rule over it.

Sisterhood who lived together in community—in fact, a primitive monastic association.*

But was the Christian life, at the time when peace and freedom were finally secured for the Church, a veritable model of strict and pure conformity to the ideal standard? Had three centuries passed over that Church without witnessing any dereliction from the original principles or devotional practice of her divine institution? We have reason to believe the contrary. Proof is before us on the historic page, which, even though proceeding from a Heathen source, must be allowed some weight, in reference at least to what was external, notorious, and intelligible even to those not within the pale of the baptized communities. In March, A.D. 311, the Emperor Galerius, co-reigning with Maximianus, Constantine, and Licinius, published a rescript which, although indulgent and concessionary towards the Christians, contains imputations against them implied in these remarkable words: “Among other matters which we have desired for the benefit and common advantage of our people, we have determined—that also the Christians, who have left the religion of their fathers, should return again to a good purpose and resolution. For by some means such arrogance had overtaken and such stupidity had beset them that they would not follow the principles anciently prescribed to them—but they began to make and follow new laws, each one according to his own purpose and his own will. We saw that they neither gave the honour that was due to the immortal Gods, nor heeded that (the God) of the Christians—we have resolved that

* To Marcella many of the letters of S. Jerome are addressed. This pious Roman matron, who died about A.D. 410, was considered to be so deeply versed in the Scriptures that bishops sometimes consulted her respecting the disputed sense of sacred texts.

there may be Christians again, and that they may restore the houses in which they were accustomed to assemble.”*

However the Church of the IV. century may have differed from that of apostolic times, there is, in the range of monuments here considered, enough to enable us to evoke before the mental eye a grand and ennobling fact, fraught with assertion of the capacities of Humanity for high attainment, a picture of social life informed by a spirit in striking opposition to all that was dark or evil, while superior to all that was highest and purest, in Heathen antiquity: fervour without fanaticism, serenity combined with heroism, gentleness with strength, courage immovable as the rock, nerved to endure all for a sacred cause, a rapturous but cheerful piety, a faith and worship long preserved from the taint of superstitious and trivial novelties. Amidst conflicts and perils were “victories of prevailing will,” in the assured possession of that peace promised by the Divine Master, and given by Him not as the

* The edict, in the original Latin, thus sets forth the Emperor's intended indulgence:—“ut etiam Christiani, qui parentum suorum reliquerunt sectam, ad bonos mentes redirent. Siquidem eadem ratione tanta eosdem Christianos voluntas invasisset, et tanta stultitia occupasset, ut non illa veterum instituta sequerentur, quæ forsitan primum parentes eorum constituerunt, sed pro arbitrio suo, atque ut hisdem erat libitum, ita sibimet leges facerent, quos observarent, et per diversa varios populos congregarent—atque cum plurimi in proposito perseverarent, ac videremus nec Diis eosdem cultum ac religionem debitam exhibere, nec Christianorum Deum observare, contemplatione mitissimæ nostræ clementiæ intuentes, &c.” For this document, in *extenso*, v. *Lactantius*, “*de Mortibus Persecutorum*,” xxxiv. Eusebius translates it into Greek in his *Ecclesiastical History*, of the English version of which by C. F. Crusè, in Bohn's Series, I avail myself. Galerius is supposed (v. *Baronius*, *an.* 311 § 29-36), to have been incited by remorse, whilst suffering from a dreadful malady, to issue this edict of clemency a short time before his death. The other co-reigning Emperor, Maximinus, refused to publish it.

world giveth—the living testimony to the Invisible and Immortal amidst trials and sorrows in this transitory scene. It is justly observed by Donaldson, (“History of Christian Literature and Doctrine”) that “a student could not receive a more satisfactory impressiou of the truth that God was working among the Christians in a most remarkable manner, than by turning from the fetid pages of stern Juvenal or licentious Martial to the pure, unselfish, loving words of Clemens Romanus, Polycarp, or Hermas.”*

There is also a negative testimony conveyed with the force of a solemn warning in the records of ancient Christianity at Rome. We learn from various sources how profound was the reverence with which martyrs were regarded in early ages by the Christians. Their tombs became the altars for earliest celebration of sacramental rites; and hence the discipline of the Roman Church, to this day, requiring relics to be inserted in every altar before it can be consecrated or used for Mass. The *arcosolium* in the subterranean oratory is, in fact, the grave either of a martyr or some other saintly person, whose body lies in the excavated tomb, or sarcophagus, under an arched recess before which the officiating presbyter would stand. Often do we see other graves opened beside those much-honoured resting places, and so excavated as to impair the symmetry of the

* Hermas, author of the “Pastor,” the earliest literary document of the Roman Church, is supposed to have been the brother of Pope Pius I. But little can be ascertained respecting him with certainty except the fact that his work was written about A.D. 130. A passage in the “Pastor” thus attests the temper, so remote from gloomy asceticism, in the Christian communities of that time: “Every cheerful man does what is good, and minds what is good, and despises grief; but the sorrowful man always acts wickedly—because he grieves the Holy Spirit, which was given to man a cheerful spirit. The entreaty of the sorrowful man has no power to ascend to the altar of God.”

dim-lit chapel, or break through and mutilate the paintings on its rocky walls—details affording proof of the anxiety to secure interment beside the holy Dead, as though such proximity could benefit the recently deceased. The solemn funerals of martyrs, with torch-bearing processions, are mentioned at very ancient date; and among the graceful honours paid to those Heroes of Faith were usages borrowed from the Heathen, as the crowning of the lifeless head with flowers, the hanging of garlands above the grave, the strewing of lilies and roses upon that resting place. In order honourably to receive the bodies of martyrs brought back to their native towns, the citizens used to meet them beyond the walls, carrying boughs of trees and flowers, together with all the Clergy wearing chaplets on their heads, and having torches or tapers in their hands. These usages were blamed by certain Fathers of the Church, especially by the austere Tertullian, perhaps from no other cause than that their origin was Heathen. The “Agapai,” degenerating from their primitive character as a simple but solemn banquet connected with the Eucharistic observance and communion, were held in comparatively later ages for the special purpose of honouring particular martyrs; and it was in such, their later phase, that they were condemned and finally abolished by prelates and Councils, by S. Ambrose at Milan and by decrees of Synods held at Laodicea (A.D. 395) and (A.D. 397) at Carthage. Yet, notwithstanding the enthusiastic reverence for those enrolled among the “noble army,” no sign or indication do we find, in the range of evidences I have to consider, of the disposition to rank *their* sufferings beside those of Christ, or to suggest reliance upon their merits. In primitive Christian Art the subject of martyrdom is unknown; or, if allowed to appear, its admission obliges us to infer comparatively late origin—as in the terra cotta relief

of S. Sebastian, which Bosio supposes not more ancient than A.D. 500. The figure of Isaiah suffering death by being sawn asunder (as tradition records of him) is seen on one of the gilt glass tazze, referred to a date in the IV. century. The primitive Church seemed to shrink, with profoundly religious sensitiveness, from the danger of over-estimating human claims, or admitting any undue regard which enthusiastic feeling might direct towards those who had died for the faith, or towards the Virgin Mother so naturally revered. The conclusion which I am led to through study of the art and records here in question, is that their general significance testifies against all and every approach to creature-worship, all and every tendency to the substituting of the means for the end, all proclivity to reliance on human intercessions ; every true follower of the Divine Master being deemed a king and a priest through the grace and glory received from Him. He alone, the Light of the World, was presented to religious regards as infallible Guide and perfect model, sole High Priest of the new Covenant, sole Mediator between the true worshippers and the Eternal Father.

CHAPTER X.

SEPULCHRES, MAUSOLEA, AND FUNERAL RITES.

FROM the cemeteries and monuments of the primitive Christians let us now turn to those of Heathen origin in Rome. The high importance attributed to funeral rites, and the complicated observances with which they were celebrated sprung from the idea, deeply rooted in the mind of antiquity, that the privation of such honours affected the soul in the invisible life, and that the disembodied spirit whose mortal remains had been left without sepulture was condemned to a homeless exile, a mournful wandering for at least one hundred years on the banks of the infernal stream before they could be wafted over in the bark of Charon, or have any chance, even through the awards due to virtue, of reaching the Elysian fields.* Cicero (*De*

* The Sibyl said, ' You see the Stygian floods,
The sacred streams, which Heaven's imperial state
Attests in oaths, and fears to violate.
'The ghosts rejected are the unhappy crew
Deprived of sepulchres and funerals due;
The boatman, Charon : those, the buried host,
He ferries over to the farther coast ;
Nor dares his transport vessel cross the waves
With such whose bones are not composed in graves.
A hundred years they wander on the shore ;
At length, their penance done, are wafted o'er.'

Dryden's " Virgil," *Æn.* l. vi.

Ovid (*Fasti*, l. ii. 550) tells of spectres arisen from the grave, who went howling about the streets of Rome and the Latian fields by night, because the rites due to their mortal remains had been neglected during war.

Legibus, l. ii.) speaks with a voice of authority on this subject: "Let those who have passed into the world of souls be considered as deified: but let men diminish the unnecessary expense and sorrow which is lavished on them. With regard to the rite of sepulture, it is so sacred a thing that all confess it should be discharged in consecrated ground, and if possible in the land belonging to the family." As to the obligations of survivors, in case of those who died at sea, he determines (citing anterior decisions) that, if the body of one killed on shipboard had been cast into the sea, "his family was free from any charge of neglect to the deceased, inasmuch as no bones remained on the earth, in which case his heir should sacrifice a sow to his manes. If, on the contrary, a bone had remained on the earth—fasts should be appointed to last three days, and a sow should likewise be sacrificed, if the deceased had died in the sea." A law of the Twelve Tables ordered that none of the dead should either be buried or burned within the city.

As soon as life had passed away began those observances in the chamber of death, so often and affectingly mentioned by Latin poets: a kiss was impressed on the lips of the deceased by the nearest relative, that thus might be caught, or received from its deserted tenement, the breath just parting. All present then raised a loud wailing, with invocation of the dead by name (*conclamatio*), as if striving to recall animation by this sorrowful appeal.* An actual return to consciousness from a trance mistaken for death, through the effect of such lugubrious tumult, is mentioned by Quintilian.

* *Nec non consueto languescens corpora lecto ?*

Depositum nec me qui fleat, ullus erit ?

Nec mandata dabo ? nec cum clamore supremo

Labentes oculos condet amica manus ?

Ovid, *Trist.* l. iii. El. iii.

The duties and charge of the funeral were assigned to the *Libitinarius*, one of a profession whose services were secured at the temple of *Venus Libitina*, and who supplied assistants, as well as all the materials requisite, for solemn obsequies. At the same temple it was also necessary to report and pay a tax for the registration of the death; as in that of Juno Lucina births had to be registered with payment. The person to whose care the body was at once consigned, was the *pollinator*, who washed and anointed it. It was then attired in the dress suitable to the individual's station—the toga, edged with purple, for every free citizen; any garland, or leafy crown, won by military or other public services, being placed on the brow. Juvenal, lamenting the disuse of the toga in a corrupt age, alludes to that practice of assuming it only in death:—

Pars magna Italiae est, si verum admittimus, in qua
Nemo togam sumit, nisi mortuus.—*Sat.* iii. 171.

The lying-in-state, on an ivory couch with purple coverlet, in the atrium of the mansion, the feet of the body being turned towards the outer door, ensued before interment with solemnities. In a silver vessel (or censer) incense was burnt before that bed of funeral state, and at the outer door of the house was erected a pine or cypress-tree, serving to announce the domestic loss, and also warn those forbidden, on account of offices held by them (as the Flamen of Jupiter), ever to look on a corpse. The funeral procession took place in the forenoon, usually at the fourth hour, except for the obsequies of children who died before assuming the *toga virilis*—such being carried to the grave by torch-light, in the evening. Strange were the groups appearing at all grand funerals in ancient Rome, so numerous that a master of ceremonies, *designator*, was required to marshal the array. First came the *tibicines*—flute players, and others who performed on

louder instruments, the horn or trumpet; next, the *præficae*, hired female mourners, who sang the *naenia*, a chanted wail with praises of the dead; after these, mimics, engaged not only to declaim appropriate passages from tragic poets, but actually to imitate the person and manners of the deceased—this last office assigned to the “Archimimus;” next appeared the ancestral *imagines*, wax masks representing the ancestry of the deceased, and worn by persons who undertook a species of dramatic personification, attired in the costume of those they had to represent.* If the deceased had won victories, the names of well-fought battles, of towns or provinces subdued by him, were borne inscribed on standards, as at military triumphs. Lastly appeared the funeral couch, of ivory covered with purple or gold-embroidered vestments (*Attalicæ vestes*), carried by eight freedmen, the relatives following, besides those *liberti* emancipated by the will of the deceased, and, who, in sign thereof, now wore the cap called *pileum*. Black was the colour worn by all relatives and attendants.†

At public funerals, and those of high solemnity the procession passed to the Forum, and the bier was set down before the rostra, where one of the nearest of kin pronounced the funeral oration, a usage for the first time mentioned in reference to the obsequies of Junius Brutus (see Plutarch), though no doubt of much earlier origin; and this honour, once confined to the male sex, was extended to matrons also after the taking of Rome by the Gauls, in reward for the patriotism displayed by Roman ladies at that crisis. The funeral pyre, where the last ceremonies took place, was of

* Such wax masks were kept in the atrium of the aristocratic family-mansion. Ovid (*Fasti*, l. i.) alludes to them: “Pass in review the waxen images as they are distributed through the halls of the ennobled.”

† White became the mourning colour for females only, under the Empire.

wood, with other combustible material, more or less lofty according to the pomp of the occasion. Around that pyre were planted cypresses ; and upon the body, there laid out, frankincense, perfumes, and oil were poured, garlands and locks of hair were strewn by affectionate mourners. Lastly was given by all the farewell kiss.* Once more arose the loud general cry of the *conclamatio*, with the wailing of the hired *præficae*, during whose lamentations the nearest kinsman set fire to the pile with averted face. When the flames had done their work, the glowing ashes were sprinkled with wine and milk. The relics were then placed, with amomum and other perfumes, in an urn, after being first dried in a linen cloth ; thus deposited, they were sprinkled with old wine and new milk ; the urn was laid in the Columbarium or other sepulchre, the interior of which was besprinkled with perfumes ; there, beside the tomb, were placed lamps, and alabaster or other phials of perfumes,—such as, from the erroneous notion that they were meant to contain tears, have been called *lachrymatoria*. A last farewell to the dead was then uttered in the affecting formulas : *Ave anima candida—terra tibi levis sit—molliter cubent ossa*, &c. Lustral water was sprinkled on all present, and the *ilicet* (word of dismissal) pronounced. On the ninth day were observed the *novendialia*, or *feriae novendiales*, with sacrifices and funeral repasts, usually simple, though rich families sometimes invited many guests to such banquets sumptuous in character.† On these

* See the touching details of a funeral, with anticipated sorrow, in Propertius (l. II. El. xiii.), addressing his beloved Cynthia :—

Tu vero nudum pectus lacerata sequeris ;
Nec fueris nomen lassa vocare meum.
Osculaque in gelidis ponas suprema labellis
Cum dabitur Syrio munere plenus onyx.

† The *cœna funeris* was the funeral banquet given at the house of the deceased ; the *cœna fœralis* an offering of simple viands, with

occasions, food, garlands of flowers, lamps, and other vessels used to be laid on the grave ; and long after the death and funeral, the periodical placing of viands and rose-wreaths (*rosae et escae*, often provided for by the will of the deceased) was maintained, especially on anniversaries of the birthday. In the month of February occurred the annual and general celebrations in honour of the Dead, which the Catholic Church may be said to have christianized in the solemnities for All Souls' Day and its vigil.*

The domestic observances at funerals, solemnized with genuine sorrow, and conformable to antique prescription, are nowhere more feelingly described, with all their piously regarded details, than in the Elegy of Tibullus (l. iii. *El.* ii.) expressing the desire that those last tributes should be paid to himself by his beloved Neaera and her mother :

Then, when I change to flitting shade and air,
 And dusky ashes my white bones bespread,
 Before my pile, with long dishevelled hair,
 Bathed in her tears, let chaste Neaera tread.
 But let her with her sorrowing mother come,
 And one a son, and one a husband weep ;
 Call my departed soul, and bless my tomb,
 And their pure hands in living waters steep.

bread and wine, at the tomb, the ninth day after the interment. The banquet given with more profusion to relatives and guests near the monument, or other place of sepulture, was called *silicernium*. A funeral banquet on larger scale and with invitation to greater numbers, was called *epulum funebre*. After the death of Africanus such an entertainment was given by Q. Maximus, who invited to it the whole Roman people.

* Ovid describing the sacrifice to the Manes at the "Feralia" (19th February), presents a pleasing picture of these rites: "The shades of the Dead ask but humble offerings. Enough for them is the covering of their tomb, overshadowed with the chaplets laid thereon, and the scattered fruits, and the little grain of salt, and corn soaked in wine, and violets loosened from the stem."—*Fasti* l. ii. 535-514.

Ungirdled then collect whate'er was mine,
 My ivory bones in sable vestment swathe ;
 First sprinkle with the mellow juice of wine,
 Anon with snowy milk the relics bathe.

Absorb the moisture soft with linen veils,
 And dry repose them in a marble tomb ;
 With gums, whose incense dewed Panchaia's gales,
 Arabia's balm, and Syria's rich perfume.

With odours let remembrance mingle tears ;
 So, turned to dust, would I in peace be laid, &c.

(Translated by Elton, in Bohn's Series.)

For more stately obsequies we may refer to the fine description of the funeral of Drusus, in the "*Consolatio ad Liviam Augustam de morte Drusi*," ascribed to Ovid (?) ; for those of slaves, to Horace, *Sat.* l. 1, VIII. ; for burials of the poorer description, to the same poet, *Sat.* l. 11, v. Among symbolic and other objects placed in sepulchres, the lamp had a conspicuous place ; and the usage of keeping it *lit* perpetually was common, if not universal, for many ages.* The idea that the soul remained, in some manner, with the ashes, and that it should not be left in darkness, has been suggested to account for the importance attached to this graceful observance ; but it seems more probable that the intent was thus to honour the Infernal Deities. There was

* The laws of the Twelve Tables imposed checks (apparently little heeded in the time of the Empire) on the excesses of display, feasting, &c. at funerals. " We find (says Cicero, *de Legibus*, l. II.) provision in the Twelve Tables intended to obviate the superfluous expenses and extravagant mournings at funerals.—Let extravagance therefore be diminished to three suits of mourning, with purple bands, and ten flute-players. Excessive lamentations are also to be prohibited by this rule—' Let not the women tear their cheeks or make the *lessus* or funeral wailings.' "

(Translated by C. D. Yonge in Bohn's " Classical Library.")

a deep meaning in the superstition which led the Romans always to leave a burning lamp naturally to *expire*, instead of extinguishing its flame. (Plutarch, *Quest. Rom.* 75.) It has been conjectured that vases were placed in the tombs of the religiously initiated alone—but this is uncertain. The principal entrance to the sepulchre was always on the side farthest from the highway, lest any person holding sacred office should look into the chamber of death. Sarcophagi of porphyry, or other coloured marbles, began to be used in the second century of our era; subsequently, those of white marble with elaborate reliefs on their surfaces. Of this latter class we see examples in all the sculpture galleries of Rome—their origin both Pagan and Christian—none more admirable than the large sarcophagus now in the Capitoline Museum, which was found, about 1590, in the singular tomb now reduced to the form of a circular earthen mound, three miles beyond the city-walls—the so-called “Monte del Grano;” the sarcophagus having been supposed, without any proof, to be that of the Emperor Alexander Severus and his mother. The finely-conceived sculptures in alto-relievo upon it represent subjects from the cycle of the Trojan War. In this sepulchre was found the beautiful vase now known as the “Portland Vase.” The usual scenes represented in such sepulchral reliefs convey mystic meanings, in some instances implying a spiritualized, even consoling, belief as to the state of the departed. Episodes from the myth of Bacchus are supposed to allude to doctrines taught in the mysteries of that god, and probably of sublime import; the union of Bacchus with Ariadne, after her desertion by Theseus, being considered an allegory of the transport of the soul from a sorrowful to a blissful existence. The subject of that same god approaching Ariadne during her sleep, in her abandonment on the isle of Naxos, also that of Diana and the sleeping Endymion,

imply the peaceful awakening of the soul to happiness after death. Griffins and lions, guarding the fire that represents the sun, signify the migrations of the soul till it become so purified as to be worthy of admission to a happier home. Dolphins and other marine animals suggest the voyage to another world; the lifted torch represents that for lighting the journey into the shadowy realm; the half open portals are those of the invisible Hades; the head of Medusa (itself a striking symbol of Death, petrifying all by whom its fearful countenance is beheld), implies, when associated with Lions or Swans, the opposite paths of light and darkness. The mask is emblematic of the mortal tenement. Eros gazing on a mask, or leaning on the urn of Psyche, is an allegory representing the triumphant release of the immortal from the perishable nature. An eagle drinking from a cup held by Ganymede, is interpreted as the soul in heavenly life, supplied with nectar by the minister of the gods. Achilles at Scyros, preferring a brief and glorious to a long and inactive life, points out to aspiring virtue the rewards obtainable. The punishment of Marsyas, the contests and fate of the Giants in rebellion against Zeus, and the tragic death of Clytemnestra warn the soul of the consequences of guilt in another life. Bacchanalian scenes in general, dances, banquets, festive processions, Pan and the Centaurs may be understood as allegories of enjoyment in the Elysian fields. Scarcely do we find a single *tragic* scene, or any conveying direct allusion to death in these funereal sculptures. The story of Alcestis, that of Protesilaus, and the return of his shade to commune with Laodamia (on a sarcophagus at the Vatican) are indeed exceptions; but more frequently are seen, among favourite subjects, the contests and joys of life, the Circus, the combat and defeat of barbarian foes, the labours of Hercules, or other heroic achievements, in which it seems the object to throw a

veil over mortal fate—or, may we ask in the language of poetry :

Was it to show how slight
The bound that severs festivals and tombs ?
Music and silence ? roses and the blight ?
Crowns and sepulchral glooms ?

One striking contrast between the sepulchres of Paganism and Christianity—the general absence, in the former, of declared belief in a future life, and its constant profession in the latter—is forced upon our attention the more we observe the examples so numerous in the museums of Rome. Other and brighter aspects occasionally appear amidst the memorials of the Pagan dead. During the last period, approaching that of the fall, of Empire, we find a spirituality more distinctly manifest in funereal art and epigraphs ; indications not only of belief in a future beyond the tomb, but sometimes even the hope of reunion for those that have loved on earth, in happier existence, being occasionally seen,—as in one remarkable example (at the Capitoline Museum), a sarcophagus with an epitaph in which the widowed wife refers to her husband, L. Sempronius Firmus: *ita peto vos omnes sanctissimae habeatis meum c — m et vellitis huic indulgentissimi esse horis nocturnis et etiam me fato suadere vellit ut et ego possim dulcius et celerius apud (sic) eum pervenire.** In the same museum are placed all the epitaphs of the *liberti* and *libertae* of Livia, affording curious insight into the domestic life of that empress: *Liviae Aurifex—Ornatrice—Sarcinatrice—Lector—Ostiarius—Colorator*, being among the titles of offices held by male and female servants hired to administer to the amusement or adorn the person of the wife of Augustus. Gruterus has edited many affecting and beautiful Heathen epitaphs—one on a girl of eighteen years: *Ipsa mihi flore juventae*

* The mutilated passage might be read, *conjugis mei animam*.

ruperunt filo sorores ; one on a wife, in the name of her husband : *aeternum meum vale solatium* ; one on a father, in the name of his children :

Numina nunc inferna precor patri date lucos
Quis est purpureus perpetuusque dies—

and another expressing belief truly Christian : *Ignis habet corpus, ipsam coelum animam*. The following are the last lines of an elegy to a young girl, on a tablet with pinecones in ornamental relief, which has unaccountably found its way to the garden (or court) of a wine shop, on the road leading to the Milvian bridge—to the left as we proceed from the Porta del Pópolo :

At si funereo flores periere Decembri,
Post hyemes florum vita secunda venit.
Villicae quam distant a nostris funera florum;
Flos redit, at moriens nulla puella redit.

A philosophic theory assumed that the soul consisted of two separate elements: the image, *εἰδωλον*, which after death passed to Hades, and the nobler celestial part, which might be admitted, through virtue or heroism, into the company of the Gods, or at least translated to superterrestrial regions. Thus did Hercules, after his body had been consumed in the flames, pass as a shadowy image into the nether world, but in his semi-deified character became also an inmate of the Olympic Heaven.* Implied belief, more or less consoling, and pointing to a future beyond the grave, is recognisable in the sculptures on several antique sarcophagi. The relievi (of very inferior style) on one in the Capitoline Museum may be said to represent the complete history of the soul according to Neo-Platonic theo-

* *Umbra*, in the sense of a departed spirit passed into a shadowy existence, occurs in an epitaph to one Fortunata, found on the Via Labicana, 1861, the last line as follows :

Nullum onus incumbas, speret et umbra cinis—

which might be read, “speret umbra et cinis.”

ries :—the creation of the mortal tenement by Prometheus ; the infusion of life, in the form of a butterfly, by Minerva ; death at the inevitable hour decreed by the Parcae ; the emancipated Spirit, first seen as a butterfly, finally embodied in the figure of Psyche, on its journey to the invisible world under guidance of Mercury. Other sepulchral reliefs and epitaphs convey very different meaning: the genius with inverted torch, and the Medusa-head express nothing that can be interpreted in the sense of hope beyond the grave ; and the dedication of some tombstones, *Somno aeternali, D. M. S.*, seems the cold assurance of a hopeless negation.

Roman mausolea were not built on any prescribed norma ; nor are rules laid down for their architecture by Vitruvius. Hence the varied and in many instances anomalous forms of their extant ruins. From early ages, as shown by the law of the Twelve Tables—"Hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito neve urito"—the practices of cremation and interment (the former of Etruscan origin) were co-existent ; some families persisted in burying their dead, unconsumed by fire, long after the opposite usage had become common. Sulla was the first of his house whose remains were burnt according to his desire, fearing, as he did, outrage similar to that he had himself inflicted on the body of Marius. Christianity had long prevailed before the pyre and its attendant pomps disappeared at the Roman funeral. Macrobius, author of the *Saturnalia*, who died A.D. 419, being a Pagan, regrets that in his time the stately funerals with the cremation of the body were no longer seen.

The earliest sarcophagi were simply adorned with mouldings, flutings, or Doric friezes (like that of Scipio Barbatus), reliefs of horses' or oxen's heads, etc. In later times, under the Empire, fruit, flowers, garlands, figures of genii, etc. were sculptured on them ; about the time of Hadrian, complex groups in high or low relief ; and under the An-

tonine emperors it was usual to order copies from celebrated originals for the sculptures on the tomb ; porphyry or other precious and coloured stones being now preferred to white marble. The porphyry sarcophagi of the mother and daughter of Constantine are the largest sculptured tombs known in that material, their execution indicating manifest decline. Others for Christian interment, now collected at the Lateran Museum, and so interesting for the symbolic and religious meanings conveyed in their sculptures, are referred, with few exceptions, to the fourth century. The modern appropriation of many antique tombs has been singular. That supposed to have contained the body of Cecilia Metella now stands in the court of the Farnese Palace ; that of Hadrian was taken from his mausoleum to serve for the entombment of Pope Celestinus II. A.D. 1143, and ultimately perished in a conflagration at the Lateran basilica, either 1308 or 1360 ; the English Pope, Adrian IV., lies in an urn of red granite, chiselled with the familiar Pagan symbol of death, Medusa-heads, and, on its front, an ox-head between pendent garlands ; a sarcophagus, with very curious reliefs of a marriage-rite (now in the extramural basilica of S. Lorenzo) contains the body of a cardinal bishop, deceased 1256.

Before the present century little care was taken for preserving either mausoleum or columbarium in or near Rome. Piranesi's engravings (1756) exhibit many such monuments, on the Appian Way, in conditions most different from what we now see ; also many others that have disappeared, as the columbarium, discovered 1727, of the *liberti* and *libertae* of Livia, which (as Marangoni reports) " was, with detestable example, completely destroyed." Another such burial-place, that of the freedmen of Augustus, is preserved in obscure remains, where we can scarcely recognise the original of the drawings by Piranesi. The subterranean sepulchre of the Arruntia family, found near the Porta

Maggiore, 1736, was only saved from the fate of being again buried underground at the instance of the antiquary Ficoroni. Pyramidal mausolea existed in several examples on the Appian, Salarian, and Flaminian ways till the XVI. century. The sepulchral pyramid once erect between the S. Angelo Castle and S. Peter's, said to have exceeded in scale the monument in the same form to Cestius, and popularly called the "Tomb of Romulus," was swept away by Alexander VI.; but one authentic representation of it is before us on the bronze portal of that basilica, among the reliefs by the Florentine Filarete, date 1442.

One of the first undertakings of the kind ordered by the Papal Government, was the disencumbering of that pyramidal tomb of Cestius from the soil, or *débris*, to the depth of 16 feet, in the time of Alexander VII., 1663. Finely prominent in the group formed by the towers of the Ostian gateway, the Honorian walls, and the cypress-grove of the cemetery for Protestants, this mausoleum is an almost solid mass of tufa and basalt, clothed with marble now much blackened by time; 124 feet in height, 100 (or, as some report, 95) feet wide at each basement. The monument now stands in a wide trench, the depth of which is the measure of the soil accumulated around it, and on one side raised above the Ostian Way. On two of the three sides are inscriptions in cubital letters—one recording the fact that this structure was completed in 330 days: *Opus absolutum ex testamento diebus cccxxx*;—the other giving the names and offices of Cajus Cestius, Praetor, Tribune, and Septemvir of the Epulones. Together with some columns and pedestals, were dug up near it two marble cippi, an inscription on both of which supplies the names of the heirs and executors of the deceased, among them Messala Corvinus and other well known contemporaries of Augustus; and this epigraph enables us to determine the

date indicated in another curious detail, *i.e.* that the expense of erecting this pyramid had been defrayed by the sale of "Attalic vestments," which could not be buried with the dead in his tomb, owing to the prohibition of such usage by the Aedile : *ex venditione Attalorum, quas eis per edictum Aedilis in sepulcrum C. Cesti ex testamento ejus inferre non licuit.** Such vestments, probably of woven gold or embroidered in gold, which took their name from Attalus, king of Pergamos, and served both for dress and hangings in the interior of houses, were introduced into Rome shortly after the Oriental victories of Scipio Asiaticus, A. U. C. 564. Agrippa was the aedile, holding that office, B.C. 34, who forbade the use of them among ornaments in the sepulchre. The pyramid in question was not penetrated by any modern explorer till A.D. 1590, when it was entered (for the first time on record) by Bosio, who describes how he reached its central chamber in his "Roma Sotterranea." A low narrow passage, broken through the solid mass in 1663, leads into a quadrate vaulted cell, 13 feet in length, where the custode's taper enables us to see but dimly the remains of encaustic painting on stucco, now much faded, but still admirable for grace of design; the only subjects left being four winged Victories on the vault, besides a small candelabrum on one wall. Piranesi, who copied them in their less damaged state, supposes the whole composition to represent one of the sacred banquets which it was the duty of the epulones to order, at great festivals, in honour of the gods. Above the modern entrance to this pyramid is an arched recess, where was found the sarcophagus (no longer here), and also, if we can credit the strange story, a terra-cotta vessel filled with gold ore! Near the angle, at the side of the Ostian Way, is the ancient

* Both cippi are now in the portico on the ground floor of the Capitoline Museum.

ingress into the sepulchral chamber,—a narrow passage sloping upwards, still open to its whole extent, but so high above the basement as to be inaccessible. Bosio mentions the attempt, made in his time, to break through the solid mass by perforating the vault of the chamber, in the search for treasure! In November, 1861, the apex of this mausoleum was struck off by a thunderbolt, and hurled to the base with such crash and stunning shock that a gardener, then at work in the adjacent cemetery, was thrown flat on his face. It has been restored in travertine, the light grey-colour of which is so different from the weather-stained marble that the contrast looks harsh, but will be subdued, no doubt, by Time's reconciling touches.*

With intent to consider this range of antiquities according to the order of their discovery in modern time, we should first visit the subterranean sepulchre of the Scipios on the Appian Way, the re-opening of which cemetery, 1780, created sensation throughout Italy, and inspired a work retaining its deserved place among classics of the Italian language, "the Notti Romano" of Verri. No intelligent judgment was shown in the procedure of removing almost all its contents from this hypogeum. A sarcophagus (the only one of chiselled stone here found), containing the remains of L. Scipio Barbatus, a bust, supposed that of the poet Ennius (who, as Livius tells us, was honoured with a statue in this family-tomb), and *all* save three of the antique epitaphs being transferred to the Vatican Museum, and *copies* only substituted in the tomb, but so carelessly

* Falconieri published an account of this mausoleum with outline engravings of the paintings as extant in 1663. A female figure seated at a small table, and another carrying a vase and patera, might belong to a group at the funereal banquet. Petrarch strangely mistook this monument, calling it the tomb of Remus! The inscriptions may have been covered with ivy when he saw it.

arranged that even their proper sites are *not* occupied by these transcripts ! Even the ashes found in their graves were scattered ; the skeleton of Scipio Barbatus was carried away—not without honour indeed—by a Venetian senator, who raised a modest monument for its final resting place, at his villa near Padua. Farther injury was done to this subterranean sepulchre by erecting walls for support of the superincumbent masses of tufa rock, in which its corridors and chambers are excavated, and blocking up the sole ancient ingress. The principal entrance, with a façade still partially preserved, opens at a higher level than the ancient road, so that the interior could only have been reached by temporary stairs. This is not the *most* ancient, though no doubt of high antiquity, being a portal with architectonic details presenting one of the earliest examples of the arch in Roman building ; its doorway-head formed by nine quadrate blocks of peperino, and surmounted by fluted Doric pilasters, between which were placed the funereal epigraphs ; of these pilasters one imperfect shaft and basement being alone left. Within this doorway the lateral walls were painted red. The epigraph on the sarcophagus now at the Vatican has been supposed the most ancient extant in the Latin language ; the member of the Scipio family whom it records having been Consul A. U. C. 456 ; but it is inferred that *another* epitaph, found A.D. 1616, long before the underground corridors of this sepulchre had been opened, in the vineyard above, is in reality the most antique. This latter is the inscription to the son of that Scipio, who bore the same name. Both are in metrical lines, and have the titles in letters painted red ; the orthography of the later one, the epitaph of the younger Scipio, being more archaic, it is supposed that this was the first inscribed on the funereal stone ; and that the tomb of Scipio the elder was not pro-

vided with its extant epitaph till within the century after his death.*

When, for some repairs of the Honorian walls near the Porta Maggiore, in 1838, a ponderous brick tower, lateral to that gateway, was taken down, a most interesting discovery was made—the curiously fashioned and sculptured monument of the master-baker, named Virgilius Eurysaces, and his wife, Atistia. The former not only practised his useful trade, but was also public contractor to the *apparatores*, officers charged to inspect the aqueducts.† His monument is of triangular form and considerable elevation: a lower story (travertine) consisting of

* The elder of the two here entombed was Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, son of Cneius Scipio and cousin of Scipio Africanus. The younger was Lucius' son, with the same name, and the conqueror of Corsica, who was Consul, B.C. 258. The epitaph of the former presents curious specimens of Latinity, as in the line (the second), “*prognatus fortis vir sapiensque quovis forma virtutei parisuma*” (*virtute parissima*), and the accusatives without the final letter (last line), “*Subigit omne Loucana opsidesque abdoucit.*” The still more archaic epitaph of the younger Scipio is now in the Barberini palace, set into a wall near the door of the library; its metrical lines as follows:—

Honc · Oino · Ploirume · Consentiont · R · —
Dvonoro · Optumo · Fuisse · Viro ·
Lvcion · Scipione · Filios · Barbati
Consol · Censor · Aidilis · Hic · Fvet · A · —
Hec · Cepit · Corsica · Aleriaque · Vrbe ·
Dedet · Tempestatebus · Aide · Mereto ·

which, in classic orthography, should be read:

Hunc unum plurimi consentiunt Romae bonorum optimum fuisse virum, Lucium Scipionem: Filius Barbati, Consul, Censor, Aedilis, hic fuit a (pud vos): hic cepit Corsicam, Aleriamque Urbem, dedit Tempestatibus aedem merito.

† As his epitaph (the letters and spelling of which indicate date near the end of the Republican period, or not much later,) informs us. It is repeated twice, on the two faces of his monument, as follows: *Est hoc monumentum Marcci Virgilei Eurysacis Pistoris Redemptoris Apparet.*

a series of upright cylinders, intended to represent the *panaria* (baskets) in which loaves were kept, or else such mortars as were used for kneading the dough ; the upper, of similar cylinders laid horizontally with their interiors displayed, as we may suppose was the method for exhibiting the loaves on sale in the worthy baker's shop. Along the summit runs a frieze with small relievi which illustrate the entire process of bread-making: the grinding of corn at a mill, where the wheel is being turned by an ass, the kneading, the weighing and distributing of loaves—alike of travertine stone, much mutilated. On the side where the portrait-statues, in relief, of the married pair formerly stood, the monument is most ruinous, and now entirely stript of its outer stonework. The bas-relief of both the figures is fortunately preserved, and now stands against a wall on the opposite side of the high road ; life-size, and so far from idealized are these effigies that the sculptor, with daguerrotype exactness, has copied from nature a large wart on each face ! Near them are placed various architectural ornaments, among which the form of the round loaf, marked by a cross, is seen in different examples ; also a curious bread-basket of travertine—no other than the urn for the ashes of Atistia.* Pliny informs us (H. N. l. xviii. c. 28) that the baker's trade was not established in Rome till B.C. 173 ; previous to which time every good wife, or else the domestic slaves, made bread at home. The Claudian aqueduct passes close to this tomb, without impinging against it ; but the Honorian fortifications absorbed—completely immuring it—prove how completely all ancient reverence for the Manes and sepulchre, at least those of the Heathen dead, had passed away in the

* The epitaph to her, also extant, is placed near : *Fuit Atistia uxor mihi Femina opituma reixsit quouis Corporis Reliquiae quod superant sunt in hoc panario.*

fifth century. Under precisely similar circumstances was found, when the Salarian gate in those fortifying walls was destroyed, in order to be rebuilt, 1870, the tomb, now in the Capitoline Museum, with portrait-sculpture and long inscriptions (Greek and Latin) of a precocious youth, Sulpicius Maximus, deceased in his twelfth year, who won the prize for Greek verse against fifty-two competitors in the "Agones Capitolini," instituted by Domitian A.D. 86; and who, having attained those honours, A.D. 94, was crowned by the same Emperor on the Capitol with a wreath of oak-leaves. This tomb was enclosed within one of the round towers flanking the Porta Salaria. The whole prize poem by the boy so gifted is engraved on pilasters beside his effigy in Carrara marble.

Four columbaria are entered from a level occupied by gardens and vineyards, between the Appian and Latin Ways, where a complete necropolis seems to have been formed. The last discovery here made, 1853, is most interesting: a subterranean not (like the others) forming a single quadrate chamber, but extending in three lofty arched corridors. Into this we descend by the antique staircase. The vaulted ceiling retains much arabesque decoration, painted garlands, flowers, foliage, birds gracefully designed. A gallery, now just traceable, ran along the upper part for approach to the higher *loculi*, which are ranged in files, either five or six-storied, and in many instances richly ornamented with colonnettes of paonazzetto or giallo-antico (Phrygian and Numidian coloured marbles), their interiors lined with other marble; the epitaphs in well-formed letters, painted red; several being to freedmen of the imperial household; one to a person here styled ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΑΡΜΑΤΩΝ—probably an ambassador sent from a city on the Bosphorus to Rome. One was placed by a Roman lady over the ashes of her favourite dog, with his

portrait in low relief, and the epitaph *Synoris Glycon Delicium*. Two tablets here seen were raised to the librarians of the Greek and Latin libraries forming the Palatine collection founded by Augustus. One curious epitaph is to a college of musicians in the service of Tiberius—the names of all, and of their domestics, including the cook, being given in the inscribed list. Another, to one Claudia Etheris, terminates with an injunction quite conformable to Christian ethics; *parce parcenti tibi*; the tomb of this lady having a marble front with two apertures for looking into it. Many of these sepulchres are of marble chiselled in architectonic forms, with cinerary urns like aediculæ, or miniature tombs. From the extremity of one corridor a narrow passage, excavated in the tufa, leads out of this columbarium into a dark chamber filled with bones, among which were found entire skeletons in rude coffins of tile, laid on brick platforms—the remains, no doubt, of slaves, who were not allowed the honours of the pyre, but were carried to interment on open biers by hired assistants—the *Sandipilari*.* A sarcophagus, the only one seen here, is laid in a recess, for opening which several niches, made for urns, have been sacrificed. Another columbarium, near to the above-described, contains some busts of good style, no doubt portraits of the deceased; also besides the usual cinerary ollæ, marble urns with epitaphs—one conveying the solemn admonition: *Ne tangite, O mortales, reverere manes deos*. Another, discovered in 1832, close to the Porta Latina (entered from a vineyard), is one of the most interesting and beautifully decorated, though time and damp have done much injury. Originally lit by a window in the

* Thus also were children usually buried—though, in some instances, allowed all the honours of the solemn funeral and cremation, as implied in the affecting lines of Statius on the death and obsequies of a child cut off in his twelfth year (*Sylv.* 1. ii. 1).

roof, it is now only to be seen by taper light ; and we descend, by its ancient stairs, into chambers lower and narrower than those of other such places for sepulture. Among paintings here before us, there are some in style similar to those in the *thermae* of Titus, therefore ascribable to a period when Greek influences prevailed in Roman art. Several figures, faded as they are, have still a character of grace and truthfulness ; and the architectonic adornment of the niches, with colonnettes, capitals, and frontispieces, is pleasing. One tablet represents, in mosaic on a purple ground, two griffins (mystic guardians of the tomb) beside a sacred tripod.

Among sepulchres still extant, however transformed, and comprised within the actual cinctures of Rome's walls, one of the most remarkable is that of C. Publicius Bibulus, an *ædile* of the plebeian class, also of his posterity after him, which stands in the narrow *Via di Marforio*, on the Capitoline hill, this being one of the most singular examples of maltreatment that any such ruins in Rome present. We see but a remnant of its travertine façade, now built around so as to form part of the front of a paltry house, with a modern window broken open in its upper story, and about ten feet of its basement buried in the ground. Above that quadrate substructure is the mortuary chamber. The front was adorned by four Doric pilasters supporting an Ionic architrave and frieze with ox-heads and garlands. The epitaph, still legible, is in the orthography of the later Republican period, telling that Caius Publicius Bibulus, *ædile*, was allowed, in honour of his virtues, a monument for himself and his posterity, raised at the public expense on the Flaminian Way, as decreed by the Senate and People. Otherwise we are quite without information respecting this personage, who is not mentioned by any ancient writer.

His monument, restored in brickwork at some compara-

tively modern date, seems to have remained in the same condition as at present since the XIIIth century. Its interior may be reached, and the ancient structure recognized, in the cellars of a sausage and cheesemonger's shop, to which we descend by a dark staircase. Here we enter several spacious vaulted rooms, with remains of massive regular stonework, like that of the exterior building. On one side is seen, through an aperture in the brickwork, an abyss whose depth is faintly lit up by the taper lowered for the visitor's inspection. The walls, of similar ancient stonework, are well preserved in this chamber. A youth who did the honours of this sepulchral cheese-shop, (for hundreds of cheeses are ranged along shelves in the principal cellar), told me the pavement had been recently raised to a height more than the stature of a man. Nearly opposite to the front of this mausoleum, in the *Via Morforio*, stands a formless pile of ruins in brickwork, now built up into a house-front, which evidently belonged to a tomb, and is supposed, though without either local or historic proof, to be that of the Claudian family,—almost the only ruins in Rome which archeologists have *not* undertaken to identify beyond doubt!

Two other columbaria are entered from the gardens, left to quiet and solitude till railway disturbed the rural scene, between the Porta Maggiore and the highly picturesque ruins of a domed and decagonal edifice misnamed “temple of Minerva Medica.” One of those subterranean burial places was formed by Arruntius, Consul in the year VI. of our era, for his freedmen and servants, as implied in an inscription formerly over the entrance; the other seems to have been destined for different families. Both these columbaria, re-opened in 1736, contain cinerary urns and epitaphs still in their proper places; also remnants of graceful decoration in stucco, and paintings of that gay character

so often seen in the burial places of the ancient Romans. Several other columbaria were discovered in 1746 under vineyards on the Appian Way within the Porta S. Sebastiano (or Appian gate). In the course of five years were opened an enormous number—ninety-two such sepulchral buildings, mostly in two storeys, during works directed by Ficoroni, who is our informant. One extensive columbarium, probably among those first discovered by that antiquarian, was re-opened a few years ago on that ground near the ancient way, nearly opposite to the sepulchre of the Scipios. Eschinardi (*Agro Romano*) mentions the opening, in the last century, of a subterranean sepulchre in which lay several skeletons with coins still held between the teeth—an evidence of the usage, not supposed to have been common, though occasionally followed, among the Romans, of providing the dead with the *obulus* to pay for their voyage across the Stygian river in old Charon's boat. We read of the grim practice of wetting such coins, for the *viaticum* of the parting spirit, with the blood of gladiators shed in combats at the funeral banquet or below the pyre! Another discovery, made in Ficoroni's time, was that of numerous columbaria on the Ostian Way, the contents of which were all broken, except one sarcophagus in Greek marble, chiselled with graceful figures of the nine Muses in bas-relief, now at the Albani villa. About the same period was opened, outside the Porta Pinciana, a complete necropolis of similar sepulchres for urn burial, with the *ollae* for ashes, and the epitaphs all in their places.

In 1731 were found between the second and third mile on the Via Claudia, under a vineyard, the remains of a large sepulchre with a flight of steps leading down to a vaulted chamber, where stood intact a beautiful vase of Oriental alabaster on a marble sarcophagus containing ashes, among which lay two gold rings set with emeralds; also another

large sarcophagus, encrusted with Parian marble, upon which stood several tazze, together with a curious and elaborately wrought vessel of bronze still containing the charcoal in which incense had been left to shed fragrance in the darkness of the tomb. We have also general accounts, by writers who were eye-witnesses, of the discovery of numerous columbaria and other sepulchres upon the Flaminian, Ostian, Tiburtine, Praenestine, Labican and Portuense Ways; of others along an extent of several miles on the Aurelian Way—all eventually filled up with soil and lime for the purposes of agriculture!

A method adopted for rendering the sepulchre not only inviolate, but undiscoverable to future ages, was by excavating the rock or soil of some mound, or suitable declivity, so as to form a chamber for the dead; there consigning the ashes, or unconsumed corpse, and closing the ingress with a rock, or concealing it with shelved-up earth so that neither record might tell, nor any natural appearance betray, where death had thus its inviolable sanctuary, supposed to be secure. Such a description of tomb was found in the course of works for the paving of a road, at the third mile on the Via Flaminia (see Bellori and Ficoroni); another (seen by the latter of those writers) was discovered, in the working of a quarry, on the declivity of Mount Algidus. Another expedient for preserving the relics of the dead, together with precious objects laid beside them, was by cleaving asunder a mass of the hardest stone, depositing the cinerary urn in the carefully fashioned bed; then reuniting the two fragments, and inserting the whole in the pavement of a sepulchral chamber. Such an extraordinary tomb came to light in the last century, when several sepulchres were opened on the Tiburtine Way, near the extramural S. Lorenzo: the labourers having removed a block of peperino from the floor of an underground chamber, the whole mass

fell into pieces, revealing in the cavity at its centre a beautiful porphyry vase, containing the bones of a child and a gold ring set with a cornelian bearing the figure of a Chimaera. (v. Ficoroni's description of this curious discovery.)

The conventional terms of antique Roman epitaphs, represented by initials, are of such constant recurrence that the following key may be serviceable, though I cannot afford space for the entire series :

H · S · E · *hic situs est.*

D · M · S · or D · I · M ; *Diis manibus sacrum ; Diis inferis manibus.*

Q · or M · *Quieti, Memoriae*

Θ · Κ · *θεοῖς καταχθονίοις, to the infernal Gods ; as in Latin, Diis manibus et genio.*

M · X · *μνήμης χάριν, in memoriam ; K I, κεῖται, jacet.*

A · H · D · M · *Amico hoc dedit monumentum.*

A · O · F · C · *Amico optimo faciendum curavit.*

B · M · or B · DE SE M · *Benemerenti, or Bene de se merenti.*

B · Q — B · V · *Bene quiescat, Bene vale.*

C · S · H · *Communi sumptu heredum.*

D · S · F · C · *De suo faciendum curavit.*

E · I · M · C · V · *Ex jure manium conservatum voco.*

F · I · *Fieri jussit.*

E · T · F · I · S · *Ex testamento fieri jussit sibi.*

H · L · N · B · *Hac lege nihil rogatur.*

NON · TRAS · H · L · *Non transilias hunc locum. —*

T · I · O · Ser. · *Teste Jove optimo Servatore.*

V · D · P · L · P · *Ut de plano legi possit.*

Υ · Β · Δ · *ὕπὸ βουλῆς δογματι, i.e. . by decree of the Senate.*

H · M · H · N · S · *Hoc monumentum heredes non sequitur.*

N · V · N · D · N · P · O , *Neque vendetur, neque donabitur, neque pignori obligabitur.*

Abundant and interesting illustration of the practice and belief connected with last rites, of the honours due to the dead, and the theories respecting their invisible existence are found in Latin Literature, especially in the poets—Virgil, Horace, Propertius, Tibullus, Statius, Catullus, Claudian.*

The general testimony of epitaphs and funereal art leads us to infer that, whatever the doctrines of philosophic schools may have been, belief in a future life prevailed, and in the popular mind was more deeply-rooted than the opposite scepticism, especially in that period during which the evidence from poetic literature is so abundantly supplied—the second and third centuries of our era.† It is true that such consolatory belief is often contradicted and ignored even in words chiselled on the tombstone; and in some instances we find the most boldly avowed materialism in the language ascribed to those passed from mortal life, as in epitaphs like the following: *Non fueras, nunc es iterum,*

* Horace, l. I. 24, 28, ii. 3, 6, iv. 7; Ovid, *Trist.* l. v. 14; *ex Pont.* l. 9; Propertius, l. iii., *El.* 1, 2, 5, 10, 14; Tibullus, l. 1, *El.* 2, 4; Catullus, l. iii. *El.* 2, *Carm.* iii. 37; Statius, *Sylv.* l. ii. 1, v. 1; Val. Flaccus, *Argon.* l. i. 781; Silius Italicus, *Punic.* l. iii. 30; Ausonius, *Parent.* ix. xviii. xix; Claudianus, *In Rufin.* l. 11; and (most important) the entire book vi. of the *Æneid*.

† Not merely a vague idea, but an immortal truth is implied in the affecting lines with which the dying Priscilla takes leave of her husband Abascantius in the beautiful poem by Statius, “*Abascantii in Priscillam Pietas.*” (*Sylv.* v. 1.) After enjoining the fulfilment of her last wishes by the survivor, she adds:

Sic ego nec Furias nec deteriora videbo
Tartara, et Elysias felix admittar in oras.

nunc desines esse—Es, bibe, lude, veni—with the obvious moral: “Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.”* Religious instruction was no part of the duties required from Flamens, Augurs, Pontiffs, or other Heathen priests; and the eloquence with which exalted minds, Cicero, Seneca, and others, proclaimed the high destinies of the imperishable soul, could not reach the multitude. Even the Elysium of *their* apprehension was but a shadowy, unreal and unsatisfying state, whose enjoyments were the pale reflex of earthly pastimes. Virgil shares the opinions of Homer with respect to the Elysian existence which he could, nevertheless, describe in exquisite poetry.† Horace, in the admired ode to Dellius, (l. ii. 3), whilst dwelling on the sources of moral strength open to philosophic minds, does not point to any enduring reward won by virtue as a star of consolation or guidance amidst life’s tempestuous voyage. Totally different are the grounds on which he would support the serene dignity of a soul superior to

* In the course of the works for the new “confession,” or crypt-chapel, at St. Peter’s, was found below the old buildings, in 1626, a sepulchre with the recumbent statue of a man holding a tazza in his hand, and an epitaph so sensual and materialistic that it was destroyed as a thing scandalous, though not before a copy, which Fabretti preserves for us (*Insc. dom. c. V. 387*), had been made.

† “He thoroughly adopts Homer’s view of the incomparable superiority of the life of the upper world to the best possible estate in the land of shadows,” repeating “the sad lament of Achilles in the Iliad—that the life of a slave on earth was more to be desired than the colourless existence of the heroes in Elysium.” (Collins’s Virgil in “Ancient Classics for English Readers.”) The Latin Poet’s doctrine of the return of souls to earth for a second probationary course, doomed to commence the mundane career again, after the Lethæan draught had steeped all memories in profound forgetfulness, is distinctly enounced in the sixth book of the *Æneid*.

vicissitude.* The manes are sometimes invoked as beings endowed with superhuman powers ; yet Cicero mentions the rejection, even by the popular mind, of the old fables regarding them. (*Tusc.* l. 21, 48.) On the other hand, we find the extreme opposite idea as to their divine attributes expressed in the appeal of a husband to his deceased wife : “ Spare, most beloved, spare thy husband, I pray thee, that he may yet for many, many years ever bring sacrifices and garlands to thee, and fill the lamps with sweet-smelling oil ” —namely, in the sepulchral chamber.† Apparitions of the dead are mentioned by Plutarch (*Dio.* c. ii., *Cimon*, c. i.), *Dion.* (lxxvii. 15), Suetonius (*Caius Cæs.* c. lix) ; and in a romantic tale of horrors, quite according to the more modern

* Firm be thy soul !—serene in power,
When adverse fortune clouds the sky ;
Undazzled by the triumph’s hour,
Since, Dellius, thou must die !

* * *

For thou, resigning to thine heir,
Thy halls, thy bowers, thy treasured store,
Must leave that home, those woodlands fair,
On yellow Tiber’s shore.

What then avails it if thou trace
From Inachus thy glorious line,
Or, sprung from some ignoble race,
If not a roof be thine ?

Since the dread lot for all must leap
Forth from the dark revolving urn,
And we must tempt the gloomy deep
Whence exiles ne’er return.

(Translated by F. H.)

† V. Freidlander, “ *Sittengeschichte Roms.* ” That learned writer states, with respect to the custom mentioned above of supplying the obolus, laid in the tomb, for passage money in Charon’s bark, that it prevailed from the middle of the fourth to the second century, B.C. ; and was kept up in western Europe till mediæval periods.

ghost-story type, by the younger Pliny. (Ep. l. vii. 27.) A testimony to the elevation of religious thought, and its power of attaining convictions that console and purify, guided by the light vouchsafed assuredly to the Heathen as well as the Christian mind, is before us in the memorable words of Cicero, (*De Legibus*, l. ii. x.) ; “ When the law commands us to render divine honours to those of the human race who have been consecrated as Deities, such as Hercules and the rest of the demi-gods, it indicates that the souls of all men are indeed immortal, but that those of Saints and Heroes are divine.”

The Roman Emperors were variously dealt with, according to their deserts during life, in the funeral and in the tomb. There is a legend associated with the no longer extant sepulchre of Nero, highly characteristic of the temper with which mediæval Rome dwelt on, and interpreted, the memories of her historic Past.

On the height of the Pincian hill extended north-eastward the gardens of the Domitian *gens*, the ancestors of Nero, where a faithful few gave to that Emperor's remains a decent sepulture in the ancestral monument of that family. One there was who afforded affecting proof of attachment to his memory by strewing flowers on his tomb.* But popular feeling, which reserves the vengeance of traditional hate for the crimes of the powerful, learned to mark that grave with infamy ; and terror, sprung from

- When Nero perished, by the justest doom
Which ever the destroyer yet destroyed,
Amidst the roar of liberated Rome,
Of nations freed, and the world overjoyed,
Some hands unseen strewed flowers upon his tomb :
Perhaps the weakness of a heart not void
Of feeling for some kindness done, when power
Had left the Wretch an uncorrupted hour.

BYRON.

that feeling, overshadowed the spot. A walnut-tree, which grew near, was believed to be haunted; amidst its branches were heard strange sounds and seen stranger sights, demoniac faces that gibbered horribly, and superhuman eyes which glared in the dark, appalling passengers; till at last none would venture by that way, and the whole neighbourhood fell into disrepute. About the year 1099 Pope Paschal II., moved by such preternatural portents, ordered public prayers for three days, at the end of which the Blessed Virgin signified to him in a dream that he should demolish the ill-omened sepulchre and cut down the tree which sheltered it, throw the ashes of Nero into the Tiber, and sanctify the spot by founding thereon a temple dedicated to herself. All this the Pontiff punctually performed: he cut down the tree, laid the first stone of a church; and, to accelerate the purification of that accursed ground, caused the building, even before its completion, to be consecrated, many Cardinals and Bishops assisting. What was yet wanted for the works was supplied by voluntary contributions; hence did the church take its name, appropriately democratic—"S. Mary of the People." One regrets to find this significant legend passed over in silence by authorities on Church History, Baronius and others.

Among observances of deep significance, after the deaths of princes, was that of casting stones at temples and overthrowing altars, while, as in times of public calamity, all shops were shut and all business suspended. Such honours were paid to the dead Augustus as had seldom, if ever, been witnessed in Rome, and implied the readiness on the part of the once republican citizens to sanction the highest pretensions, if not to submit to the unlimited despotism, of other Rulers.* With the aid of the descrip-

* Dion Cassius gives the fullest account of the Emperor's funeral: First the body was laid on an ivory couch with purple hangings em-

tion by Strabo we may call up before mental vision the mausoleum which was erected for himself and his successors by that Emperor in the year B.C. 27: "It was raised to a considerable elevation on foundations of white marble, and covered to the summit with plantations of evergreen trees. A bronze statue of Augustus surmounted the whole. In the interior were sepulchral chambers, containing his ashes and those of his family. The ground was laid out in groves and public walks."

The disposal of the sculptured adornments on the Roman broidered with gold; but concealed in a coffin. In front (of the procession) appeared his (Augustus') statue in triumphal robes, and carried from the Palatine by those designated as magistrates for the ensuing year. Another image entirely of gold was carried from the senate-house; a third was borne on a triumphal chariot, and in the rear followed the effigies of his ancestors and other relations who had died before him, except that of Julius Cæsar, who had been enrolled among the Gods. Next came the images of all the ancient Romans who had been illustrious, from Romulus to Pompeius the Great, whose effigy also appeared among the rest. Emblems were also displayed (in the pageantry) representing all the provinces which he (Augustus) had conquered. In this order they proceeded to the Forum, where the body was set down." After the funeral oration pronounced by Tiberius from the Rostra Julii (before the *Ædes Cæsaris*) the procession passed in prescribed order, attended by all the Senators, all the knights with their wives, and an immense multitude of the Roman people, to the Campus Martius, taking the route by way of the Porta Triumphalis. There, when the body was placed on the pyre (as the historian continues), "the chief priests first moved in procession around it; after these, the knights and magistrates in like manner; and the heavy-armed guard (*ὀπλιτικόν*) thronged thither (to the place of cremation), and threw upon the pyre all the insignia they had won by signalizing themselves in his (the Emperor's) service. When this was finished, the Centurions set fire to the pile, which was soon in flames; and at the same time an eagle was seen to fly up from it, mounting in the air as if it carried the soul of Augustus to heaven. When all these rites were finished, every one retired except Livia, who remained there five days with the most distinguished knights, and at last collected the bones, which she laid in the tomb."

mausolea generally was prescribed, and of finely imagined details. Along the upper part were friezes with reliefs of Bacchic triumphs, the labours of Hercules, or other Mythologic subjects interpreted in a profound sense. On the summit stood statues of the dead personified as deities (*v.* the above quoted lines of Statius), and sometimes that of the Genius of Death. On gables, or other uppermost architectural parts, were masks or votive tablets. When the monument was in two storeys the upper served for funeral rites and sacrifice, the lower only for interment. If the roof were domical, it was surmounted by a bronze pine-cone. Cypresses were usually planted around the building. The adjacent triclinia were adorned with appropriate paintings and mosaic pavements.

The Augustan Mausoleum was a rotunda about 225 feet in diameter, with a hall, alike circular, in the midst, around which the statues of the Cæsars were ranged; and external to which were (probably on each storey) fourteen chambers, one on the ground-floor serving as a vestibule, the others for sepulture. The sole entrance, on the southern side, was flanked by obelisks, both which, after being long left broken and forgotten, are now placed erect, one on the Esquiline, the other on the Quirinal hill. The ashes first laid in this monument were those of the early-lost Marcellus, son of Octavia, Augustus' sister, by her first husband Claudius Marcellus. That nephew and destined heir of the Emperor died, at the age of twenty-two, B.C. 22, deeply lamented, and immortalized in the lines of Virgil in which this stately tomb is mentioned, and on hearing which read by the poet himself the mother swooned away.* Next in suc-

* This youth (the blissful vision of a day)
Shall just be shown on earth and snatched away.
The Gods too high had raised the Roman state,
Were but their gifts as permanent as great.

cession, among the ranks of death, were laid in this sepulchre the ashes of Agrippa (B.C. 12), Octavia (B.C. 11), and Drusus, the son of Livia by her first husband and younger brother of Tiberius (B.C. 9). Affecting allusion to these losses in the same family and among those allied to it by marriage is introduced in the elegy "de Morte Drusi Neronis" (or "Consolatio ad Liviam") by either Pseudo-Albinovanus or Ovid—a poem which records, in pathetic language, the observances and the thoughts referring to the dead in ancient Rome :

Condidit Agrippam, quo te, Marcelle, a sepulcro

* * *

Vix posito Agrippa tumuli bene janua clausa est:

Perficit officium funeris ecce soror.

Ecce, ter ante datis, jactura novissima, Drusus

A magno lacrimas Cæsare quartus habet.

Claudite jam, Parcae, nimia reserata sepulcra:

Claudite, plus justo jam domus ista patet.

The ashes of Nerva were the last laid in this mausoleum (A.D. 96), after which funeral it remained shut. On a night of horrors it was broken into with violence by the Gothic soldiery, led by the hope of finding treasures beside the dead, during the sack of Rome in 409. Suetonius and Dion mention an awe-striking portent, among others said to have occurred before the death of Vespasian: the mysterious opening of this sepulchral pile—its sole portal moving on

What groans of men shall fill the Martian field !

How fierce a blaze his flaming pile shall yield !

What funeral pomp shall floating Tiber see,

When, rising from his bed, he views the sad solemnity !

The Trojan honour, and the Roman boast,

Admired when living, and adored when lost.

Dryden's "Virgil."

For these lines Octavia rewarded the poet with a sum equivalent to £2000 sterling.

the massive hinges without human touch.* From the end of the first century we lose sight of this mausoleum till the mediæval period, when (like many other antique edifices) it was converted into a fortress by the Colonna family—thenceforth popularly called “Agosta.” On the 30th May, 1167, the Romans were defeated by the Tusculans, and in a frenzy of suspicion against the Colonnas, whom they accused of the treason which they wished to believe was cause of that defeat, vented their wrath against this edifice by devastating and, so far as possible, demolishing it. The crumbling vaults and the inner walls are supposed to have been ruined by that onset. The fortified tomb, however, still served for the same purposes; and in 1241 was held by a Cardinal Colonna, a partizan of the Emperor Frederick II., and consequently opposed to the reigning Pope, Gregory IX. A Senator appointed by that Pontiff attacked this fortress with the civic troops under his command, and took it with violence. Yet the ruined fortress still belonged to the Colonnas at the time of a wild strange proceeding which took place, probably, in a court beneath its embattled rotunda—the burning of the body of Cola di Rienzo by a multitude of Jews; those mutilated remains after being dragged through the streets, were (by the desire of the Colonna family) consumed here on a pile of dry thistles. Poggio Bracciolini saw this mausoleum in condition like an earth-covered mound, planted with trees; and in the following century (the XVI.) Andrea Fulvio describes it as nearly in the same state as at present. Santo Bartoli (*Sepolcri Antichi*) supplies an engraving of it, date 1768, showing the outer circuit of walls still erect, with more or less of their original altitude in different parts. In

* “Among other prodigies, the mausoleum of the Cæsars flew open on a sudden, and a blazing star appeared in the heavens.”

Sueton. *Vespas.* xxiii.

1773 works were undertaken for clearing away the débris, and laying open what still remained of classic architecture among these ruins. Towards the end of the same century the highest storey, which rests (like an ample terrace) on the enormous mass of ruined masonry below, was converted into an amphitheatre for *al fresco* entertainments, equestrian displays, jousts, fireworks, &c., among others bull and buffalo-baiting, already a favourite amusement of the Roman populace, which was first exhibited on this arena 1780, and here continued till at last, and for ever, prohibited by the estimable Pope Pius VIII., 1829. Theatrical performances on a temporary stage now divide public attention with the equestrian shows in this whimsically metamorphosed and outraged mausoleum. Such scenes as are now beheld within the circle of amusements so strangely located, may remind us of Shakespeare's lines :—

Imperial Cæsar, dead and turned to clay, &c.

From the inner courts of two buildings, one in the *Via de' Pontefici*, the other a "palazzo" in the *Via Ripetta*, along the Tiber-bank, are seen remnants of the great rotunda in reticulated masonry, now totally stript of its marble encrustations, with a crown of heavy mediæval battlements. From the level of the amphitheatric arena the custode leads us into four dim-lit vaulted chambers, one of which is supposed, indeed appears, to be a portion of the corridor leading into a central hall, where probably the ashes of the first imperial master of Rome were laid, together with the statues of his successors there subsequently erected. By the light of a lamp, lowered through a chink, we have a glimpse into a dark abyss, not yet accesible. From the *cortile* of the "palazzo," in *Via Ripetta*, we can penetrate farther towards the heart of this mysterious pile, hitherto so little explored or made permeable; and here, on the ground-floor of its

rotunda, we recognize, as still entire, that southern ingress by which alone the vast tomb could be entered in ancient times, and the gates of which opened spontaneously, as if to admit one more of the imperial dead, though not of the Augustan house, when Vespasian was about to expire !

The neglect of these ruins, and the failure of even attempting to discover further what time and man have hitherto spared or left recognizable on this site, are among the least pardonable instances of disregard for classic antiquity in Rome.

Near the mausoleum was the enclosed *ustrina*, where the bodies of the imperial family were reduced to ashes. On its site have been found several cinerary urns and cippi, (now in the Vatican) ; among the latter, the funeral cippus, with an epitaph, on which was placed the urn containing the ashes of the high-souled Agrippina, wife of Germanicus and mother of Caius Cæsar. This now stands, but without its urn, in the court of the Conservators' Palace on the Capitol. Agrippina, incurring the hatred of Tiberius, was banished to the island of Pandataria, where she died of famine by order of that tyrant. One of the few good deeds recorded of her son was his care to collect her ashes with his own hands, besides those of his brother, alike the victim of Tiberius, who had been exiled till death on the other Mediterranean isle of Ponza. Those relics, brought to Rome by way of Ostia, thence up the Tiber, were deposited with honours in the Augustan mausoleum by the Emperor Caius, who ordered yearly solemnities (*inferiæ*) in memory of those victims ; also Circensian games for the special honour of his mother, her chariot being drawn in the long array of the customary procession. (Sueton. *Cæsar Calig.* XV.) After the funeral of Nerva the chambers in the Augustan mausoleum could admit no other relics of the dead. Trajan's ashes were immured in the column raised to him

by the grateful Senate. His successor, Hadrian, determined to erect another mausoleum for himself and those who should reign after him, in the gardens of Domitia, near the left bank of the Tiber ; and also to connect that edifice by a bridge with the river's opposite bank, for suitable approach. Both sepulchre and bridge were built in the nineteenth year of Hadrian's reign, between A.D. 135 and 136. Remembering that Emperor's history, one looks with interest upon his stately tomb, which has passed through such strange vicissitudes. In Hadrian, as in Trajan and the Antonines, we see personified the better genius of Rome's Empire, the intellectual and beneficent principle among those who ruled over it. Notwithstanding his vices, the adopted son and successor of Trajan aimed at a high standard of mental accomplishments and public duties. He founded or magnificently restored temples and fora. More liberal even than his predecessor in public charities, he provided for indigent children, for senators, knights and magistrates, who had fallen into poverty. Seventeen out of the twenty years of his reign were spent by him in journeys, during which he left tokens of royal generosity among the cities and provinces visited. Marching on foot and bare-headed, like the humblest soldier in his armies, the Ruler of the Roman world thus crossed the eternal snows of the Alps and the sands of African deserts, dispensing benefits around him, while apparently bent on self-culture and the attainment of profitable knowledge. Returning to his metropolis, he desired political improvements, and to some extent remodelled the internal administration ; suppressed republican forms now devoid of meaning, and created a species of Council of State in which able jurisconsults were called to assist him by their advice and wisdom. Laws were enacted forbidding masters to sell their slaves as gladiators or for infamous professions ; and depriving them of the right to

inflict death on the slaves possessed by them. This accomplished Emperor excelled in eloquence, philosophy, sciences, as also in the fine arts, sculpture, painting, music. Yet, however enlightened, he did not object to being worshipped as a god in the temple of Jupiter Olympus at Athens, a fane completed by him 560 years after it had been commenced. In that city, to which he gave a constitution modelled on the antique, he caused himself to be initiated in the Eleusinian Mysteries. Hadrian seems, with all his virtues, vices, talents, and superstitions, an embodiment of ancient civilization and of the Roman Imperial Power in its brighter aspects, strikingly displayed on its throne. Yet his death-bed was darkened by despair.* More than once, while dying, did he attempt suicide; and the lines composed by him in an interval of calm, shortly before life's last moment, express that almost hopeless uncertainty as to the soul's future which so often appears in the epitaphs and elegiac verse of Heathen antiquity:

Animula, vagula, blandula,
Hospes, comesque corporis
Quæ nunc obibis in loca?
Pallidula, rigida, nudula,
Nec, ut soles, dabis jocos.

Under such a Ruler, as under the Antonines also, the Empire seemed at the apogee of well-established greatness and splendour. We must read its history by the light of subsequent times in order to solve the problem of its ultimate fate, to understand the causes of its corruption and decay. With the aid of a description by Procopius, and of the magnificently designed restoration in Canina's work

* He died at Baïæ, A.D. 138, aged probably sixty-two (though Spartianus makes him seventy-two), after reigning little less than twenty-one years.

("Architettura Romana"), we may form to ourselves a picture of the Mausoleum of Hadrian in its pristine beauty and completeness.* From an immense quadrangular basement rose, between the Vatican declivities and the yellow Tiber, the first storey, also quadrangular, with Doric pilasters and arched recesses in which were placed funereal tablets with epitaphs; a cornice and frieze extended along the four fronts, and at the angles stood colossal equestrian statues. Above this rose the great rotunda with walls of massive stonework, embellished by a colonnade of the Doric order, this being divided into two storeys, the upper with a Corinthian colonnade; the whole surmounted by a dome, on the apex of which was placed a bronze pine-cone. The travertine masonry of the rotunda was encrusted with Parian marble; and statues of the imperial persons here entombed stood in the inter-columnations around.† The last Emperor whose ashes were laid here was Septimius Severus, who died at York, when on a campaign in Britain, A.D. 211. His body was first consigned to the flames on a funeral pyre near that city; the ashes, laid in a golden urn, were brought to Rome. Spartianus (see his life of the same Emperor) states this fact, but Dion Cassius says that an urn of porphyry was the receptacle in which the relics were placed in this monument. In such an urn were the ashes of Hadrian brought from Baïæ to be here entombed. It is probable that all such imperial relics were alike laid first, after being removed from the pyre, in golden urns, which were placed

* The first among the purple-robed dead whose ashes were laid within these walls was the adopted son of Hadrian, Lucius (Elius Verus), who died before that Emperor, and whose worthless and licentious character did not debar him from the honours of apotheosis, besides those of the imperial obsequies.

† "Statuæ ex eodem et Pario marmore virorum equorumque, miro artificio facta, desuper insident."

Procopius, "De Bello Gothorum," l. i

in the ampler tombs, or sarcophagi, of porphyry destined to occupy recesses in the sepulchral chambers. The murdered Geta was buried in the tomb of the Septimian family, still extant in ruin, on the Appian Way. Henceforth the great Mausoleum remained shut, and in undisturbed silence till the catastrophe of the Gothic siege and sack, A.D. 409, exposed this, alike with the Augustan monument on the Campus Martius, to barbaric spoliation. What a subject for poet or painter would be that irruption of the fierce soldiery led by Alaric, and which perhaps occurred on the first night of their triumph over the captured city, into the hitherto inviolate halls of the imperial dead! It is certain that before the Gothic war and sieges of Rome in the VI. century, this mausoleum had been fortified. Gibbon concludes that it was first so utilized by Belisarius in his preparations for defending the city before the siege, A.D. 537; but the fact that it was long previously called "*Carcer Theodorici*," seems to justify the inference that the Ostrogothic king, Theodoric, had first converted this sepulchre into a castle, and perhaps during his sojourn in Rome, A.D. 500. During that long Gothic war which commenced in 536, the building was attacked by those invaders under their king Vitiges, and defended by the Greek soldiers of Belisarius. The Goths attempted to take it by escalade, and at this emergency the Greeks adopted the expedient of hurling down from the battlements the classic sculptures, colossal statues and others, by which they succeeded in repelling the assailants at infinite loss to the interests of art. All those precious sculptures, sacrificed by the Vandalism not of barbarians but Greeks,* lay for ages buried in earth, before

* "*Communi tamen consensu, diffractis marmoreis istis vastisque simulachris, ex eorum fragmentis ingentia saxa in hostium capite superne devolvunt; Gothi vero percussi oppugnationem remittunt.*"

Procopius, Li.

a few were at last recovered. In the time of Urban VIII. some works for deepening the moat of the castle led to the exhuming of the celebrated statue of the Faun, now at Munich, known by the name of that Pope's relatives (into whose hands it first passed) as the "Barbarini Faun." Subsequently was found the other statue of a Faun dancing, now in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence; also a colossal bust of Hadrian, now in the Vatican. Knowing what was the revival and the liberal encouragement of Art (especially sculpture) under that Emperor, we may imagine the merits of the rest among those antiques not hitherto exhumed. It is said that a bronze pine-cone crowned the apex of the mausoleum; this and two bronze peacocks (symbols of immortality), which probably stood beside the sole original entrance, were placed in the outer court (the *paradisus*) before S. Peter's by Pope Symmachus (498-514)—long previous to their removal to their actual place in a garden of the Vatican palace. In 549 the "castle of Theodoric" was taken by the Gothic soldiers of Totila from a Greek garrison; the latter having sustained a vigorous assault before they capitulated, urged by famine, after which all (with exception of their captains) passed over to the enemy. Thus did the classic mausoleum become a stronghold of Gothic invaders, who held it during three years, namely, till the occupation of Rome by Narses after Totila's death. After that final success of the Greeks, which terminated the Gothic war in Italy, the hostile garrison surrendered on condition of safety to life for all in this fortress.

The year 590 is the date assigned to the event in which originated (according to legend) the new name for this fortified sepulchre. A dreadful pestilence visited Rome in that year, and among the victims was the Pope, Pelagius II., elected (578) whilst the city was beleaguered by the invading Longobards. The saintly successor to that pontiff,

Gregory I., had scarcely entered upon his sacred office before he ordered, as means for deprecating the Divine wrath and exciting such piety as might console or strengthen the afflicted, a great penitential procession including all orders of the clergy and citizens of both sexes. Arriving at the bridge (then called that of S. Peter) built by Hadrian as an approach to his tomb, the holy Pontiff saw, hovering over that antique pile, an Angel sheathing a sword, while celestial voices were heard chanting the anthem, now introduced by the Church in her Vesper-office: *Regina coeli, laetare, quia quem meruisti portare resurrexit, sicut dixit, Alleluja*;—to which S. Gregory responded: *Ora pro nobis Deum, alleluja!* But many centuries passed before the “Castle of S. Angelo” became a familiar term. Alternately known as *carcer* and *castrum*, it is called by the Anonymous of Einsiedlin (about A.D. 800) the *Adrianum*; subsequently, from the tenth century, the *arx* or *turris Crescentii*; other names, given to it in the *Mirabilia*, and in documents of the XIIth century, being *templum*, and *castellum Adriani*. S. Peter Damian (XI. century) is one of the first who calls it, in reference to that miraculous manifestation, the “Mountain of the Angel”—*montem qui dicitur S. Angeli*.*

The period, in the X. century, during which this castle (as the sepulchre may now be called) was the stronghold of a usurping and profligate faction, headed by the notorious

* In the procession of the Roman parochial clergy from the S. Marco church to S. Peter's, on S. Mark's day, the Canons of S. Maria Maggiore and the Franciscan Friars of Aracoeli (both which churches claim to possess the identical Madonna-picture said to have been carried by Pope S. Gregory in the penitential solemnities during the plague), so soon as they arrive at the S. Angelo bridge join in the chanted antiphon: *Regina coeli, lactare*—thus commemorating the vision of the Archangel over the Mole of Hadrian.

Marozia (daughter of one Theophylactus, who bore the title of patrician, duke, and "Senator Romanorum"), and by her successive husbands, has been often dwelt on and held up to due opprobrium by historians, especially by the contemporary Luitprand, Bishop of Cremona.*

From A.D. 974 this castle was held for several years by Crescentius, a daring leader of energetic spirit, whose object was to put down the temporal domination of the Popes. For this purpose he raised up an Antipope (Francone, a Cardinal Deacon), who conspired with him against the legitimately elected Benedict VI. That ill-fated Pontiff was arrested, imprisoned, and after a short time strangled, in his same building. With the complicity of the pretender, Crescentius doomed to similar fate another Pontiff, John XIV., who was here also imprisoned and put to death, either by starvation or poisoning, 984. Another Antipope was raised up for brief usurpation by Crescentius. Otho II., the young German Emperor, arrived in Rome A.D. 998, accompanied by the legitimate Pontiff, Gregory V., who had been driven from his throne and See. The Castle, after several assaults by the troops under that Emperor, was captured, but on terms of surrender with guarantee for the life of Crescentius, notwithstanding which that leader was almost immediately put to death—either decapitated, with twelve of his followers, or thrown down from the battlements, and afterwards hanged from a beam. Still more to the reproach

* Marozia's first husband was Alberic, Consul of Rome and Marquis of Camerino; the second, Guido, Duke or Marquis of Tuscany; the third, Hugo, Marquis of Provence, who was elected King of Italy, and crowned at Pavia, A. D. 926. Her son by the first marriage, Alberic, excited a revolt against his step-father, the foreign King, who was compelled to escape from the castle by stealth, after which Marozia was mercilessly consigned to imprisonment within the same gloomy walls by her own son, and (it seems) for the rest of her life.

of the victor were the wrongs of Crescentius's widow, Stefania, now exposed to brutal outrage, which she avenged—if a romantic story be true,—by Otho's death. Having gained his confidence, and become either his wife or favourite, she is said to have administered the poison of which that Emperor died, A.D. 1002.—(Bollandists, *Acta*, 16 *Martii*.)

In 1063 the “tower of Crescentius,” as this edifice was called after the events above alluded to, was occupied by another chief of the same name, probably descended from the former, who supported another Antipope, Cadolaus, and was besieged by the citizens, faithful to their legitimate Pontiff, Alexander II. This siege lasted for two years (with what damage to the edifice may be inferred), till finally terminated by the withdrawal of Cadolaus, unable longer to sustain his pretensions. In 1084 a third Crescentius gave refuge within these walls to the heroic Gregory VII. while his most deadly foe, the Emperor Henry IV, occupied Rome with a German army; but the intervention of the Norman, Robert Guiscard, saved the much-tried Pontiff from foreign and domestic foes. In 1099, Urban II. obtained the Castle by armed force from the party of the Antipope, Guibertus, who had held it for eight years. In 1130 were elected on the same day the Pope historically ranking as legitimate, Innocent II., and Anacletus II., considered an Antipope. The latter long maintained his pretensions by armed force against the rival claimant, defending himself in this castle till the better accredited cause of Innocent

* “Incidit in insidias mulicris malae, videlicet ejus cujus virum Crescentium, sibi rebellantem, captum jusserat capitalem subire sententiam; et ab illa non praeccavens, quamvis a sancto viro sapientius esset commonitus, veneno intra cubiculum dormiens infectus est.”—*Life of St. Heribert*, Archbishop of Cologne.

railed. Again was the "S. Angelo" assailed, now by Emperor Frederick I. in 1167, but defended with valour by the troops of Pope Alexander III. It was occupied by Robert of Naples during the Papal residence at Avignon, that King opposing the Emperor Louis VII., who came to Rome for his coronation in 1313; it was seized by the popular party, risen against the nobles, opposing the Guelphic and Ghibelline cause, after the deposition of that German Emperor; and subsequently

held by a democratic leader invested with dictatorial power, Arlotto degli Stefaneschi, who banished several noble families, demolished their towers, and *destined* Adrian's Mausoleum for the same fate, from which it was rescued by the timely interference of the Orsini, who continued to be chatelains of this fortress for many years. Pope Sixtus IV. abode within these walls during a few days; and Gregory XI., at the close of the first act in his life's marvellous career, did he take flight.* On the arrival of Gregory XI.

At Avignon, bent on restoring the Holy See to Rome, the garrisons of the Castle were sent to him at Corneto, where he died, 1376. A French chatelain joined the cause of the Pope, raised up against his immediate successor, Urban V., and made war from this fortress against the citizens, who, to avenge themselves, became the aggressors in turn, besieged the Castle during a whole year, till the garrison was constrained by famine to surrender, 1378.

After this the enraged citizens, whose homes had been consumed by fire or demolished by the missiles hurled from the

On the 15th of December, 1347, a movement having been raised against him, (the Tribune), he retired into the Castle with an escort of men, whilst his wife fled from Rome in the disguise of a friar. Afterwards Rienzo attempted, but in vain, to assemble the people at the Capitol by the well-known signal of the bell. After this he fled to his native land. "Vita di Cola Rienzo," edited by Muratori, and (later) by G. B. de' Rossi, from a contemporary writer.

battlements, attempted to destroy the entire building. But the stupendous strength of its ancient masonry baffled their efforts; the mausoleum still stood after the fortress had been dismantled; and thus did it remain, a desolate and useless, but no doubt grandly picturesque ruin, till restored, and again converted into a fortress, about the close of the XIV. century, by Pope Boniface IX. It is described, in its mutilated state, by an eye-witness, Theodoric da Niem, writing in the same century. That onset by the Roman people had so far succeeded as entirely to deprive the imperial monument of all that remained of its classic ornamentation, and all that indicated its architectural character in antiquity—marble incrustations, cornices, and sepulchral slabs left *in situ*. All the marble was stripped off and used for paving streets; two only of the epitaphs being spared, and left in their places till the XVI century. During the interval that the building remained in such desolate state, goats browsed among these ruins. Pope Boniface IX., before ordering the renewed fortifications, took the precaution of forbidding the removal of the travertine stones and blocks of marble, which, it seems, all who wanted them were accustomed to carry away—as the ruins of the Colosseum used to be alike treated in former ages. The actual state of the stonework in the lower part of the rotunda shows traces of the efforts to destroy, after stripping it of its outer crust. Another writer who saw these ruins about A.D. 1329, Benvenuto di Rambaldi, a commentator on Dante, represents them as more damaged than we might infer from the words of the above-named Theodoric: *istud sumptuosum opus destructum et prostratum est* (“that magnificent structure is now destroyed and levelled with the ground.”)

Henceforth we have to consider the Mole of Hadrian as a fortress of the Popes, developed to its present state in the

VII. century ; the antique being preserved but in its lower portion, the rest entirely modern. We easily discern the line of demarcation between the massive travertine of the imperial monument and the brickwork of the fortress. Its aspect, however, (even in this modern phase) must once have been far more picturesque than at present. In Sanallo's drawing — see the series executed by him A.D. 1465 — it looks, in frowning grandeur, like a suitable scene for tragic mance ; the upper part crowned with high square towers and turreted battlements ; the whole girt by a cincture of bastions with massive round towers ; two quadrangular bulwarks flanking the extremity of the bridge, then so connected with these outworks that passengers would actually stand within the fortress after crossing the river. Marinus (1588) describes its " double cincture of fortifications, a large round tower at the extremity of the bridge ; two towers at a certain distance with high pinnacles, and the passage on their summits ; the river flowing all around." A rude title woodcut, in Gamucci's *Antichità Romane*, shows this castle as it stood about the year 1560. John XXIII. added, about 1411, the long corridor connecting the castle with the Vatican palace, and which was restored first by Alexander L., next by Urban VIII. in 1630. This gallery is carried along the northern side of the Leonine City, over those walls of the IX. century which have for the most part disappeared ; communicating between the Palace and the castle by two passages, the keys of which are kept by the pope, — the lower lit only by loopholes ; the upper, like a roofed loggia, open on both sides. The whole upper part of the great rotunda was twice restored, in the second instance entirely rebuilt, by Alexander VI. (1495), after that enormous structure, now converted into a donjon-keep, had been struck by lightning which, reaching a powder-magazine, used a fire destructive to all the modern building of brick-

work. Above the restored donjon-keep (as we may now call the fortified rotunda) the same Pope erected a ponderous square tower, still standing amidst later adjuncts. When other works were undertaken with the object of repairing the damage done in the siege by the troops of Bourbon (1527), the castellated portions of the "S. Angelo" were mostly renewed or enlarged by Pope Paul III., himself an eye-witness of the sack and massacre by those savage mercenaries. The unfortunate Clement VII. was besieged in this fortress, whilst the whole city was occupied by the invading army under the Prince of Orange (successor to the Bourbon killed at the first assault) from the 6th of May till June 5th, 1527. Not till the 13th August was he able to return, with the thirteen Cardinals who had shared his sufferings, and almost famine itself, in the beleaguered castle, to the Vatican palace, where he was guarded in sight by a Spanish officer, who (as an Italian writer, Moroni, reports) "treated the Vicar of Christ as if he had been a chief of brigands." Not being able to advance the entire amount exacted for his ransom, 400,000 gold scudi, he was again consigned to captivity in the same gloomy fortress, where he remained till the night (8th December, 1527) when he effected his perilous escape, in the disguise of a merchant, and with the tiara-jewels sewed up in the folds of his dress, as ingeniously contrived by Benvenuto Cellini, a fellow-prisoner. Under the escort of Luigi Gonzaga, the Pope now fled to Orvieto, where he passed six months in a dilapidated episcopal palace; thence removing to Viterbo, being able to return thence to Rome in October, 1528.

When we look down from the S. Angelo battlements at the present day, enjoying the grand panorama of the City, Campagna and mountains thence seen, the eye follows the long line of the covered corridor carried partly on arches, partly upon the old Leonine walls of the IX. century, to

the Vatican. That communication between the castle and palace reminds us of its founder, the notorious Baldassare Cossa, an unworthy Pope as John XXIII., deposed by the Council of Constance, 1415 ; of the Borgia, Alexander VI., who escaped through this way to the place of refuge on, or soon after, the evening when Charles VIII. entered Rome with a formidable army—the last night of the year 1494 ; also of the ill-fated Clement VII., who from that corridor beheld, as he passed, the horrible Saturnalia of bloodshed and license, pillage and sacrilege in the worst possible excess, after his capital had been entered by the hordes of the Constable Bourbon.*

After these events the S. Angelo Castle was held undisturbed by pontific garrisons till 1798, when a French army, 9000 strong, took possession of Rome. A shock, the reverberation of revolutionary violence, had previously inflicted damage on the fortress-buildings accumulated together

* The Pope and his counsellors were so paralyzed at the crisis of danger that no orders were given to provision the castle till the enemy were within the city's walls. More than 3000 persons, including thirteen Cardinals (there were then eighteen of the Sacred College in Rome) took refuge in that fortress, exposed to the horrors of siege and famine. For many days before the attack, a wild-looking fanatic, called, or calling himself, the "Prophet of Siena," had been denouncing judgment against the Capital of the Church, and calling on her citizens to repent. Portents and omens were said to have occurred, as was stated by credible witnesses. The consecrated Host fell from the illuminated altar of the "Sepulchre" in the Papal chapel on the Good Friday previous. A Madonna in S. Maria Traspontina, near S. Peter's, was struck by lightning, which broke to pieces the image of the Infant in her arms, and threw her crown, all shattered, on the pavement. It is estimated that the value of precious objects (many of the highest artistic merits) destroyed or made prey, was more than six millions of gold florins. The amount of ransoms imposed for the release of persons detained captive in their own houses, or elsewhere, is said to have been nearly as much. c. "Il Sacco di Roma", and Muratori, *Annali*.

in the ampler tombs, or sarcophagi, of porphyry destined to occupy recesses in the sepulchral chambers. The murdered Geta was buried in the tomb of the Septimian family, still extant in ruin, on the Appian Way. Henceforth the great Mausoleum remained shut, and in undisturbed silence till the catastrophe of the Gothic siege and sack, A.D. 409, exposed this, alike with the Augustan monument on the Campus Martius, to barbaric spoliation. What a subject for poet or painter would be that irruption of the fierce soldiery led by Alaric, and which perhaps occurred on the first night of their triumph over the captured city, into the hitherto inviolate halls of the imperial dead! It is certain that before the Gothic war and sieges of Rome in the VI. century, this mausoleum had been fortified. Gibbon concludes that it was first so utilized by Belisarius in his preparations for defending the city before the siege, A.D. 537; but the fact that it was long previously called "*Carcer Theodorici*," seems to justify the inference that the Ostrogothic king, Theodoric, had first converted this sepulchre into a castle, and perhaps during his sojourn in Rome, A.D. 500. During that long Gothic war which commenced in 536, the building was attacked by those invaders under their king Vitiges, and defended by the Greek soldiers of Belisarius. The Goths attempted to take it by escalade, and at this emergency the Greeks adopted the expedient of hurling down from the battlements the classic sculptures, colossal statues and others, by which they succeeded in repelling the assailants at infinite loss to the interests of art. All those precious sculptures, sacrificed by the Vandalism not of barbarians but Greeks,* lay for ages buried in earth, before

* "*Communi tamen consensu, diffractis marmoreis istis vastisque simulachris, ex eorum fragmentis ingentia saxa in hostium capite superne devolvunt; Gothi vero percussi oppugnationem remittunt.*"

Procopius, L.i.

a few were at last recovered. In the time of Urban VIII. some works for deepening the moat of the castle led to the exhuming of the celebrated statue of the Faun, now at Munich, known by the name of that Pope's relatives (into whose hands it first passed) as the "Barbarini Faun." Subsequently was found the other statue of a Faun dancing, now in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence; also a colossal bust of Hadrian, now in the Vatican. Knowing what was the revival and the liberal encouragement of Art (especially sculpture) under that Emperor, we may imagine the merits of the rest among those antiques not hitherto exhumed. It is said that a bronze pine-cone crowned the apex of the mausoleum; this and two bronze peacocks (symbols of immortality), which probably stood beside the sole original entrance, were placed in the outer court (the *paradisus*) before S. Peter's by Pope Symmachus (498-514)—long previous to their removal to their actual place in a garden of the Vatican palace. In 549 the "castle of Theodoric" was taken by the Gothic soldiers of Totila from a Greek garrison; the latter having sustained a vigorous assault before they capitulated, urged by famine, after which all (with exception of their captains) passed over to the enemy. Thus did the classic mausoleum become a stronghold of Gothic invaders, who held it during three years, namely, till the occupation of Rome by Narses after Totila's death. After that final success of the Greeks, which terminated the Gothic war in Italy, the hostile garrison surrendered on condition of safety to life for all in this fortress.

The year 590 is the date assigned to the event in which originated (according to legend) the new name for this fortified sepulchre. A dreadful pestilence visited Rome in that year, and among the victims was the Pope, Pelagius II., elected (578) whilst the city was beleaguered by the invading Longobards. The saintly successor to that pontiff,

Horror-striking dungeons, visited by no ray of sun-light nor breath of fresh air, are shown in the buildings added, or restored, by Alexander VI. above the antique basement of the S. Angelo fortress. We may ask respecting the victims doomed to such awful solitude :—

How left they not

Life, or the soul's life, quenched on such sepulchral spot ?

After seeing the famous prisons of Venice, and those almost as dreadful (but known to have been long unused) below the palace of the Inquisition, behind the colonnades of S. Peter's, I can compare nothing of the description to those grave-like cells in the fortified mausoleum. Yet there are still greater horrors within the same guilt-stained walls. Below the floors of other dark chambers we look down into abysses of seemingly measureless depth, the oubliettes (*italicé, trabocchette*), which the lowered torch shows to be of regular formation like circular pits, lined with solid masonry. Two only can be seen ; but we are told of *thirty* similar in formation, now to great extent filled up with soil or débris, in this fortress of the Popes. Into these abysses were victims thrown whose fate was long left secret—their remains never being found. Among others doomed to such a death, was, probably, the young and gallant Astorre di Manfredi, lord of Faenza, the captive (after that city had been taken by siege) and innocent victim of Cesare Borgia.* Remembering that these dungeons and inventions of atrocity are attributable to potentates styling themselves Vicars of Christ on earth, it seems to me that one could not adduce more telling proof, in every sense condemnatory,

* It is certain that this last of the Manfredi who held sway at Faenza, disappeared, no more to be heard of, after he had been brought to Rome and imprisoned in the S. Angelo Castle.

against the union of temporal and spiritual power in priestly hands : *Si monumentum quæris, circumspice !*

A curious record of the mediæval notions as to what the "Mole of Hadrian" was in its majestic completeness, is before us among the reliefs seen on the bronze portals of St. Peter's, executed by Filarete, A.D. 1431. The edifice is there fantastically represented in the foreground of the scene of St. Peter's martyrdom—such an idea of its vanished architecture being, it is said, founded on an allusion to it in one of the sermons of Pope S. Leo, quoted by the chronicler Pietro Manlio.

Humbler, but interesting, places of sepulture have been brought to light within Rome's walls during recent years. In 1864 was discovered the monument of the Sempronii family, on the western declivity of the Quirinal hill, found in the course of works for rebuilding offices, etc., connected with the pontific palace. An inscription announces that this was the sepulchre of Cneius Sempronius, of his daughter, his sister, and mother ; the style of the letters indicating an early period, about the last years of the Republic. It is a stately tomb, built of massive stonework ; an arch of ample span opening in the centre of its elevation, and a broad frieze, with well-executed reliefs, palm-branches and foliate designs, along the upper part. Like the tomb of Bibulus, it marks the limits of the Servian walls on this hill-side, where, higher up on the Quirinal steep, was found a solid fragment of those fortifications, swept away in the works for making the ascent more facile by a winding road. We look down upon the Sempronian monument from a much higher ground than that on which it rises ; its actual situation affording proof of the changes of level so singularly brought about in the course of time and vicissitudes at Rome.

In 1860 was opened a Columbarium divided into three

chambers, in the beautiful gardens of the Wolkonski Villa on the Cœlian Hill. An epigraph, extant on its front, informs us that this belonged to Claudius Vitalis, an architect, and his family. The style of the Roman letters and the fine brickwork here indicate a date within the first century of our era. Several epitaphs and relics of the dead in some of the terra cotta *ollæ* are still seen in the sepulchral chambers; in one, which is the darkest, some remnants of painting, figures and heads, adorn the walls. The ivy-clothed arcades of the Neronian Aqueduct pass through this pleasant garden; and through the scarcely ruinous arches we have glimpses of a never-to-be forgotten landscape—the gracefully formed Latian Hills in the distance, southwards; the dusky walls and towers of Aurelian and Honorius in the foreground, and, nearer still, the Lateran with the S. Croce basilica. Elsewhere, it is antiquity alone which claims our attention; here, it is the harmony between majestic ruins, historic memories, and the ever-youthful charm of imperishable Nature. We may here raise our thoughts from amidst the tombs of Heathenism to the contemplation of that world whose Divine Author declared of Himself, when invested with the garb of humanity, “I am the Resurrection and the Life.”

I cannot in these pages consider the wide range of monuments on the Roman Compagna; but may mention some memorable specimens, finest of the description yet brought to light in or around the ancient City, of classical Roman Art applied to the decoration of the sepulchre—namely, in the patrician tombs situated on high ground beside the Via Latina, about two miles beyond the Porta S. Giovanni. Excavations begun on this site by an enterprising gentleman, Signor Fortunati, 1858, led to the disinterment (as one may say) of a primitive Christian basilica, S. Stephen's, reduced to low substructions in decay, and also the far-

extending ruins, chambers and passages containing many such relics as epigraphs, busts, coins, fragmentary sculptures, of a sumptuous villa belonging to different patrician families in succession—first the Servilii; last, the Anicii, ancestors of S. Gregory the Great. Along the ancient way, the pavement of which is now to much extent uncovered, stand conspicuous sepulchres of the class called *heroa*—which unite the character of the oratory and the tomb—divided into two storeys, the lower being subterranean. One, with a tetrastyle portico upon the road-side, has two chambers in the lower storey, reached by a double flight of steps. The vaulted roof of the inner chamber is adorned with bas-reliefs in stucco, all preserved so perfectly that in no part are sharpness of touch or delicacy of execution impaired by the hand of time: the subjects mythical and finely imagined—Nymphs and Nereids seated in graceful attitudes on fabulous animals swimming in water, Nymphs and Fauns dancing, &c.; the floating grace of movement in some figures, the dignity of repose in others, the freedom of design in all claiming the highest praise. Remains of marble pavement are here extant; and the walls were encrusted with the same material, torn off apparently with violence. Three marble sarcophagi, all broken by despoilers, with reliefs in good style, were also found here. The outer chamber contains another sarcophagus, in like manner injured. The *siglae* on tiles, found among these ruins, enable dates to be determined as corresponding to A.D. 159, 160; thus may we refer to the period of the Antonine Emperors all the decorative art so admirable and well-preserved on this ground. At a short distance we find another tomb of the same class, and with its upper storey now ruinous and roofless, retaining still, however, a mosaic pavement, on which is the figure of the dolphin, emblem of the voyage to the Elysian shores. We descend by steps, in darkness, leading to the

chambers of the lower storey—not (as in the case of the other sepulchre) into an open atrium. Here we enter two vaulted halls, alike in darkness. The outer contains some sculptured sarcophagi and wall-paintings of inferior character. The inner is enriched with exquisite decorations, partly in painting, partly in stucco-relief: groups and single figures, miniature landscape with architectural foregrounds, ornamental borders most graceful in design, showing what fairy delicacy could be displayed in decorative art, and how suggestive was the Mythology of the ancients. Eight of these subjects are landscape with small groups; the rest (relievi) are of the mythologic and poetic class: at the centre of the vault, Jupiter with his eagle; at the sides, the Judgment of Paris, Priam begging the body of Hector from Achilles, Thetis appearing to Achilles whilst he plays on the lyre, Mercury with Jupiter, and Ceres in her chariot drawn by a lion and a boar; below these the figures, with attributes, of Mercury, Bacchus, Apollo, Mars; and near the angles at the springing of the vault, the four Seasons. A large but plain sarcophagus, in this chamber, still contains the skeletons of two bodies, divided from each other by a partition, and visible when the custode introduces a taper through a cavity. This rudely fashioned tomb is, no doubt, more ancient than the sepulchral building in which it is placed. Other sarcophagi, in the same chamber, have relievi on their fronts (the usual mystic subjects referring to the state of the dead), in which a superior style indicates about the same period as that of the decorations on the vault and walls—the second century of our era. In the outer chamber the paintings, birds and animals, on the walls, and the sculpture on the sarcophagi, laid along a broad ledge or platform, are alike in point of art inferior; among the bas-reliefs are the medallion heads of a married pair, with a touching epitaph. Here, as frequently in the Christian “cata-

combs," the intended portraits of the dead have been first blocked out in the marble and left unfinished.

On one late occasion, when I was visiting the inner chamber of this painted sepulchre, the custode lit a classic lamp on the old sarcophagus placed in the midst, and was so obliging as to leave me alone. Never shall I forget that scene in the dim twilight faintly displaying the beautiful decorations of the splendid tomb-chamber. Assuredly, if outward circumstances could favour the idea or hope of communion with the Departed, if the thrilling sense of *their* presence could be deemed the earnest of such solemn privilege as indeed attainable, here might such idea or hope possess the mind. Whom might we not desire to summon from the procession passed into the Spirit-land, in such a sanctuary?

CHAPTER XI.

TRIUMPHAL ARCHES, FORA, MEMORIAL COLUMNS.

As the arch of Constantine forms, through its sculptures illustrating that Emperor's career, a link between the Heathen and Christian monuments of Rome, so does that of Titus, through the far superior reliefs on its marble surface, connect the memorials of the great Empire with those of Judaic nationality and worship, presenting to us, reflected, as it were, on the mirror of classic art, the fate of an extraordinary people identified with a still revered religious system, the local establishment and hierarchy of which it was Rome's part to overthrow. Both these triumphal arches are like signs and trophies of a mighty instrumentality appointed for the accomplishment of tasks which variously tended to promote the cause of the civilization allied with Christian faith.

The conquest of Jerusalem, strikingly recorded on the more ancient of those arches, took place after a siege which had lasted five months and a half, from the first investment of the city, in September, A.D. 70. Vespasian had charged his son to open his fourth campaign with this enterprise; Titus having at that time 80,000 men under his command, while the Jews had not more than 24,000 well-armed soldiers for the defence of their city, though a multitude of zealots were ever ready to take part as irregular combatants in the unequal contest. The first assault was made on the 23rd April, the last day of the Paschal week; and on the 6th May the assailants entered through a breach in the walls, though not at once to obtain mastery over more than the lower civic quarters within the double cincture of forti-

fications. The Temple was plundered, set on fire and destroyed, notwithstanding all the efforts of Titus to save it, probably on the 2nd September, A.D. 70—according to Josephus at the date (the 10th of the Hebrew month Ab) precisely 1130 years, 7 months, and 15 days from its first foundation by Solomon, 539 years and 45 days from its restoration under Cyrus.* Though Jerusalem had

* Josephus thus narrates the catastrophe, after stating that Titus had encamped with his whole army around the Temple on the morning chosen for the attack: “As for that house (the temple), God had, for certain, long ago doomed it to the fire, and now the fatal day was come, according to the revolution of ages.—These flames took their rise from the Jews themselves, and were occasioned by them; for upon Titus retiring, the seditious lay still for a little while, and then attacked the Romans again, when those that guarded the holy house fought with those who quenched the fire that was burning the inner courts of the temple; but these Romans put the Jews to flight, and proceeded as far as the holy house itself. At which time one of the soldiers, without staying for any orders, and without any concern or dread upon him, and being hurried only by a certain divine fury, snatched somewhat out of the materials that were on fire, and, being lifted by another soldier, set fire to a golden window, through which there was a passage to the rooms round about the holy house, on the north side of it. As the flames rose the Jews made a great clamour—and spared not their lives nor suffered anything to restrain their force, since that holy house was perishing.” The historian goes on to describe the terrific scenes of conflict and massacre, lamentation and horror that ensued, and the vain efforts of Titus to quench the flames for the rescue of the sacred building; how the young Cæsar (as he is here styled) went with his chief captains into the Holy of Holies, “and saw it, with what was in it, which he found to be far superior to what the foreigners had related, and not inferior to what we (the Jews) boast of.” He made a last effort to save that most sacred part; but the “hope of plunder induced many to go on, seeing that all round about it was made of gold; and one of them that went into the (holy) place prevented Cæsar, when he ran so hastily out to restrain the soldiers, and threw fire upon the hinges of the gate in the dark, whereby the flames burst out from within.” From this moment all was lost;

been taken by siege seventeen times, it had only once been totally overthrown (by Nebuchadnezzar) before its final destruction by the Romans. Even the ground on which the sacred city had stood was ploughed up by the soldiers under Titus, the order for this being induced by knowledge of the practice, common among Oriental people, of burying money and other valuable objects in earth during troublous times. That young prince, so renowned for clemency after he had succeeded his father on the throne, caused numbers of the Jews taken captive beyond the gates to be crucified within sight of their fellow citizens; and though life had been promised to all who should submit, those who passed over to the Roman camp, craving mercy, were mostly massacred. The statement of Josephus that 1,100,000 Jews perished during the siege is questionable, indeed incredible; but it is certain that Titus, reserving only those who had personal advantages to grace his triumph, ordered all the captives above seventeen years of age to be drafted off to the quarries of Egypt, or condemned to fight as gladiators, and all the children to be sold into slavery. Josephus also states that 11,000 Jews perished from starvation, and that, in the whole course of the war, 90,000 were made prisoners. Awful portents were rumoured of, and believed, in the doomed city before those events: phantom warriors and chariots had been seen battling in the air; the gates of the Temple had burst open of their own accord; and on the solemn day of Pentecost preternatural voices were heard in the Holy of Holies, uttering the words, "Let us depart hence," while the sacred interior was illumined with light that outshone its golden lamps, and its golden walls shook as though invi-

the intruders were forced to quit the burning sanctuary, Titus and his captains with the rest. "Thus was the holy place burnt down without Cæsar's approbation."—Whiston's "Josephus," B. vi. c. iv.

sible beings were rushing forth, and the Divine Presence deserting that once glorious fane.* After the conquest the tribute of two drachmas, which every Jew had given annually to that sanctuary of his religion, was required to be transferred to the lately restored fane of Jupiter on the Capitol.

Titus, associated by his father in the imperial government, shared the honours of the triumph with Vespasian; this being the 321st among such celebrations at Rome. The triumphal arch was erected by the Senate after the younger Emperor's death, as implied in the term, "divus," given to him in the epigraph still on its south-eastern front: *Senatus Populusque Romanus Divo Tito Divi Vespasiani F(ilio) Vespasiano Augusto*. One may regret that another epigraph, dug up near this monument, was not replaced, besides that in large letters on its attic—the former expressing the political tradition as to the importance of the conquest in Palestine, and the hitherto impregnable strength of the ancient metropolis which the Romans destroyed.†

* "Portents and prodigies announced the ruin of the city.—Swords were seen glittering in the air; embattled armies appeared, and the temple was illuminated by a stream of light, that issued from the heavens. The portal flew open, and a voice more than human denounced the immediate departure of the gods (*audita major humana vox: Excedere Deos.*) There was heard, at the same time, a tumultuous and terrific sound, as if superior beings were actually rushing forth." (Tacitus, *Hist.* l. v.—Murphy's translation.) Josephus reports the mysterious words according to the received tradition, as above: *μεταβαίνωμεν ἐντεῦθεν*—"Let us depart hence." He describes the supernatural lustre seen by night in the sanctuary, as a portent which preceded the breaking out of the war and invasion.

† After the names and titles of Titus, this epigraph sets forth that, under the auspices and with the aid of his father, the young prince *gentem Judæorum domuit, et Urbem Hierosolymam. omnibus ante se ducibus, regibus, gentibusque aut frustra petitam aut omnino intentatam. delevit.*

The rilievi on the arch before us, among the finest of Græco-Roman art, represent on the inner sides the procession of the triumph, in which Titus appears standing in his quadriga, led by the personified Roma, whilst a winged Victoria places a laurel-wreath on his head ; opposite to this, a group of soldiers carrying the spoils of the temple (probably concealed before the desecration and burning of that edifice), namely, the seven-branching candelabrum, the golden altar for incense, and the silver trumpets ; also such standards, with the inscribed names of victories or subjugated places, as were always borne in triumphal processions. On the key-stones are relief-statuettes of the personified City and the Genius of the Roman People, the latter with a cornucopia and a patera in her hands. At the spandrils of the arch we see larger figures of the winged Victoria ; and along a frieze, miniature rilievi of the same procession, in which oxen are led to the sacrifice in the temple of Jove on the Capitol, and an image of an old man, the personified Jordan, is carried on a stage.* Josephus states that the books of the Mosaic Law were also exhibited among the spoils of victory.† In the triumphal procession

* The Christian historian Orosius sees a mystic import and manifestation of divine vengeance in the fact that an imperial father and son thus triumphed together over the fallen Jerusalem : “*Pulchrum et ignotum antea cunctis mortalibus inter trecentum viginti triumphos, qui a conditione Urbis usque ad id tempus acti erant, hoc spectaculum fuit, patrem et filium uno triumphale curru vectos, gloriosissimam ab his, qui Patrem et Filium offenderant, victoriam reportasse.*”

† The description of the triumph by Josephus, (B. viii. c. v.), an eyewitness, is the most trustworthy, as well as fullest in details: Vespasian and Titus, he tells us, passed the night previous in the Temple of Isis ; crowned with laurel, and clad in purple silk robes, they met the senators, magistrates and knights in the morning at the portico of Octavia, where both took their seats on ivory chairs, while all the soldiers made acclamations, after which both Emperors (now co-reigning) offered prayer to the

Vespasian appeared first in his chariot, Titus next in another chariot, and after him Domitian, magnificently attired, riding on a noble steed. The arch was dedicated to Titus alone by his brother and successor, Domitian, and probably was not finished till several years after the former Emperor's death—as has been conjectured, not till the reign of Trajan. The admirable sculptures upon it have so suffered from time that few of the heads, scarcely one entire figure remains complete ; and the whole structure has been modernized, rather than restored, by the works carried out for repair of the antique marble in travertine, by order of Pius VII., 1822. The fluted columns, which

gods. Thence proceeding to the Porta Triumphalis, both, after tasting food and assuming the triumphal garments, offered sacrifice before images of deities, and passed through that gateway, marching first through the theatres on the grand procession to the Forum and Capitol. Among the countless treasures and precious objects of silver, gold, and ivory, were carried “images of the gods, wonderful for their largeness, and made very artificially and with great skill, nor any of other than costly material.” Next were carried “pageants, many of them so made that they were on three, or even four, storeys, upon many of which were laid carpets of gold, with wrought gold and ivory fastened about them all.” Also were displayed “resemblances” (paintings?) of scenes in the Judaic war: —“a happy country laid waste, and squadrons of enemies slain; walls of great altitude overthrown, the strongest fortifications taken; populous cities seized on, and an army pouring itself within the walls”—these representations, as well as the other objects, being carried by a multitude of men in purple garments interwoven with gold. After the “pageants” came “a great number of ships, and other spoils in great plenty;” those from the Temple of Jerusalem being most conspicuous, i.e. “the golden table of the weight of many talents ; the candlestick also that was made of gold, though its construction was now changed from that which we made use of—last of all the spoils, was carried the Law of the Jews.” Next in the ranks appeared images of Victory, either of ivory or gold ; after these came the two Emperors in their chariots, and Domitian on horseback.

flank the sole archway, present the earliest known example of the composite Roman order. In the middle ages the whole structure was surrounded, and probably concealed, by a fortress of the Frangipani, who incorporated it with the so-called "Turris Chartularia," a great castle the ruins of which still lie strewn near this monument, intermixed with relics of other antiquities. On the summit of the arch itself the Frangipani raised their battlements, or rather another storey, for the purposes of defence ; and the vestiges of that barbaric pile were not removed till the time of the restorations in 1822. In other mediæval periods the name "Arch of the Seven Candlesticks" (*septem lucernarum*), suggested by the reliefs, was that by which this antique was popularly known. Here, beside the trophy of Israel's fall, used to halt the long-drawn procession for the installation of the Popes at the Lateran, whilst a deputation of Jews presented a copy of the Pentateuch to the new Pontiff with professions of loyalty, to which his Holiness responded to the effect that he prized and revered the law given to Moses, but condemned their interpretation of it, seeing that the Messiah, whom they still expected, had already made His advent on earth, the true Son of God and divine Redeemer. At the "possession" of the Lateran, celebrated with more than usual pomp a few months after the election of Pius IX., this observance was omitted. The Arch of Titus awakens an interest due to the personal character of that Emperor, who was styled, as no ruler had been before him, the "Delight of the human race:"—

" 'I've lost a day,' the Prince who nobly cried
Had been an Emperor without his crown."*

He died at the age of forty, A.D. 81, after a reign of little

* Young, "Night Thoughts."

more than two years. When the intelligence of the event (which took place at a villa near Reate) reached Rome, the Senators hastened by night to the Curia, without waiting for the usual summons, and there, with closed doors, pronounced such eulogies on his acts and virtues as exceeded all the homage of praise offered to him when alive. Yet the early career of Titus had given no fair promises, rather excited the worst apprehensions.* A Jewish legend makes his death a signal instance of divine chastisement: the destroyer of the Temple and of the favoured city is said to have died after seven years of dreadful sufferings, caused by a gnat which had crept into his brain, and there grew to the size of a sparrow, having iron claws! (Salvador from the Talmud, quoted by Merivale, "History of the Romans," ch. lx.)

Other memories, more deeply interesting to the Christian mind, are linked with the trophy of victories here before us. The anticipation of a great Deliverer is said to have nerved and stimulated the Jews in their resistance against the invincible Romans; and before we quit the spot where this classic arch presents its historic sculptures to view, it is well to remember the testimony of Heathen writers on this subject. "A persuasion had possession of most of them," says Tacitus, speaking of the conflict at Jerusalem, "that it was contained in the ancient books of the priests that at that very time the East should prevail, and that men who issued from Judea should obtain the Empire. The common people, as is the way with human cupidity, having once interpreted in their own favour this grand destiny, were not even by their reverses brought round to the truth of facts." Suetonius, in the same refer-

* "Praeter saevitiam suspecta in eo luxuria erat—nec minus libido—suspecta et rapacitas—denique propalam alium Neronem et opinabantur et praedicabant."—Sueton. Tit. 7.

ence, says: "The whole East was rife with an old and persistent belief, that at that time persons who issued from Judea should possess the empire." Josephus, whose sympathies were with the Romans, says that his unfortunate countrymen were encouraged in their stand against the invaders by "an ambiguous oracle, found in their sacred writings, that at that date some one of them from that country should rule the world." He pronounces, observes Dr. Newman, "that the oracle was ambiguous; he cannot state that they thought it so."*

It is a tradition that the captives brought from Judea to Rome were forced to labour at the construction of the Titus Arch, as also in the works for building the great amphitheatre and another edifice, or rather group of edifices, founded by Vespasian, the "Forum of Peace,"† which comprised a temple with the same dedication.

It appears that three great buildings occupied the principal space in this Forum: at the centre, the Temple of Peace; laterally, a valuable and famous library, and another edifice in which private citizens used to deposit their wealth for safe preservation. Some have supposed (*v. Canina*, "*Indicazione Topografica di Roma Antica—epoca imperiale*") that the church of *SS. Cosmo e Damiano* stands on the ruins of that last-named building; and that some walls in

* Newman, "Essay in aid of a Grammar of Assent," ch. x. 7.

† "After these triumphs were over—Vespasian resolved to build a temple to Peace, which he finished in so short a time, and in so glorious a manner as was beyond all human expectation and opinion. He had this temple adorned with pictures and statues; for here were collected and deposited all such rarities as men aforesaid used to wander all over the habitable world to see—he also laid up therein those golden vessels and instruments that were taken out of the Jewish temple, as ensigns of his glory. But still he gave order that they should lay up their Law, and the purple veils of the holy place in the royal palace itself, and keep them there."—(Whiston's "Josephus," B. VII. c. v.)

massive quadrate stonework, at one side of that conventual church, belong to the cincture around the Temple of Peace. Later discoveries, as I have shown, correct the notion respecting the ruins on that site. Josephus, who was probably present at the dedication of the new Temple and Forum, A.D. 70, mentions the treasures and precious artworks placed in, or around, that fane by Vespasian, among which latter objects were several of the sculptures brought from Greece by Nero for adorning his "Golden House." The sacred vessels from Jerusalem were also deposited in the Temple of Peace. A mediæval inventory of relics at the Lateran includes all those sacred vessels, as being still preserved in that Cathedral of the Popes.* We are informed of their real fate. The magnificent "Forum Pacis" was devastated by fire, A.D. 191, nor ever, it seems, in any part restored. From that conflagration the vessels of Judaic worship were rescued, to be deposited in some temple on the Palatine. With other spoils they were carried away by the Vandals at the sack of Rome, under Genseric, who trans-

* Vespasian, though not a well educated or literary man, appreciated learning and philosophy. He was the first of the Roman Emperors to assign regular salaries to grammarians and rhetoricians (philosophers and sophists being included among the latter), as well in the provinces as in Rome. To some of that class, both Greeks and Latins, his liberality secured the amount of 800 sterling per annum. (Sueton. *Vesp.* 18). "He is said to have declared that, to maintain the state of public affairs, 40,000 millions of sesterces, or 320 millions sterling, were requisite.—Other writers have proposed to alter *quadringenties* into *quadragies*, i.e. 400 millions, or 32 millions sterling."—"The new Augustus closed once more the temple of Janus, which had stood open since the German wars of the first Princeps; or, according to the computation of the Christian Orosius, from the birth of Christ to the overthrow of the Jewish people." (Merivale, "History of the Romans under the Empire," c. lx.) The coins of the period are stamped with allusions to the peace and prosperity secured by Vespasian: *Pax orbis terrarum—Paci æterni domus Vespasiani*, &c.

ported them to Carthage. When that city was captured and sacked in the victorious African campaign of Belisarius, A.D. 534, the sacred vessels were seized, to be brought to Constantinople. Justinian sent them thence to Jerusalem as donations to different churches ; again from that restored (and now Christian) city were they, for the second time, carried away among spoils of war by the Persians under their king Chosroes, who subdued Palestine and captured its metropolis with the slaughter of 90,000 persons, A.D. 614. The Greek Emperor Heraclius concluded five successful campaigns in Persia with a decisive victory, A.D. 627 ; but, though he recovered and brought back to Jerusalem the reputed relic of the True Cross, he is not known to have found or possessed himself of those sacred vessels from the Temple, which thenceforth disappear, no longer traceable on the historic page.

The Temple of Peace, of which the legend (mentioned by Petrarch) stated that it fell partly into ruin on the night of the Nativity—at the advent of the true Prince of Peace—has completely disappeared, together with the entire aggregate of Vespasian's buildings on his Forum. It appears that some remnants of them were extant till the VI. century, for we are told that up to that period the site of those splendid edifices, near the south-eastern limits of the Forum Romanum, was still known by its ancient name, "Forum of Peace."

From the arch of Titus we may turn to other monuments of similar character, though not all alike to be classed properly among the "triumphal," but serving as landmarks to historic periods, in the successive stages of growth and decline through which Rome's Empire passed.

In the year 8 before our era (A.U.C. 745) was erected the arch on the Appian Way, which stands in striking contrast to the sullen towers and battlements of the adjacent Porta

S. Sebastiano—rebuilt, as we see it, probably by Belisarius. This memorial arch was raised to the honour of Drusus Nero, named also Decimus Claudius, the son of Livia by her first husband, and adopted by Augustus together with his elder brother Tiberius; Drusus being the father of Cæsar Germanicus and the Emperor Claudius, and grandfather to Caius, called Caligula. A distinguished commander in the wars in Germany and Gaul, he was the first Roman who entered the Northern Ocean by means of a canal formed for transporting his ships between the Rhine and the Yssel.* His death, when only in his 30th year, was caused by a fall from his horse on his return with the army from the Elbe to the Rhine, B.C. 9. Tiberius travelled 200 miles in one day for the sake of seeing and attending his brother on his deathbed. The body was brought to Rome; and after a grand funeral, in which the panegyric was pronounced by Augustus, the ashes of Drusus were entombed in that Emperor's mausoleum. The arch was erected conformably to a decree of the Senate, which at the same time conferred the cognomen of Germanicus on the heroic Dead and his posterity in the male line. It was built of travertine encrusted with marble, an equestrian

* His exploits and merits are finely recorded by Horace in the Ode (IV. l. iv.) referring to his victories over the Vindelici and Ræti, against whom the young Drusus was sent, when in his twenty-third year, by Augustus, B.C. 14 :

So the Vindelici young Drusus saw,
Leading war home to their own Rætian Alps :
— enough that hosts
Victorious long and far,
Vanquished in turn by a young arm and brain,
Felt what the mind and what the heart achieves,
When reared and fostered amidst blest abodes,
And with parental love
A Cæsar's soul inspires a Nero's sons.

(Lord Lytton's Version.)

statue of Drusus, between sculptured military trophies, being placed on the summit, with the epigraph below (on the attic) : *Nero Claudius Drus. German. Imp. S. C.* The Emperor Antoninus utilized this structure for the aqueduct which brought water to his great Thermæ in the vicinity, and the specus (or channel) of which aqueduct still remains, in ruin, above the more ancient monument. Probably some restoration of this arch was at the same time ordered ; and we may suppose that the two columns of warm-tinted breccia ("Africana") were then placed where we see them at the side facing the Appian gate,—four columns having originally stood at each front. Seeing that those two, now alone left, are of the composite Roman order (first exemplified in the columns on the Titus Arch), we must infer their later origin—an adjunct made to this structure of date within the Augustan age.

The above-cited elegy (p. 409), written for the consolation of Livia after the death of her illustrious son, is not only an eloquent tribute to his merits, but the finest description in Latin poetry of the antique funeral attended with all its pomps, all demonstrations of public mourning, as well as private and deeply felt sorrow.* Neither the Appian Gate nor the fortified walls through which its towered archway opens were erect in the time of Nero ; but for the Christian eye and feeling that arch of Drusus is invested with special interest from the remembrance that it was under

* *Funera ducuntur Romana per oppida Drusi,
(Heu facinus !) per quæ victor iturus erat.*

*Obvia turba ruit : lacrimisque rigantibus ora
Consulis erepti publica damna refert.*

*Omnibus idem oculi ; par est concordia flendi,
Funeris exsequiis adsumus omnis Eques.*

*Omnis adest ætas : moerent juvenesque senesque ;
Ausoniæ matres, Ausoniæque nurus, &c.*

this monumental trophy that the Apostle Paul passed on his first arrival in Rome, after a journey the date of which is given by some historians as A.D. 59, by others as in the year 61 of our era.*

About the close of the second century of that era certain bankers and cattle-merchants erected a small arch (conventionally so named, though in fact all its architectonic lines are horizontal or vertical) in honour of Septimius Severus, his wife Julia Pia, and their sons, Antoninus and Geta. The eastern side of this monument is in part concealed by the contiguous church, *S. Giorgio in Velabro*, which was founded in the VI. century, and is so built as to sacrifice much of the antique to the more modern structure—but recent works (as already stated) have laid open some portion of the elevation long lost to view. The rilievi on this arch are interesting, though, critically considered, of little merit, and inferior even to those of the Severus Arch on the Forum. On the inner sides are two quasi-historic subjects: Septimius and his consort offering fruit and wine on a tripod altar; the Emperor with head veiled for the sacrifice; the Empress also wearing a veil and tiara, with the caduceus, symbol of concord, in her hand; opposite to this, a similar act of bloodless sacrifice, in which the two brothers were originally represented offering fruit with libations; but the figure of Geta has been completely erased, conformably with the orders of the fratricide Emperor, who desired that every record, whether in sculpture or epigraph, of his

* “The holy Apostle, though he came actually in bonds, was treated by the faithful of that city (Rome) with as much honour as if he had arrived among them in triumph; for many Romans went forth to meet him, some at Forum Appii, distant fifty-one miles from the city; others at the Tres Tabernæ, distant thirty-three miles. Of Forum Appii no vestige remains; but the Tres Tabernæ is said to be (represented by) the modern Cisterna.”—Baronius, *An.* 59.

murdered brother should be destroyed. Other evidence to the same effect is before us on this structure ; for the whole of the 5th, and part of the 3rd line of the dedicatory epigraph have been altered with omission of the name which the murderer could not bear either to see or hear uttered.* The countenance of Antoninus in this rilievo contrasts favourably with that bust of him (in the Capitoline Museum), which has been called, "the last sigh of Art"—the look of fierce suspiciousness, the repulsive but evidently truthful likeness to a dark-minded tyrant, in that highly characteristic head, having no trait that suggests comparison with the youthful figure, and (much mutilated as the marble rilievo is) still recognisably pleasing aspect under which the same person is here represented. The other sculptures have a certain value, though poorly executed. They comprise, along a frieze below the two groups, the sacrificial instruments and priestly insignia, the *perfericulum*, *patera*, *acerra* (incense-box), the vase for lustral water, the *lituus* of the Augur and *galerum* of the Flamen, the axe and mallet for slaughter. Underneath the frieze sculptured with those objects, on the western side, is another mutilated group of a sacrifice. On the attic, beside the dedicatory inscription, are the figures of Hercules and Bacchus, tutelary deities of the Septimian family. On the outer side (westward) are other rilievi of four females, (probably priestesses), and a candelabrum ; below these,

* In the 3rd line: *III. P.P. Procos. Fortissimo Felicissimoque Principi* ; and the whole of the 5th : *Parthici Maximi Britannici Maximi*. The Senate ordered sacrifices to Concord and other deities for the reconciliation of the brothers soon after their joint accession to sovereign power ; but that rite could not take place owing to the unaccountable disappearance of the Consul who was to officiate. Dion mentions this as a portent of ill, and also the appearance of two wolves on the Capitol, "which was looked on as a presage of what was to happen between the two Emperors."

some figures probably intended for the cattle-merchants, who contributed to the erection of this arch. Another subject, introduced on the same side—a plough drawn by a bull and a heifer—may be considered allegoric—apparently allusive either to the founding of Rome by Romulus, or generally to the observances for laying the foundations of new cities according to Etruscan usage. (Plutarch, *Quæst. Rom.* 27.)

The testimony to the power of conscience, in the mutilated sculptures and epigraphs on this arch, is indeed impressive,—even more so than on the other monument raised in honour of the same Emperor, associated with his sons, on the Forum. We often hear Cicero and Seneca quoted by Italian preachers for the support or illustration of Christian ethics, but I have never heard adduced in the pulpit the evidence here before us, immortalized on the marble surface, to that voice of God within us—the token of His presence, and warning of His wrath against the guilt-stained soul,—which was alike, among realities of the inner life, felt by the Heathen with shuddering awe as at this day, with deeper apprehension, by the Christian.

Close to this monument stands the “Arch of Janus,” which should rather be called a *Janus Quadrifrons*, being merely an arcade-passage, such as never received any special dedication; this having served for the assemblage of merchants from the adjacent *Forum Boarium*, or cattle market. The inferior style of the fragmentary mouldings and capitals, dug up in the vicinity, and now ranged along the summit of a projecting socle, has led to the conjecture that it dates from the period of Septimius Severus; and probably the spoils of other edifices were used for adorning this. Statues of deities stood in the twelve niches on each side at the four fronts, but all these, together with the columns which flanked those arched recesses, have perished. During

the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the arch supported a ponderous brick tower of one of the Frangipani castles, whilst completely enclosed by a curtain of walls. The area was first disencumbered from *débris* in 1812; though its original level was not completely uncovered till 1827; and some vestiges of the mediæval tower (demolished in 1820) still remain on the summit of this ponderous "Janus Quadrifrons." Similar places of assemblage are said to have been erected in all the regions of the city.

Another monument there is which recalls the period of declining Empire, as also one of the most worthless among its rulers—the arch, popularly called "Arco di San Vito," raised in honour of Gallienus (who reigned from A.D. 260 to 267), and of his consort, Julia Salonina. The solitary little church of S. Vito on the Esquiline hill (near St. Maria Maggiore) has imparted that modern name to the structure, which, though antique, betrays almost the lowest decadence of art in Rome. It was erected, about A.D. 262, by M. Aurelius Victor, Prefect of the City, and, it seems, a boon companion of that voluptuous Emperor, whose favourite retreat was the Licinian gardens near this spot. Near the same site Gallienus ordered a statue to be erected to himself, double the height of the colossal one of Nero, and adorned with the attributes of the sun-god,—a monster work left unfinished, and probably destroyed by his successor. The luxuriousness of this Emperor exceeded all limits—perhaps surpassing all that we know of Heliogabalus. He used no vessels at his table except such as were of gold studded with diamonds. His dress was of the utmost splendour, his very buskins being set with gems; and no other powder except gold dust ever touched his hair. The wealthiest senators suffered confiscation of property, and several were condemned to death, in order to supply means for his imperial pleasures or extravagances. The disastrous events of his reign, whilst the

Empire was distracted by the struggles of the "thirty tyrants;" his cruelty and debaucheries, still more his impious disregard for the fate of his aged father, Valerian, left to die a captive in the power of the Persian king Sapor, form a strange comment on the adulatory terms in which Gallienus is eulogized in the epigraph on this arch: *Ole-mentissimo principi cuius invicta virtus sola pietate superata est*, etc.—now too much effaced to be legible from below. Of three archways pertaining to the original plan, the central one alone remains perfect, with Corinthian pilasters and an attic, much dilapidated, in travertine masonry. For the character of Gallienus, and of his reign, see Trebellius Pollio, who gives a specimen of his poetic capacities, and describes "the circensian, scenic, gymnastic and gladiatorial shows, the chases of wild beasts given by him, &c.," adding that "he invited the people to festivities, as if for days of triumph, whilst many were mourning for the captivity of his father."

Gallienus and his family—a wife and four children—were all assassinated, A.D. 267; that Emperor himself meeting with such fate whilst he was encamped before Milan in a war against one of the ephemeral usurpers so rapidly succeeding to each other, Acilius Aureolus, who had assumed the imperial purple in the year previous, was defeated in battle, A.D. 269, by Claudius II., successor to Gallienus, and either slain on the field or put to death after the engagement by the soldiers. The chains and keys of the principal gates of Viterbo were hung to the arch before us in the year 1245, and there suffered to remain till the year 1825, as trophies of success in the civil wars so disgraceful and disastrous to mediæval Italy. The Romans having sent troops to attack that city, the intimidated Viterbese submitted without fighting, and accepted the conditions of peace, among the clauses of which was one requiring them

to yield up the great bell of their municipal palace (the "Comune"), which was brought to Rome, and hung up in the tower of the Capitol, at the same time that those civic keys were appended to the arch of Gallienus.

Let us now turn to brighter periods in the history of Empire, and to monuments of another class, the Fora and memorial Columns, erected in the first and second centuries. An imposing elevation of ancient walls in massive and regular stonework (peperino), with two parallel cornices of travertine (height 90 feet), has been supposed a part of the cincture around the Forum of Augustus, which we might picture to ourselves as an area fortified like a distinct city, between the eastern side of the Forum Romanum and the base of the Viminal hill.* Those lofty walls, extended from north to south, now serve partly as the front of a convent of nuns, the windows and portals of which have been opened by breaking through the enormous stone blocks. Four arched entrances are walled up with similar stonework on that front of antique masonry: one only remains still open, though in great part buried underground. Modern archaeologists, rejecting formerly received traditions, agree in considering this enormous structure to be a part of the fortifying walls raised around ancient Rome by her kings—probably those of Servius Tullius; and the same origin is assumed by recent writers for other remains in massive stonework, of considerable elevation, enclosed within a ponderous brick tower, frightful and gloomy to behold, which is all now left of a castle built for the Conti family by the most illustrious scion of that

* "He (Augustus) raised a great many public buildings, the most considerable of which was a Forum with the temple of Mars the Avenger. . . . The reason for the founding of this Forum was the vast number of judicial causes, for which the two earlier Fora not being sufficient, it was requisite to have a third."—Sueton. *Octav.* 29.

house, Pope Innocent III., in the year 1203.* The fortifications of which Augustus availed himself as a boundary wall to his Forum on the eastern side, may be seen, in another part, from an obscure court behind a small *caffe* in a street near the spot where those more conspicuous ruins rise before us : and in that other remnant of the same structure we see proof of restorations, also antique ; the lower strata being of compact well-preserved stonework, the upper rugged as a natural rock, and worn by the action of time.

Whatever the real date of those massive old walls, it is now generally assumed that the beautiful ruins of a temple with a peristyle of Corinthian columns in Carrara marble, which abuts against them at the eastern angle, must be no other than the fane of Mars Ultor, the most splendid edifice in the Augustan Forum, and founded by that Emperor conformably to a vow made before the battle of Philippi. Not but that this ruined temple also has been a subject of dispute, some writers supposing it to be that

* Those walls in the Conti tower have been referred to various origin. Canina supposed them to be either the temple of the Sun and Moon, or that of Tellus ; and Nibby shows grounds for believing that the castle of Innocent III. was built on the ruins of the Tellus temple ; excavations (in 1825) having led to the discovery that the whole of it rests on an earlier structure of quadrilateral stonework. That temple of Tellus was founded about 266 B.C. by Sempronius Sophus, according to a vow made by him during an earthquake, whilst commanding in the war which resulted in the conquest of Picenum. Considerable ruins of it existed till the V. century. With another temple to Laverna it occupied the area of the house of Spurius Cassius, who was put to death, B.C. 485, because suspected of aspiring to tyrannic power, his house being demolished as the sentence of the law enforced. The Conti castle was partly overthrown by an earthquake, 1349 ; and again in part taken down by order of authorities, on account of the then dangerous state of the crumbling pile, in the XVII. century.

dedicated to Nerva by his successor Trajan. Palladio first maintained that it must be the celebrated temple of the Avenging Mars.* Assuming, as I believe we may, that the beautiful ruin here before us is indeed the fane raised by Augustus in fulfilment of his vow, and in gratitude for his victory over the cause and armies of the assassins of Cæsar, we may regard this graceful architecture as a monumental record of the profound emotions excited by that deed of blood so variously estimated by contemporaries and by posterity.† In this temple the Senate used to assemble for discussions concerning war or peace; and here did victorious leaders deposit the insignia borne in triumph as well as the standards taken in battle. From this fane magistrates, appointed to the command of armies, used to set out on their campaigns. The *Mirabilia Urbis Romæ*, from the point of view common to mediæval ignorance, alludes to the Augustan Forum as that “where is the temple of Carmenta, and within the limits of which stood the palace and two Fora of Nerva!” The buildings on the area appropriated by Augustus seem to have

* Canina successfully, I think, meets the objections founded on the evidence of coins with representations of an *ædicula*, circular in form and bearing the dedicatory epigraph to Mars Ultor. He supposes the *ædicula* to represent a holy place within the cella of the temple on the Augustan Forum, which being semicircular, the concave side would appear like a rotunda. In that place the first Emperor probably deposited, and desired that others after him should deposit, the standards taken from foes in battle—as Augustus himself records in the Ancyran inscription: *ea autem signa in penetrale, quod est in templo Martis Ultoris, reposui.*

† “*Ædem Marti bello Phillippensi pro ultione paterna suscepto voverat,*” says Suetonius (*Octav. August. 29*), who recounts the various occasions and ceremonies for which this splendid temple was used. Here was placed the golden statue of Augustus, after his death, during the interval till it could be set up in a fane dedicated to him, as now enrolled among Deities.

escaped from serious damage at the successive captures with pillage of Rome in the V. century, and were probably reduced to ruin, or in great part swept away (perhaps in order to supply material for other structures) during the turmoil and factious dominion which brought disaster to this city in the X. century. In 955 a convent, dedicated to S. Basil, was built among the classic antiquities then extant on this site; and that cloister is mentioned in ecclesiastical documents as situated within what is there called *hortus mirabilis* ("the marvellous garden") — a naïve tribute to the grandeur of antiquity, about which little was known, and whose claims were little regarded in mediæval Rome. An extant "Ordo" for pontific ceremonial and processions, of the year 1143, designates the temple by the name of "Nervia,"—proof of the then received tradition that it had been dedicated to, or founded by, Nerva. Instead of the convent of S. Basil, another, also for nuns, consecrated as the "Annunziata," now stands amidst the classic ruins dedicated to the Avenging Mars; and this juxtaposition of Christian and Heathen sanctuaries reminds us of the moral contrast between two religions—the one which enjoined vengeance as a duty, the other which condemns even the thought of embodying in irrevocable deed the impulses sprung from such passion. The marble fane has not escaped deliberate outrage. Originally eight Corinthian columns rose in front of the cella, resting on a podium fifteen feet high; only three columns being left with a remnant of the richly adorned soffit, and the travertine front wall (with cornices) of the inner penetralia. The fine fluted shafts (54 feet high) have been barbarously maltreated, and defaced by deep grooves cut in the marble for inserting the rafters of workshops thrown up against them for the use of stone-cutters. A ponderous belfry, for the convent-church, was erected immediately above what remains of the antique cella, threatening (as

Nibby saw and foretold) to weigh down and crush the whole beautiful relic—but this has been fortunately taken down in precaution against such disaster.

For some ages the purlieus of the Augustan Forum were left in the state of an uninhabitable swamp, which was not reclaimed or built upon till about the year 1600. The actual streets of an obscure and gloomy quarter began, about that time, to spring up; and it is from such anterior state of things in this squalid neighbourhood that the name “Arco dei Pantani,”—from *Pantano*, a marsh or bog—has been given to the sole arched ingress still open in the ancient walls near that ruined temple. Researches have shown that this gateway was originally ascended to by fifteen steps, though its passage is now on a level with the streets.

No example is there in Rome of classical antiquity so disgracefully neglected as in the beautiful ruins of the Forum founded by Domitian, but often named after Nerva, to whom was dedicated one of the temples built within its area.* It was also called “Forum Transitorium,” because serving as a public thoroughfare, and “Palladium” from the principal temple, that of Pallas, which stood in the midst of its area. What remains is but a fragment of the

* Domitian was liberal and magnificent in public works. “He rebuilt a great many vast fabrics which had been destroyed by fire, amongst them the Capitolium. He likewise erected a new temple on the Capitol to Jupiter Custos, and a Forum, which is now called that of Nerva; as also the temple of the Flavian family, a Stadium, an Odeum, and a Naumachia.” (Sueton. *Domitian*. 5.) See also the courtier-inspirations of Statius in his “*Sylvæ*,” and in the poem entitled, “*Via Domitiana* :”

Qui reddit Capitolio Tonantem,
Et pacem proprio domo reponit,
Qui genti patriæ futura semper
Sancit limina Flaviumque culmen, etc.

L. iv. 111.

quadrangular portico that surrounded the whole space with sixteen Corinthian columns on each side. Two only of those columns are left; their shafts (the ascertainable height of which is thirty-two feet) being at least half buried in the ground; but a portion of the attic and sculptured frieze has fortunately been spared by time, so far at least as to give us an idea of the grandeur and grace of the architecture now vanished from this site. That frieze is adorned with sculptures in relief among the most admirable preserved from the best period of Roman Art: a full length colossal figure of Pallas majestic in her warlike array, with helmet and peplus, stands at the centre of the attic; subordinate to this, and on smaller scale along a frieze, are groups gracefully designed, which illustrate, together with certain allegoric subjects, the female industries over which that goddess presided: women weaving, weighing the thread, measuring the webs, carrying the *calathus* (or basket filled with their handiwork); besides these, a reclining figure of a youth with an urn, a water-fall (probably that of the Anio at Tivoli—the youth, we may suppose, being its River-god), and an arcade of one of the aqueducts supplying Rome with water. One of the groups is intended to represent Minerva ordering the punishment of Arachne for presuming to vie with herself in the art of needlework (*v.* Emil Braun, “Ruinen und Museen Roms.”) The intercolumnations below this upper storey were occupied by the statues of deified Emperors, some on horseback, and with their titles and acts inscribed on bronze cippi set beside each—memorials here placed by Alexander Severus, whose memory it is pleasing to associate with that of the other virtuous ruler, Nerva, after whom this Forum is called.*

* “Statuas colossas, vel pedestres nudas vel equestres, divis imperatoribus in foro divi Nervæ. quod *Transitorium* dicitur, locavit omnibus

The massive wall in square-hewn blocks of lithoid tufa, at the rear of the colonnade, is supposed to belong to the vanished Forum of Julius Cæsar ; and seeing that an arched doorway, filled up with stonework also antique, for entrance on this side, does not open, as symmetry would have required, at the centre between the two extant columns, we may infer that it was formed for purposes associated with some earlier edifice, not for ingress into the " Forum Palladium," or " Transitorium." An engraving which shows the less damaged condition of these ruins in the XV. century, is edited by Canina ; another, showing their state in the century following, by Marliano (" Urbis Romæ Topographia," 1588) ; and the former writer gives the dedicatory epigraph on the frieze of a temple the ruins of which stood, graceful and conspicuous, on this Forum till the time of Paul V. (1605-21): *Imp. Nerva. Cæs. Aug. Pont. Max. Trib. II. Pot. Imp. II. Procos.* Such were the aspects of antiquity on this site when the Borghese Pope committed the outrage against its claims, which I have already mentioned, by overthrowing all that stood erect, save the remnant of the portico here before us, in order to use the marbles for the ill-designed and ponderous " Pauline Fountain" high on the Janiculan Hill. The present appropriation of the extant portion of the ruined Forum as a bakery, with door and windows broken open in the massive stonework, seems the last insult against classic antiquity that could be imagined after what had been previously perpetrated by modern Vandalism on this spot.

The many vices of Domitian seem to have been strongly tinged with superstitious fanaticism. Minerva was the

cum titulis, et columnis æreis, quæ gestorum ordinem continerent—." Iampridius, *Alex. Sever.* xxviii. The biographer adds that in this Alexander followed the example of Augustus, who placed marble statues of illustrious men (*summorum virorum*), with inscriptions recording their actions, in the Forum founded by him.

goddess to whom he showed himself most devout. In her honour he celebrated every year the "Quinquatria Minervæ," whilst residing at his Alban villa (near the modern Albano), and also instituted a college of priests, out of which were chosen by lot presidents, or directors, required to provide, for popular entertainment, chases of wild beasts, scenic performances, and competitions of orators and poets. (Sueton. *Domit.* 4.) Among the terrors of a guilty conscience which became more intense in the last days of his life, this Emperor dreamt that Minerva departed from her sanctuary (that fane, we may suppose, which he had himself dedicated to her on this Forum), and declared that she could no longer protect him, because Jove himself had disarmed her.* The luxurious despot required that the statues of himself (it seems there were several) erected on the Capitol, should be of no other material than gold or silver, and of a certain weight. His successor, raised to imperial power on the same day that Domitian was assassinated (A.D. 96), expressly forbade the erecting of statues in precious metals to himself. Nerva, who reigned little more than sixteen months, and died at the age of sixty-six, presents a noble example of benignant virtues and moral consistency; reconciling, as is well said of him by Tacitus, the Imperial power and the civil liberty which had hitherto seemed antagonistic ("Res olim dissociabiles miscuit, principatum et libertatem," *Agric.* 3.) Charity, personified in him, and applied to public and private necessities, for the first time appeared on the throne of the Cæsars. He devised a plan, fully carried out by Trajan and the Antonine Emperors, for relieving the poor throughout all Italian cities, as well as in Rome, by a state provision for their children. He forbade the single combats of gladiators; and it is well to

* "Minervam quam superstitiose coluit, somniavit excedere sacrario, negantem ultra se tueri cum posse, quod exarmata esset a Jove."

Sueton. *Domit.* 15.

remember such acts as his, with his personal example, whilst we gaze on the ruins associated with figures in such contrast on the historic page as Domitian and Nerva.*

We may suppose the Forum of Trajan to have presented in its pristine magnificence the grandest aggregate of public buildings in Rome, adorned with art-works distinguished by the highest merit ever attained in the Græco-Roman school; its stately edifices symmetrically placed and isolated, with proper effect secured to each, instead of being crowded together in unsuitable proximity, as we cannot but believe to have been the case on the principal Forum and on the Palatine of the later Imperial period; the whole group of Trajan's edifices having had the advantage of being planned by the same master-mind, Apollodorus, a well-known architect of Damascus much engaged during this reign.

Marcus Ulpius Traianus succeeded to his adoptive father, Nerva, in his forty-fifth year, A.D. 97, being absent with an army at Cologne when an embassy from the Senate announced to him the event which raised him to the throne. Several of the years during which he reigned were spent by him in the camp, in wars against the Dacians and Parthians; and it was while engaged in his last campaign against the latter people that he died at Selinus, in Cilicia, A.D. 117. We are, unfortunately, without any full or adequate history of Trajan's life. In Dion Cassius only a meagre abridgment of it is preserved from the original; but the elaborate panegyric of this Emperor by the younger Pliny acquaints us with the finest traits of his character, and the noblest acts of his government up to the date A.D. 102, when that eulogium was publicly pronounced on occasion of

* Martial justly infers that under a ruler like Nerva, Cato would have become an Imperialist :

Si Cato reddatur, Cæsarianus erit.

Ep. l. xi. 5.

his assumption of the consulate for the fourth time. The Empire attained its utmost splendour and fullest extent under Trajan; but the just laws, the moderation, wisdom and humanity now exhibited on its throne reflect more glory on this reign than do all the conquests achieved over distant nations. In the pursuit of foreign conquests Trajan departed from the wise policy adopted by Augustus. He reduced the vast territory of Dacia, which lay beyond the Danube, and extended his victorious progress into Armenia, Mesopotamia, and other countries as far as the Persian Gulf. Hadrian renounced all those Eastern conquests, adopting the principle recommended by Augustus as the rule of procedure in power. Trajan, in this respect less prudent than his successor, claims our highest admiration for his home policy and domestic sway. It is said of him by Dion that "he honoured and promoted all the good; he never listened to informers; gave not way to his anger, abstained equally from unfair and unjust punishments; desired rather to be loved as a man than honoured as a sovereign, and inspired none save the enemies of his country with dread." Well did the Senate bestow upon him a title nobler than those derived from local victories or subject states by good and bad Emperors alike—*Optimus*, the best of Rulers. Every year the day of his accession was kept with public festivities; and Eutropius tells us that, long after his time, the Senate used to offer acclamations to each new Emperor with the augury that he might be more fortunate than Augustus, more virtuous than Trajan: *felicior Augusto, meliore Traiano*. The latter Emperor made his first entry into Rome, as sovereign, on foot and without pomp. Consigning the sword of office to the Prætorian Prefect, he said: "If I fulfil my duties, use it for me; if I fail to do so, against me." His wife Plotina, imitating his example, turned to the assembled people as she stepped on

the threshold of the imperial palace, saying: "I hope to leave such as I was when I first entered here." The benevolent Trajan assigned subventions for supporting the children of the poor; and it is reported that two million persons were maintained by his bounties. The usual largesses to the soldiery and people were extended by him to minors of only twelve years, and so as to include even the absent. Not superior to the vanity of superstition, he allowed sacrifice to be offered to his statues, and vows to be made in the name of his "eternity." Admirable in the discharge of public duties, he was far from being of unsullied private life. He was not free from the coarse vices of a Roman soldier, which, if they ought not to be judged by our standard, betray how low was the standard accepted in his time, and above which an otherwise exalted mind could not raise itself.

The new Forum was founded A.D. 113, and dedicated by Trajan himself in the following year, soon after which act he quitted Rome never to return. The group of superb buildings on this site rose at the northern side of a quadrangle, 300 feet square, surrounded with pillared porticos, the chief entrance being through a triumphal arch. A colossal equestrian statue of Trajan stood in the centre of that area; groups in bronze and marble, and relief sculptures illustrating the events of his life, were disposed over the same space, called by some writers "Traiani Platea."

Beyond this rose majestic the Basilica called "Ulpian," in width 185 feet, in length about 300 feet, the interior divided into a nave and four aisles by ninety-six columns, the central files of which were of Numidian yellow and Phrygian purple-veined marble, the rest of dark grey (*bigio*) granite. An attic above the colonnades rose to half the height of the lower storey, and the whole was crowned with a flat ceiling entirely of bronze, which Pausanias mentions

(l. v. c. IV. § 4), as among the marvels of Trajan's Forum. The entrance was by three portals, flanked with columns of coloured marble. Along the exterior stood semi-colossal statues of captives; triumphal chariots, military insignia, figures of war-horses, all in gilt bronze, adorned the cornices.* This basilica served not only as a Court of Justice, but as a gallery of portrait statues erected to illustrious men; and several basements with epigraphs being extant (some now in the Vatican, others still *in situ*), we ascertain that among the number so honoured were: Flavius Eugenius, Consul and Prefect of Rome, A.D. 350; Flavius Merobaudes, of either Celtic or Frankish origin, who was distinguished both in arms and in letters, a General under the Emperor Gratian, and a poet not unknown to fame, but doomed to violent death by the usurper Maximus, A.D. 383;† Claudianus, the last truly great poet of Italian antiquity, who flourished in the later years of the IV. and earlier of the V. century;‡ and Sidonius

* "In fastigiis Fori Traiani simulacra sunt sita circumundique inaurata equorum atque signorum militarium, subscriptumque est ex MANUBIIS." (Aul. Gellius, *Noct. Attic.* l. xiii. c. 24,)—that inscription implying that the cost of these ornaments had been defrayed by the sale of the spoils of victory. They probably stood along the whole extent of cornices above the porticos which enclosed the quadrangle.

† The statue was erected to him A.D. 435, in the reign of Theodosius II. and Valentinian III. The very long epigraph on the basement (still before us on this Forum) is an example of corrupt style, inflated eulogium, and courtier-servility. In the epigraph (also *in situ*) on the basement of the statue of Flavius Eugenius, the deceased emperor Constantius is designated "divus," as though the honours of the apotheosis were still accorded by nominally Christian authorities.

‡ Claudianus himself thus alludes to the statue here raised to him between A.D. 395 and 401:

Sed prior effigiem tribuit successus ahenam
Oraque patricius nostra dicavit honos.

"De Bello Getico, *Præf.* v. 7."

Apollonaris, Bishop of Clermont, who died in his fifty-second year, A.D. 482.* From the last named writer we learn that till his time the manumission of slaves—now promoted and approved by the Church—used to take place with the usual formula, by the hands of Consuls on the kalends of January, in the Ulpian Basilica.†

At the north side of this basilica was erected by the Senate the Column (*columna cochlæa*), presenting in twenty-three spiral bands of bas-reliefs the entire history of the Dacian wars carried on by Trajan between the years 102 and 105. This was the first monument of the description ever raised in Rome; the order Doric, the whole consisting of thirty-four blocks of lumachella marble fastened together by bronze clamps.‡ The admirably designed rilievi around the shaft, comprising 2500 figures, all of the same height except those on the uppermost band, which exceed the others by from two to three inches, afford the fullest illustration

* He was Prefect of Rome, A.D. 468; and in two of his poems thus alludes to the bronze statue here erected in his honour:

Nil vatum prodest adjectum laudibus illud
Ulpia quod rutilat porticus aere meo.

Carm. VIII.

Plosores cui fulgidam Quirites
Et carus popularitate princeps,
Traiano statuam foro locarunt.

Carm. IX.

† Nam modo nos jam festa vocant, et ad Ulpia poscunt
Te Fora donabis quos libertate Quirites.

Paneg. ad Antemium, v. 544.

‡ The last lines of the dedicatory inscription on the basement: *ad declarandum quantæ altitudinis mons et locus tant [is rude] ribus sit egestus*, refer to the ridge or tongue of land uniting the Quirinal with the Capitoline hill, which was levelled for the formation of this Forum. As the column is, exclusive of the statue and its pedestal at the summit, 127½ feet high, the allusion here must be to the highest points of those two opposite hills; that of the Quirinal being 151 feet, that of the Capitol 137 feet above the level of the Tiber.

Roman tactics, military accoutrements and insignia, theifications and sieges of cities, &c. The massive basement bits other rilievi of the implements and trophies of war, des winged Victories, and on the higher plinth eagles garlands extending along each side. The figure of an is recognisable, among the animated groups, by its dignity and the plain but earnest countenance made liar to us in many antique busts. We see him in ous acts: offering the Suovetaurilia sacrifice before le, haranguing his troops, receiving homage, listening roposals of terms from vanquished or intimidated foes.* he background of one group we see the monuments, in a of circular ædiculæ, with cypresses planted near, ed by the Romans to their own dead in the enemy's atry.† There are some among these historic sculptures ch excite sympathy for the conquered rather than for victors—as the tragic scene in a besieged town, where inhabitants are burning their houses and property rather

* A Pontiff, Trajan *here* the gods implores,
There greets an Embassy from Indian shores ;
Lo ! he harangues his cohorts—*there* the storm
Of battle meets him in authentic form.

In every Roman, through all turns of fate,
Is Roman dignity inviolate ;
Spirit in him pre-eminent, who guides,
Supports, adorns, and over all presides,
Distinguished only by inherent state
From honoured instruments that round him wait.

Memorial Pillar! mid the wreck of Time
Preserve thy charge with confidence sublime.

Wordsworth, "The Pillar of Trajan."

"He (Trajan, says Dion Cassius) raised an altar to the memory of he who died in battle, and ordered funeral honours to be paid to n every year."

than surrender; another, in which several vanquished Dacians are drinking poison, dispensed out of a large bowl, rather than survive; another, in which Decabulus, their king, and his chief captains are slaying themselves, preferring death to submission.

These admirable rilievi are wrought on slabs of Parian marble, with which the whole shaft is encrusted. It is certain that, in their original completeness, they were brilliant with colour and profusely overlaid gilding. In 1833 a close inspection was made by nine architects of different nationalities, on the suggestion of the Danish architect Simper; and in the result all bore testimony that Trajan's Column had been adorned with a coating of vivid colours, many details and entire figures having been gilt. The egg and arrow moulding of the capital was tinted green, red, and golden yellow; the abacus (probably) blue and red; the spirals were either golden yellow, or gilt. In several groups the figures were all gilt, the backgrounds being of different colours, as suitable to the objects represented; the vacant spaces, blue. The water of the various rivers (here introduced) was also blue (*v.* Meier, "Kunstgeschichte," and Francke, "Geschichte Trajan's.") Winckelmann supposes that the usage of colouring statues of Deities was kept up at Rome till about the end of the third century, when it is mentioned by the Christian Arnobius (*Adversus Gentes*, l. vi.), in the time Diocletian was reigning. Plutarch (*Questiones Romanæ*), observing the care of the Censors for the splendour of *the* statue (no doubt meaning that of Jupiter Capitolinus), says that nothing so soon faded as the minium, or vermilion (τὸ μίλτινον), with which antique statues used to be painted.

The ashes of Trajan were the first among all those of the dead honoured with sepulture inside the circuit of Rome's walls. After his body had been consumed on the

pyre in Cilicia, those relics were brought to Rome and laid, within a golden vase, under his memorial pillar.*

On each side of the Column stood a majestic edifice of Corinthian architecture with sculptured friezes, containing the collection of books and archives called the Ulpian Library; one building appropriated for Greek, the other for Latin literature. Here were kept the ancient Latin edicts of the Prætors, (*v.* Aulus Gellius, l. xi. c. 17); also the *libri lintei*, or registers, written on linen, of the imperial reigns, which could not be consulted without permission from the Urban Prefect; and the *libri elephantini*, or Senatusconsults, which related to the Emperors personally, inscribed on laminæ of ivory. Vopiscus, who mentions these documents in his life of the Emperor Tacitus (c. viii), states in another biography, that of Probus, that in his time the books were removed from the Ulpian and placed in a new library connected with the Thermæ of the then reigning Diocletian; but there is a passage in one of the poetic epistles of Sidonius Apollinaris (XVI. l. ix), which seems to imply that the Ulpian collection was still in its original place.† Both those halls of the library founded by Trajan have sunk into indistinguishable ruin.

From the arch which formed the chief entrance to the Forum on the southern side, the distance to the memorial

* “*Ossa ejus collocata in urna aurea in Foro, quod ædificavit, sub columna sita sunt,*” says Eutropius. Dion makes the statement that they were laid “in the column.” We may suppose the place of deposit to have been in its massive basement. Nibby believed that the cavity for such purpose could be discerned, in the solid marble, at the left of the entrance by which we reach the staircase ascending to the summit with 184 steps, lit by 43 windows.

† *Quum meis poni statuam perennem
Nerva Traianus titulis viderat
Inter auctores utriusque fixam*

Bibliothecæ.

column was 550 feet; and it appears that the same distance intervened between that column and the portico at the northern extremity—1100 feet being therefore the entire measurement of this area in length. In the midst of the quadrangle, surrounded with porticos, which formed a sacred enclosure or peribolus, stood the magnificent temple dedicated to Trajan after his death: a peripteros of Corinthian architecture, with eight columns in front and fifteen along each side,* probably founded by Trajan himself in fulfilment of a vow made during the first Dacian war, and with intent of dedicating this fane to some deity. His apotheosis secured to Trajan himself the honours of the temple and worship, decreed by his successor.

Remarkable testimony to the state of the Forum, as preserved in its grandeur long after the transfer of the seat of Empire to a new Capital, is afforded by Ammianus Marcellinus (*Hist. Rom.* l. xvi. c. 10) in his account of the state-visit to the ancient capital made, with much show of Oriental pomp, by the Emperor Constantius II. A.D. 356, who was on that occasion accompanied by a Persian prince, Hormisdas. “When (says the historian) he (Constantius) came to the Forum of Trajan, the most exquisite structure in my opinion under the canopy of heaven, and admired even by the deities themselves, he stood transfixed with wonder, casting his mind over the gigantic proportions of the place, beyond the power of mortal to describe, and beyond the reasonable desire of mortals to rival. He contented himself with saying that he should wish to imitate, and could imitate, the horse of Trajan, which stands by itself

* Several broken shafts of this colonnade have been dug up, some six feet in diameter, since the year 1765, when one such relic of the antique was found, and taken hence to the Albani villa, as Winckelmann informs us. Others, of black and white granite, now lie strewn on the area around the still erect column.

in the middle of the hall (the porticos?) bearing the Emperor on his back. And the royal prince Hormisdas—answered with the refinement of his nature: ‘But first, O Emperor, command such a stable to be built for him, if you can, that the horse which you propose to make may have as fair a domain as this which we see.’ ”

The devotional and highly-gifted poet, Venantius Fortunatus, an Italian, who was made bishop of Poitiers, and died about A.D. 600, informs us that the practice of reciting poetic compositions in the Ulpian library was still maintained in his time.*

To about the date 600 may be referred a legend which, whatever its origin, attests the splendour and preservation of Trajan’s buildings up to the beginning of the VII. century. Warnefrid, a Longobard, known as “Paulus Diaconus,” who flourished in the VIII. century, records the popular story of S. Gregory the Great—that, whilst walking on this Forum and observing its stately edifices (*opere magnifico constat esse constructum*), his thoughts dwelt on the clemency and justice of Trajan towards a poor widow, deprived by violent death of her only son; and the holy Pontiff felt deep sorrow that so virtuous an Emperor’s soul should be for ever lost with those of other Heathens; whilst full of this thought he entered S. Peter’s church, prayed and wept at the Apostle’s tomb, and there, falling into a trance or extasy, received intimation from on high that his prayer for Trajan had been heard and granted, while he was at the same time enjoined never again to intercede for those who had died without baptism.† Joannes Diaconus, a Benedictine monk of the IX. century, repeats this anecdote, which

* Vix modo tam nitido pomposa poemata cultu

Audit Traiano Roma verenda Foro.

This testimony confirms the supposition that the collection of books had not been dispersed, but divided over the two libraries, the Ulpian and that of Diocletian.

† S. Greg, Magni Vita, c. 27.

he, however, discredits ("because so great a doctor could not certainly have presumed to pray for a Pagan"), but adds that it used to be publicly read in the churches of the Anglo-Saxons. John of Salisbury (ob. 1182) reports it in the tone of a believer, and S. Thomas Aquinas alludes to it with seriousness. Dante immortalizes in verse both the legend of S. Gregory and the tradition of Trajan's act of justice to the widow :

L' alta gloria
Del Roman Prence, lo cui gran valore
Mosse Gregorio alla sua gran vittoria.
(*Purg.* x. 73.)

What does this significant legend express but the protest of reason and charity against that gloomiest doctrine which condemns all, even the most virtuous among those who sought Truth without a guide, to eternal banishment from the Divine Presence and forfeiture of enduring blessedness?

The first deliberate spoliation of classic antiques on this Forum was perpetrated by a guilty Emperor, Constans II., during his inauspicious visit to Rome, A.D. 663. In the course of twelve days he seized all such moveable art-works, and especially bronzes, as he cared to possess. To what extent Trajan's Forum then suffered, we may conjecture. Constans intended to transport those spoils to Constantinople; but he did not live to see that city again, for he was assassinated at Syracuse, A.D. 668. The precious objects brought from Rome, deposited by the Greek despot in that Sicilian city, fell into the hands of the Saracens when Syracuse was captured by them. It is probable (as Gregorovius conjectures) that what still remained of the Ulpian and other ancient libraries in Rome was carried off by the imperial despoiler; and that the colossal bronze statue of Trajan, at the apex of his column, had the same fate.

The final ruin which overwhelmed all the edifices on this Forum, leaving alone erect that memorial pillar, solitary witness to the Past and historic guardian of the

desolate scene—~~this~~ is among the strange facts which antiquaries are baffled in attempting to account for. There are grounds for supposing that all the architecture on this celebrated site remained erect, and essentially unaltered, till A.D. 800; and the catastrophe which overthrew, indeed almost annihilated, so many splendid structures must have occurred in some year between that period and A.D. 1000; certain writers assuming a date for the disastrous issue in the first half of the tenth century, while Rome was a prey to faction and anarchy under the immoral dominion of Theodora, Marozia, and the successive husbands of the latter. A faint light is thrown on the conditions of the ruinous Forum, in later years, from ecclesiastical documents. In the XI. century part of its area belonged to a monastery of nuns, founded by the daughters of the above-named Theodora; and in 1032, the Abbess of that sisterhood conceded to certain priests a church, S. Nicholas, which stood below the memorial column. An early intimation of the dawn of revived art, or at least of the regard for classic monuments, is conveyed in a decree of the Roman Senate (date 1162) in favour of the nuns who had still legal title to property in that S. Nicholas church. Confirming their rights, the magistrates recognize in the sculptured column one of the glories of Rome, decree that it should be preserved intact, and threaten even the penalty of death for the offence of in any way mutilating it.*

In the first half of the XVI. century several of the basements, with dedicatory inscriptions, for the statues of

* "Salvo honore publico Urbis eidem columnæ ne unquam per aliquam personam . . . diruatur aut minuatur, sed ut est ad honorem ipsius ecclesiæ et totius populi Romani integra et incorrupta permaneat dum mundus durat, sic eius stante figura. Qui vero eam minuire temptaverit persona eius ultimam patiatur supplicium et bona eius omnia fisco applicentur." (in Galetti, *Primicerio*.)

celebrities were dug up, also certain architectural fragments, most of which latter came to light in the course of the works for building a small church, *S. Maria di Loreto*, one of the two, with cupolas, which stand like twin-sisters on the modern "Piazza Traiana." Commenced in 1507 from the designs of Antonio Sangallo, that church was finished in 1580. In the map of Rome drawn up by Bufalini (1551) the solitary Column is shown as it then stood, in the midst of the irregular quadrangle of a small piazza. For many years, previous to 1580, its massive basement was entirely concealed by soil heaped up around it. Sixtus V. employed Domenico Fontana to clear away the soil, and render that marble structure again visible, also to repair the column where injured, and raise on its summit the statue of St. Peter (gilt bronze), which has taken the place of that of Trajan.* Ciaconius tells us that till this time the feet of the Emperor's statue were still left on the lofty pedestal, and that a bronze head of him, probably belonging to the lost figure, was dug up near the sculptured basement. For the repairs, purchase and demolition of houses, which had to be swept away as incumbrances from the narrow piazza, Pope Sixtus spent 14,528 Roman scudi. At the time when French enterprise was first directed towards this classic site, the Column stood as it were at the bottom of a well, 50 feet square. In 1812, those foreigners, then masters of Rome, undertook to lay open the whole extent of Trajan's Forum,

* A work of little merit, cast in bronze from the model by Leonardo Sorman and Tommaso della Porta. Byron expresses the erroneous notion that the ashes of Trajan were contained in a globe held in the hand of his colossal statue, on this high summit :

—— Apostolic statues climb

To crush the imperial urn, whose ashes slept sublime
Buried in air, the deep blue sky of Rome,
And looking to the stars, &c.

("Childe Harold," Canto iv. cx.)

and began by demolishing blocks of paltry houses, besides two churches and monasteries. The restored pontific government did not continue those works for the desirable object aimed at by the French; but merely took the precaution of enclosing within walls the excavated area, and carried out one feeble attempt at restoration by re-erecting several granite shafts of the prostrate colonnades in the Ulpian Basilica. The effect of this is poor; the arrangement injudicious, for those broken columns do not even occupy their original places or pedestals. We look down from a piazza into a hollowed space, 390 by 155 feet, at considerable depth below the level of the modern thoroughfares; and it is only about one-sixth part of Trajan's Forum which is thus brought into view.

Besides what here meets the eye, the sole other remnant of that splendid Forum consists of a lofty hemicycle in two storeys of vaulted chambers, erected against the western declivity of the Quirinal Hill. Entering through a low door from a squalid little court (*Salita del Grillo*), we find ourselves in the upper, and can descend by an ancient staircase to the lower of those storeys. The front of the hemicycle displays some architectonic details, brick pilasters, and a well-designed cornice. It is supposed that a similar structure was erected against the opposite slope of the Capitoline hill; and the two hemicycles would have formed limits to an outer area, on the southern side of the quadrangle surrounded with porticos, which was, strictly speaking, the public Forum. Those ruins below the Quirinal are known by the popular name, "Baths of Paulus Æmilius." For such uses they cannot have served at any time, and it is possible that they were occupied, under the Empire, for the lodging of soldiers on duty in the Forum, or in the basilica there situated. The last spoliation of the antique amidst the ruins of Trajan's buildings (mentioned by

Nibby)* was the removal of slabs of precious marble for the pavement of the restored S. Paul's on the Ostian Way. Such proceeding, under Pope Gregory XVI., seems an unconscious expression of the antagonism of the Catholic Pontificate against classic antiquity.

Among the relics of ancient sculpture preserved from decay on this site, we find an admirable rilievo of Trajan with Senators, half-length figures, now in the Lateran Museum ; also in the open court of a palace, which stands above the ruins of the temple of Trajan, fronting the Piazza SS. Apostoli,† several colossal horse-heads, probably from the series of decorative sculptures placed along the cornices of the Forum ; and on the walls of the great staircase in that *palazzo*, a fine medallion relief of Nero, a portrait which almost redeems his countenance from the odious repute derived from other likenesses of him. I have observed that the sculptured trophies, miscalled "Trophies of Marius," now on the terrace of the Capitoline hill, are well ascertained to have stood originally in the same Forum. But the finest art-works of Trajan's time, and illustrative of his career, are before us in the borrowed adornments on the arch of Constantine. Having considered that monument and its historic importance in association with the first Christian Emperor, I may invite the reader to

* Canina describes other considerable remains of the out-buildings of the Forum below the Palazzo Ceva, and within the premises of a convent, *S. Caterina da Siena*, both on the Quirinal hill. A corridor in that cloister of nuns, is, according to his report, entirely excavated in the solid mass of antique masonry (*Indicaz. Topog. di Roma Antica*). After the final suppression of monasteries it will become possible for male visitors to inspect this abused remnant of Trajan's buildings.

† This palace, formerly known as the "Imperiali," but now as "Palazzo Valentini," was founded by a ducal family in 1388, and entirely rebuilt in modern time for the Prince Francavilla.

bestow on it another inspection, for the sake of those reliefs and statues which belong to the time of Trajan, and were executed, probably, for the triumphal arch on his Forum. The immense superiority of all the earlier to the later sculptures on the two fronts of the memorial raised in honour of Constantine, suffices to convince us how totally, in the course of two centuries, Rome had lost the traditions and technical capacities of high art. Beginning with the larger reliefs on the attic, at the side near the Coelian Hill, we see represented on those borrowed panels: Trajan standing on a *suggestus* surrounded by his officers, receiving a barbarian prince, who wears the *chlamys fimbriatus*—probably Partomaspates, whom this Emperor raised to the throne of Parthia; Trajan again amidst his army, while some soldiers lead before him two Dacians bound—the discovery of an attempt at his assassination, for which agents had been hired by Decebalus, King of the Dacians, being the subject here intended; Trajan on the *suggestus*, making an allocation to his army; the customary *Suovetaurilia* sacrifice of a swine, a sheep, and a bull, offered by the Emperor, as alike represented among the reliefs on his Column. On the side towards the Colosseum we see Trajan's triumphal return from his campaign, received at the Porta Capena by Rome personified as a majestic female with helmed head, tunic and buskins, accompanied by other allegoric figures, supposed to be Abundance and Clemency; next to this, Trajan ordering the restoration of the Appian Way along the Pontine Marshes, while that *Regina Viarum*, an allegoric figure, seated on the ground and leaning on a wheel, here appropriately symbolic, appeals to, or thanks, the beneficent Emperor; next, Trajan seated in the Forum, ordering an endowment from the state-treasury for indigent children, an act extolled in the panegyric of Pliny on this Emperor; next, Trajan on the *suggestus*, while his soldiers lead before him

a barbarian king, probably Partomasiris, Prince of Armenia, whom he deprived of his throne. On the eastern and western side are some portions of a complicated battle-scene in the war between the Romans and Dacians. Two other large rilievi, within the central of the three archways, are supposed to belong to the same grand composition: on one side, the defeat of the Dacians; on the other, the triumphal return of Trajan to Rome, where he is received by the personified City, and by Victoria, who places a laurel-crown on his head. In a series of medallions on the attics are represented scenes from the private life of Trajan: we see him (beginning at the South side) setting out for the chase amidst attendants;* sacrificing at a rural altar to Hercules, or Sylvanus; on horseback at the chase of the boar; sacrificing to Diana, near whose image hangs a boar's head (the offering of devout gratitude) on a tree; again at the chase—the Emperor's head in this relief having been originally surrounded by a nimbus, the symbol of power which passed from the images of Emperors to those of Christian Saints. In another relief we see Trajan sacrific-

* The figure of a youth with a beautiful head, seen in profile, better preserved than most of the others in this rilievo, is a recognisable portrait of the famous Antinous, a Bithynian, the favourite of Hadrian, and deified by that Emperor after his premature death. To him was dedicated a temple with its proper priesthood; and in his honour did Hadrian found the city on the Nile called after him Antinopolis. One account of his death is that he offered himself up, a willing victim, for the sake of his imperial friend, after certain magicians had declared that by such sacrifice alone could the Emperor's life be prolonged. Another report is that he was drowned in the Nile while attending Hadrian on his journey through Egypt. It was said that he had been changed into a star (*novum sidus Antinoum*); and there were Greeks who believed that oracles proceeded from him in his temple (v. Spartianus and Aurelius Victor.) The deification of such a person was one of the last insults against reason and morality which broke the spell whereby Heathenism still maintained its hold over cultivated minds, under the Empire.

ing to Apollo; again, amidst attendants after the chase, gazing on the carcase of an enormous lion just slain; lastly, sacrificing to Mars Victor, probably in act of thanksgiving for his success in striking down such noble prey.* Admirable for truth and movement, these rilievi bring before us the acts and personality of the Emperor, even more than do any historic pages—the distinguishing character in the principal heads, the dignity and repose in each group, exciting our highest admiration. The lineaments of Trajan, as here represented, are more finely marked, and the expression is more intellectual than in the various busts of him; and his historic repute accords with such worthier aspect, here reminding us of the tribute won by his virtues from the satiric Julian, that the gods awarded to him, above all others, the praise of clemency.

The eight colossal statues of captive Dacian chiefs, placed along the attics of the Constantine arch, and supported by columns of Numidian yellow marble, are alike among spoils from the arch (or perhaps from the Forum) of Trajan. Well-known is the story of their being decapitated, and their heads carried away in a mad freak by the graceless Lorenzino de' Medici, while his relative Clement VII. was Pope. But such outrage could not have been the fate of all those statues alike, for one of the heads was found under earth, about the end of the last century, and placed where we now see it in the Vatican Museum. Certain it is, however, that all the eight heads were missing previous to a restoration, ordered by Clement XII., in 1734. One entire figure (that on the right of the central arch at the western side) was at the same time replaced by a modern work in lieu of the original, preserved only as a mutilated torso,

* Or, as Emil Braun supposes, “a mysterious Oracle-scene, probably alluding to the wonderful escape of Trajan from the earthquake at Antioch.”

which now stands on the ground-floor of the Capitoline Museum.

Not only the sculptures designed in honour of Trajan, but this whole arch is a congeries of borrowed ornaments or fragments destined for more ancient buildings. De Rossi, after minute investigation, bore witness that it is "an accumulation of spoils from earlier monuments, not alone with respect to its basreliefs and statues, but the very stones of which it is constructed." Deeply fallen indeed must have been Fine Art at Rome when was thus set up, in honour of Constantine, a memorial so barbarously composed!

Marcus Aurelius, who succeeded to his adoptive father Antoninus Pius, A.D. 161, in his fortieth year, and reigned over the Roman world for nineteen years, won and merited such love and esteem from his subjects that his image used to be placed beside those of the Divine Penates, nor was there a respectable house or street in Rome without some portrait of him—just as, in modern time and under pontifical government, the Madonna-picture with its ever-burning lamp used to be seen in every establishment, government-offices, police-courts, cafés, restaurants, and shops in that city. After carrying on war against the Parthians through his generals, this Emperor quitted Rome for a campaign, in which he personally commanded, against the Suevi, the Quadi and Marcomanni—German races settled partly on the borders of the Danube, and partly in modern Moravia, the former between the Elbe and the Vistula. While on that campaign, M. Aurelius died at Sirmium, the capital of Pannonia, in his 59th year. His ashes, brought to Rome, were entombed in the Mausoleum of Hadrian. Well was it said of him, after his decease, that "lent (to mankind) by the gods, he had returned to the gods."* His extant

* "A diis accommodatus, ad Deos redisset."—Capitolinus, *M. Anton. Philos.* 18.

writings, which form, besides several letters, a small volume in the Greek language, partaking of the nature of autobiography and moral meditations, present a noble example of a mind dedicated to the aim of self-culture and to the attainment of truth through virtue. His most famous teachers were Herodes Atticus, Cornelius Fronto, Sextus of Chæroneæ (said to be the grandson of Plutarch), and Junius Rusticus. In his twelfth year this precocious student put on the philosopher's robe, thenceforth professing and practising the principles of the Stoics, austere towards himself, mild and considerate towards all others. The two poles of his creed were : that happiness is entirely dependent on each individual himself, and that all are sent into the world to work for the common good. Pain, he asserts, is nothing to those who can despise and ignore it. In many respects his stoicism exactly accords with that of Seneca. His aspect, in youth distinguished by a refined and noble beauty, in later life marked by a thoughtful melancholy, emaciated but still characteristically refined, is made familiar to us by numerous antique busts and statues. It is in harmony with all we know of his temper and conduct through life. From the recorded thoughts of this great and good Emperor we learn two important lessons : on one hand, the capacities of the human soul for exalted virtue, and for the apprehension of spiritual truth even amidst the moral darkness of Heathenism ; on the other, the vagueness and inconsistencies of such ideas respecting the Infinite and Invisible as the mind, amidst adverse circumstances, can appropriate, while accepting no authoritative teaching, admitting no truth as an emanation from a Divine source. An impression of melancholy remains from the perusal of the pages which, nevertheless, excite admiration and sympathy for this virtuous Ruler. A glorious ideal seems earnestly pursued and intensely desired by him, yet continually to escape his

grasp, or fade into a mist of speculative uncertainty, like an earth-born cloud intervening between the soul and the eternal sunshine. He seems to have less firm hold on the belief in Divine Providence and a future life than had Seneca;* yet to see "darkly as through a glass," and yearn for more distinct vision of, the glories revealed in the spirit's true sanctuary. It is often stated that the great principles of natural Religion may be acquired through the light within us, and through interpretation of the universe. Yet is it not from the precepts of Christ that the light which guides to such apprehension comes to us, determining *our* convictions, giving to *our* thought a distinctness little known to the Heathen? Marcus Aurelius is no exception to the generality of ancient philosophers who often contradict themselves, sometimes indeed announcing high religious theories, but usually hesitating to admit, at times rather disposed to reject than receive, the leading principles of an enlightened faith, or a sustaining hope in the Infinite.†

* "In this respect both he and Epictetus have fallen below Seneca,—Marcus Aurelius seems to cherish the fond aspiration though he does not assert it as a dogma."—Merivale, "History of the Romans."

† "Either the Gods have no power, or they have power. If they have no power, why dost thou pray to them? In truth they do exist, and they do care for human things, and they have put all the means in man's power to enable him not to fall into real evils.—If there be another life for the soul, there certainly will be the Gods, who are everywhere—if not, there will be an end of affliction and bodily evil." He generally acknowledges the imperishable life of a ruling faculty of mind, which emanates from and belongs to the Director of the Universe. Such theories may excite reverence and trust, with a belief in all-guiding Omnipotence, but they have no force to inspire love; they appeal to intellect, leaving the heart cold and untouched. The volume known as the *Meditations or Thoughts*—in Italian, "*Ricordi*"—of Marcus Aurelius. bears the title in the original, *τῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν*, or "An Address to Himself." I avail myself of Long's translation.

“Philosophy (he nobly says) consists in preserving the inner Genius innocent and without stain, superior to pleasures and sorrows, acting never with rashness, falsehood, or feigning—expecting death with serenity. Thou hast in such manner to order thy actions and thoughts as if thou wert on the point of quitting this life. Thou wilt give thyself relief if thou dost every act as if it were the last.” Grateful for the example and precepts of Antoninus Pius, he tells us that, “From my father I learnt to worship the Gods without superstition, and serve mankind without ambition.”

It seems difficult to account for the fact that under such a sovereign could be sanctioned the persecution of the Christians—with what degree of personal responsibility on his part may indeed be questioned. To him they seemed offenders against the legally established religion and sacred institutions of the Empire; but he certainly did not desire that they should suffer for their religious belief or practice alone. In his writings he once alludes, and that in unfavourable terms, to the constancy of those who died for their faith;* and the extent to which local persecution was carried on during his reign is shown by records undoubtedly authentic. (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* v. 1-5; Sulp. Severus, II. 46. Ruinart, *Acta Martyr.* Merivale, ch. lxxviii.)

Polycarp, the holy bishop of Smyrna, suffered either in this or the preceding reign—according to Baronius, in the year 162. The matron Felicitas and her seven sons met death with heroic constancy at Rome, A.D. 164. In 177

* “What a soul that is which is ready, if at any moment it must be separated from the body, and ready to be either extinguished or dispersed, or continue to exist; but so that this readiness comes from a man’s own judgment, not from mere obstinacy, as with the Christians, but considerately and with dignity, and in a way to persuade another without tragic show.”—Long, “Thoughts of M. Aurelius,” (xi. 3.)

broke out a violent persecution at Lyons, during which 48 martyrs suffered together with their bishop, Potitus. The answer of Marcus Aurelius to the Prefect of Gaul respecting the course to be pursued at Lyons against the Christians, was : " *Confitentes, gladio cœduntur, hi vero qui negarent, incolumes dimittuntur.*" But this may be understood to imply that if the Christians confessed to the hideous crimes and licentiousness of which they were falsely accused, then only should they "be slain with the sword—otherwise set free." Such a sense may be admitted because strictly accordant with the principles of the Emperor, and with the passage in a genuine letter of his given by Eusebius : "If any cause trouble to any one simply because he is a Christian, let the person informed against be acquitted, although it be plain that he is a Christian ; but the informer shall be punished." Yet the Christian apologists themselves never blame, but rather appeal to Marcus Aurelius as their protector, or as likely to protect their fellow-worshippers from injustice (*v.* Donaldson, "History of Christian Literature and Doctrine," vol. ii. c. 1.) He had, we may suppose, the sagacity to discern in the Christian faith a principle of antagonism to the policy of the Empire, a danger to that state-maintained religion which was bound up with the political system of Rome and deemed essential to the endurance of her power. Desperate indeed must have been the condition of the sinking cause, in the effort to save which the philosophy, the intellectual energies, and the admirable example of Marcus Aurelius proved fruitless,—all defeated by the resistless might and progressive triumphs of Truth !

Soon after the death of this philosophic Emperor, the Senate ordered a temple and a memorial column to be erected in his honour. Of the former edifice not a vestige remains ; even its site is uncertain, but we are assured

that it stood not far from the still erect column, and that it was dedicated both to M. Aurelius and to his wife, Annia Faustina (ob. 175), the daughter of Antoninus Pius.* That column, of Luna marble (height, the basement included, 122 feet 8 inches), was surmounted by a colossal bronze statue of the Emperor, which probably shared the fate of that of Trajan—carried away among other spoils by Constant II. in 663. Its shaft originally stood on a basement divided into three socles, or plinths, the whole resting on a platform ascended to by steps; small bas-reliefs of the martial deeds of the Emperor, and winged genii holding garlands of oak-leaves were on the highest socle; the dedicatory inscription being on one side; the whole shaft encrusted (like that of Trajan's column) with spiral bands of historic reliefs, illustrating the campaigns of Marcus Aurelius in Germany. These sculptures are lamentably injured on the western side, where they show the action of fire on the scathed marble; and although the column was once struck by lightning, according to the report given by Poggio Bracciolini, it is probable that the most serious damage was caused to it by the conflagration while the Normans were occupying Rome, A.D. 1084. Thus, associated with the memory of Marcus Aurelius, do we see a record on this historic monument of the struggles and sorrows of the Pontificate, of the disasters caused, and the final triumph attained by it through means of the great Pope Hildebrand. In A.D. 955 the column was bestowed by Pope Agapitus II.

* M. Aurelius himself bears testimony to the virtues of this woman, whose conduct is represented in the most unfavourable light by historians. He thanks the gods for having given him "such a wife, so obedient, so affectionate, and so simple." He has been blamed for sanctioning the apotheosis of two alike unworthy persons—his colleague and cousin, Lucius Verus, adopted by Antoninus Pius together with himself (ob. 169), and the perhaps calumniated Faustina.

on the monks of the Benedictine cloister now called *S. Silvestro in Capite*; and by those monks (probably in consequence of their losses owing to the same destructive fire), was alienated from the monastery, together with a small church, S. Andrew's, which stood near it. Both were reclaimed, not many years subsequently, for the same Benedictine cloister by its Abbot, A.D. 1119; and the inhibition, under severe spiritual penalties, of any further alienating either of that classic column or the S. Andrea church from the S. Silvestro property, is engraved on a stone tablet, still kept in the portico of the now modernized *S. Silvestro*.)^{*} In 1589 Sixtus V. ordered a similar restoration of this as of Trajan's column, and a bronze statue of S. Paul, modelled by an obscure artist, De Servi, to be placed on its apex. The fine drawings of Piranesi, engraved in his valuable work on Roman Antiquities, show us the column of M. Aurelius as it stood at that time, before Pope Sixtus' repairs: the three-storeyed basement ruinous, the historic rilievi round the highest plinth only in part preserved, and of the dedication the sole words extant: *Consecratio—Divi Antonini Augusti Pii*, (or, more probably, "Divo Antonino," &c.); the pedestal for the lost statue on the summit still remaining, but crowned by Nature's hand with a wild growth of plants, enwreathing and beautifying decay—altogether, far more nobly picturesque than is this memorial as it now stands on a modern basement with the apostolic statue on its apex. The actual level of the piazza around it is 16 feet higher than the ancient level; and consequently the two lower mem-

* This curious document sets forth in the name of "Petrus Dei gratia humilis abbas, &c." "Si quis ex hominibus columpnam per violentiam a nostro monasterio subtraxerit, perpetue maledictioni sicuti sacrilegus et raptor et sanctarum rerum invasor subiaceat et anathematis vinculo perpetuo teneatur"—this being ratified by the authority of bishops, cardinals, and many clerics and laics intervening, A.D. 1119.

bers of the plinth and the supporting platform with steps are now buried underground. The fragmentary epigraph was cut away by the Pope's workmen; and what still remained of the bas-reliefs on three sides of the plinth was scraped off (*fatti radere*, says Piranesi) in order to adjust a travertine coating around the antique structure, now entered through a doorway not on the same side as the original ingress. Strange to say, the inscriptions chiselled on the basement by Pope Sixtus' order perpetuate the vulgar error which converts this column into that of Antoninus Pius, erected by M. Aurelius, instead of that raised to the latter Emperor! The religious sentiment, here referring to the statue of S. Paul, is finely expressed; but when we remember the character and career of M. Aurelius, the phrase, in one of four epigraphs on the modern stonework, *ab omni impuritate expurgatam*, seems flagrantly unjust. The sculptures on the shaft, like though scarcely equal to, those on Trajan's column, represent the whole history of the campaigns in Germany, A.D. 167; and it is well observed that "the Germania of Tacitus could not be better illustrated than by the life-like and characteristic figures in these bas-reliefs," (Emil Braun, "Ruinen und Museen Roms.") Many of the subjects—as the *suovetaurilia* sacrifice before battle—are similar to those on the earlier-erected column. In one group we see, among other captives, a woman with a radiated crown on her head—probably one of the prophetesses, or priestesses (like the "Norma" of the operatic stage), so revered by ancient Germanic tribes. But the relief most interesting is that of the event, beneficial to the Roman army in their sore distress, and fatal to the enemy, when, as Christian writers state, in answer to the prayers of a Legion entirely composed of Christian soldiers, rain descended for the refreshment of the Romans, hail with thunder and light-

ning for the discomfiture of the Marcomanni. Hence the name, positively accounted for by the same writers—of the “Thundering Legion” (v. Tertullian, *Apol.* 5; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* v. 5; Orosius, vii. 15.) On the other hand, heathen writers alike regard this co-operation of the elements, for the issues of war, as preternatural and obtained by prayer—not offered up by the baptized Legionaries, but by Marcus Aurelius.* The epithet “thundering” was given to one of the Roman legions in the time of Trajan. In the relief before us (on the eastern side of the shaft) we see a colossal phantom, like a grim river-god, intended for Jupiter Pluvius, hovering above the conflicting armies with outspread arms, from his right hand and arm pouring rain over the Romans, from his left hurling hail and thunderbolts against the Germans, many of whom lie prostrate beneath the disastrous shower.

In 1777, an epigraph (now in the Vatican) was dug up below the piazza in the midst of which this column stands, importing a petition from one Adrastus, a freedman of Septimius Severus, to be allowed to build a house for himself near its base;† and from the purport of these lines it seems that the good man held the office of guardian, or *custode*, to that classic monument. Capitolinus, describing the apotheosis of Marcus Aurelius, tells of persons who believed they had received responses, or counsels, from

* “Fulmen de coelo precibus suis contra hostium machinamentum extorsit, suis pluvia impetrata quum siti laborarent.” Capitolinus, *Vita Anton. Philos.* 24. Claudian ascribes the intervention either to the good Emperor’s prayer or to magicians, who accompanied the army—preferring the former explanation :

— Chaldæa vaga seu carmina ritu

Armavere Deos, seu, quod reor, omne Tonantis

Obsequium Marci mores potuere mereri.

See also Baronius, *An.* 176.

† *Pos(t) colu(mnam divi) Marci et Faustina(e).*

him in dreams—probably while sleeping in the temple dedicated to him, with expectation of such heaven-sent communications. Thus were persons induced to sleep in the temples of Æsculapius and other deities, hoping for similar favours.

Besides the historic reliefs on this column, the numerous statues and busts of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina serve to acquaint us with the art-school of their time; but the finest sculptures of this period are the rilievi which adorn the basement alone of another column erected by that Emperor and his colleague, Lucius Verus, to the memory of their adoptive father Antoninus, also named Titus Aurelius, on whom the Senate bestowed the well-deserved cognomen of “Pius.” Adopted as Cæsar and successor by Hadrian, A.D. 138, Antoninus reigned nearly twenty-three years, dying at the age of 75, A.D. 161. Of his life and character it is justly observed by Merivale that “every step, every act, seems to have been weighed by a good heart, carefully directed to a definite end.” He embraced and exemplified the principles of Stoic Philosophy, though not occupying himself with the systems or disputations of schools. To his reign is due the praise of being the only one, among those of Roman sovereigns in the second century, which is pure from the stain of persecution; and though this has been disputed by some writers, the testimony of Christian contemporaries is in his favour.* Orosius joins in

* See the Epistle of this Emperor to the assembly of Asia, published at Ephesus (Eusebius, l. iv. 13.) “You (he says to the Asiatics) neglect both the gods and other duties, especially the worship of the Immortal. But the Christians, who worship Him, you expel and persecute to death.” . . . “If any still persevere in creating difficulties to any one of these because he is of this description (i.e. a Christian), let him that is thus arraigned be absolved from crime, although he should appear to be such; but let the accuser be held guilty.”

the strain of panegyric, declaring that he was moved to favour the Christians by the "Apology" of Justinus, or "Justin Martyr," which was addressed to this Emperor.* Unlike his adoptive father and predecessor, he was so scrupulously attentive to the duties of home-government, that throughout his long reign he never passed a day absent from Rome or its environs. Numerous sculptured likenesses acquaint us with his benign and noble aspect, one of the most prepossessing in the whole range of antique portraiture.† After his decease his two adoptive sons and successors erected to him a memorial column not far from, and almost on a parallel line, westward, with that subsequently raised to M. Aurelius. The former "Antonine Column" was discovered, prostrate, fractured, and buried under earth, below a house at the north-west angle of the Piazza Monte Citerio, in 1709, and in order to extract this treasure-trove, the house was necessarily demolished. The shaft, a plain monolith of granite, was subsequently laid in the court of the Monte Citerio palace; the basement only was re-erected, first on the piazza in front of that palace by desire of Pope Benedict XIV., and finally, where it stands at this day, in the Vatican garden called "Giardino della Pigna," from the great bronze pine-cone, there placed, which is said to have crowned the cupola of Hadrian's mausoleum. On one side of the sculptured basement is the dedicatory inscription; on two others are alto-rilievi displaying characteristics of the best period in Roman Art. Grandly treated and poetic in conception is the principal subject, the Apotheosis of Antoninus and Faustina: the imperial pair are seen borne aloft on the outspread wings of a floating figure (probably intended for

* *Benignum eum ergo Christianos fecit.*"

† "*Vultu sereno et pulcro. procerus membra, decenter validus.*"
P. Victor, *Epit.* xv.

the Genius of Eternity), this last a superbly beautiful form, embodying the ideal of heroic youth with god-like power. In his hand that Genius holds a globe with a serpent coiled around it, and the signs of the zodiac in relief on its surface. Beside the glorified mortals hover two eagles, ascending with them to the skies. Below are seated two allegoric personages: Rome, as a matron with helmed head, leaning on a shield on which are represented the Twins suckled by the wolf—and the Campus Martius, personified as a young man who supports on his knee an obelisk, this figure, with its appropriate symbolism in that Egyptian monument, being introduced because the same Campus was the appointed scene where every apotheosis took place. The other rilievi represent military groups on horse and on foot, bearing standards and insignia, all passing before the spectators in orderly movement and with great vivacity of action—these being intended for the procession of the cavalcade round the funeral pyre at the celebrations of the Apotheosis. In this instance we may remember that it was the Empress who was first deified; the Emperor afterwards.* The granite shaft, originally on this sculptured basement, was never re-erected, but utilized for repair of the obelisk from Heliopolis, reared by Augustus on the Campus Martius, and raised to its present place on the Monte Citerio in 1792.

* Faustina (ob. 141) was deified by her husband's desire; and it was probably in the following year that the temple on the principal Forum was erected by him in honour of the wife who so little deserved his confidence. The remains both of Faustina and Antoninus were laid in the mausoleum of Hadrian, where the epitaph of the former was extant *in situ* till the XVI. century: *Imp. Caesari T. Ælio Hadriano Antonino Aug. Pio. Pontif. Maxim. Trib. Potest. XXIII. Imp. II. Cos. IIII. P. P.* Under his reign the usage of burning the dead began to be abolished, and interment, the earlier practice, to be resumed at Rome.

The formal and solemn apotheosis (Latin "Consecratio") was first decreed in honour of Julius Cæsar soon after his death ; next, with similar sanction and still more of pomp, for the posthumous honours of Augustus, and now were the priests of a college named "Sodales Augustales" appointed expressly for the worship accorded to him. The example was followed in the case of all succeeding Emperors, unless when prohibited by act of their immediate successors. Henceforth the Prince so exalted was styled "Divus;" and in many instances this deification was extended to the nearest relations of the reigning Cæsars, especially to their consorts. The medals struck to commemorate the imperial "Divi" bear such devices as an eagle, a blazing altar, a funeral pyre, a sacred car drawn by elephants ; or, in the case of females, a *carpentum* (the chariot especially for their use) drawn by mules, and the spirit ascending to the skies on a peacock ; the deified of the other sex being usually represented borne heavenwards on an eagle. Julius Cæsar, Augustus, and Tiberius alike prohibited the offering of divine worship to themselves during their life-time in Rome and throughout Italy, but allowed themselves to be adored in foreign countries. (Sueton. *Jul.* 76 ; *Octav.* 52 ; *Tacit. Ann.* i., 10, 78, iv. 37, 55.) The two Antonines alike rendered divine honours to their deceased wives, the two Faustinas. The daughters of Nero and Titus, the wife, sisters, and niece of Trajan were among the deified princesses.

Neither virtue nor philosophy on the throne, nor the spirit of civilization under the Empire ever attempted to check the fantastic and superstitious pomps, or the creature-worship of the Apotheosis, the public celebration of which was attended with picturesque and gorgeous, rather than pathetic or truly solemn observances. In the imperial palace a waxen effigy of the deceased was laid on an ivory

couch, covered with draperies of cloth-of-gold. Senators and patrician ladies visited it daily, remaining for a time seated around that bed; the Senators, all in black, on one side, the ladies, all in white, on the other. On the eighth day the most distinguished of the knightly order and the youngest of the Senators bore it in long-drawn procession through the Via Sacra to the Campus Martius. Hymns in praise of the dead were sung by choirs of well-born youths and maidens when the procession reached the Forum. On the Campus was erected, for the occasion, a lofty wooden structure like a pharos, in several storeys, surrounded by a portico inlaid with ivory and gold. The effigy on its couch was placed, amidst piled-up perfumes, fruits, odoriferous plants and precious objects (which used to be sent as offerings from distant provinces), on the second story of this funeral pyre. Hymns were again sung, and the cavalcade, knights and many soldiers on horseback, passed with measured pace round the splendid structure, followed by chariots driven by men in purple attire, with other attendants bearing the images of the deified Emperors, great generals, and subject provinces. The new Prince, seated on a tribunal, pronounced a panegyric. After this, attended by the Consul and Magistrates, he applied fire with a torch to the combustible pile, from the summit of which an eagle was let loose while the flames rose on high—a peacock at the apotheosis of a princess.* Soon was erected a temple with its

* One now almost forgotten poet raised his voice in protest against these idolatries:

—— Jamquē impia ponere templa,
Sacrilegosque audent aras, coeloque repulsos
Quondam Terrigenas superis imponere regnis,
Qua licit; et stolido verbis illuditur orbi.

(Fragment of satire of Turnus, in Burmann's "Anthologia Latina," and in Wernsdorff's "Poetæ Latini Minores.")

priesthood and sacrifices appointed for the *cultus* of the newly deified Ruler. (v. Herodian, *Hist.* l. iv.)

Under Trajan and the Antonines the Empire attained its utmost extensiveness, though not all the conquered regions were permanently annexed. Its area covered a superficies of 1,363,560 square leagues, and included about 120 million inhabitants. Beyond those limits, within which lay all the provinces governed by Pro-consuls, ranged a wide circuit of more or less dependent states, some tributary, all more or less submissive to the great ascendant Power, while enjoying what Seneca calls "doubtful liberty."* Since the commencement of the reign of Vespasian literature and art had flourished; and under the Antonines Philosophy held a place of recognized eminence. Yet the portents announcing decay already appeared; the seeds of corruption began to bare fatal fruit. Prolonged peace, under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, had led to laxity in the discipline of the Legions. Marcus Aurelius witnessed an incipient decline in the political and military system, a hopeless collapse in the religious life of ancient Rome. The impression of melancholy appears in his thoughtful writings; and the consciousness of danger now besetting the official worship, was (as we have reason to believe) what incited him against the Christians.† Amidst the omens prophetic of ill, awaiting a mighty state now near to the

* "Regiones ultra fines imperii dubiæ libertatis."

† "The decline of which Marcus Aurelius was the melancholy witness, was irremediable; and his pale solitary star was the last apparent in the Roman firmament." (Merivale, c. lxvii.) The philosophers whose precepts he especially adopted, were Apollonius, Diognotus, Alexander the Platonist, Rusticus, and Maximus. One of those most honoured by this Emperor, and most influential in his time, was Epictetus, author of the "Enchiridion," a work rich in high thoughts, moral precepts, and elevated religious ideas.

period signalized by its great disasters, occurred the shocks of natural misfortune, tremendous in their force. "The ancient world (says Niebuhr) never recovered from the blow inflicted upon it by the plague which visited it in the reign of Marcus Aurelius." A similar pestilence broke out in the time of Commodus, and it is said that 2000 died every day, in the metropolis alone, while it lasted. The succession of such a Prince as the last-named to such a father, marks an impress of darkest evil and moral disgrace on the epoch at which we arrive in Roman History with the reign of the last of the Antonines.

CHAPTER XII.

THE DRAMA AND THEATRES.

AMONG the relics of Imperial Rome only two theatres exist at this day in distinguishable ruin. During times when the tragic realities of mortal combat, bloodshed and death, could be enjoyed among public entertainments, when

—the Roman's stoic glance
Fell on that stage where man's last agony
Was made his sport, who, knowing one must die,
Recked not which champion—

it may be easily understood how inferior were the attractions, for the multitude, of all scenic performances ranging within the ideal sphere of high tragedy or genuine comedy. As easily may we account for the comparative feebleness and non-originality of Latin Dramatic Literature. Great in other walks, the Roman genius asserted no pre-eminence in the Drama; and it cannot be affirmed that, since the days of Racine, Corneille, Alfieri, the modern literature of any country has displayed proofs of impress or influences received from the dramatic creations of ancient Rome.

No institution was ever more completely diverted from its primitive character and purposes than the Stage. The first "ludi scenici" exhibited in this city were intended to appease the wrath of the Gods during a visitation of pestilence in the year 361, B.C., the performers being brought from Etruria, where such displays, consisting of dances to the music of flutes, were in vogue. In memory of this,*

* Valerius Maximus says respecting this originally devotional purpose

the primitive and religious purpose for which such entertainments were first provided, dramatic performances, even under the Empire, used to be given on occasion of the festivals of Deities, as at the games sacred to Ceres (19th April)* and at those called "Megalesian," celebrated in honour of the Bona Dea (or "Mater Idea"), annually, from the time that the image of that goddess was brought from Pessimus to Rome, B.C. 195 (*v. supr.* p. 175). To those simple "ludi" of Etruscan origin succeeded the farces called "Atellan Fables," from Atella (the modern Aversa) near Naples, with dialogue in the ancient Oscan language—the only such performances in which a Roman citizen could take part without *infamia*. These farces were, in fact, as the German critic Friedlaender, observes, "a sort of Polcinello comedy," introducing four typical characters: *Pappus*, the pompous old man, or "heavy father;" *Dossennus*, the wiseacre; *Bucco*, the glutton; *Mascus*, the harlequin or buffoon. The quaint extempore dialogue, long left to the skill of the actors, was replaced, about half-a-century before our era, by written scenes which belong to the dramatic literature of the time. Next were introduced

of the "ludi scenici:" Jamque plus in exquisito et novo cultu religionis, quam in ullo humano consilio positum opis videbatur. Itaque placandi coelestis numinis gratiâ, &c. (l. ii. c. iv.)

* "The games sacred to Ceres were celebrated according to annual custom. In the midst of the public spectacle, intelligence arrived that Otho was no more, and that all the military then in the city had . . . sworn fidelity to Vitellius: the people heard the news with transport, and the theatre shook with applause. The audience, crowned with laurel wreaths, and strewing the way with flowers, went forth in procession, and with the images of Galba displayed in a triumphant manner, visited the several temples, and afterwards with their chaplets raised a fancied tomb to his memory on the spot, near the lake of Curtius, where that Emperor breathed his last." Tacitus, *Hist.* l. ii. lv. (Murphy's translation.)

the "Mimi," without the conventional *Dramatis Personæ* of the "Fabulæ," and in which alone did women appear on the Roman stage—with what moral effect on themselves and the public may be inferred from the fact that, at the bidding of those present, the actresses in such plays would, while they danced, lay aside one garment after another till reduced to almost, if not absolute, nudity.

The "Mimi" continued longest to occupy the Roman scene, and survived the fall of the Western Empire. In the reign of Augustus were introduced, and mainly through the efforts of two favourite Greek actors, Pylades and Batyillus, the "Fabulæ Salticæ" or "Pantomimus," a species of dramatic dumb show, like the pantomime-ballet carried to perfection at this day on the Italian stage. The argument, or plot, was usually mythologic, in some instances taken from History, and in many favourite pieces deeply tragic, interpreted by able performers with such skill that not only tributes of rapturous applause, but tears often attested their success. The actor himself (Quintilian tells us, vi. 2, 35) was sometimes seen to leave the stage weeping. The subject and *libretto*, though unspoken, were frequently supplied by writers of high standing. Lucan wrote fourteen pieces for such mimic representation. The greatest effects were produced, and the highest celebrity attained by the pantomime actors who alone, among performers on the finally established Roman stage, appeared without masks, the male characters in a sort of harlequin costume with short mantle.

The use of masks, though of immemorial antiquity in Latium, did not prevail on the Roman stage till the century after dramatic entertainments had been first seen in that city. As fully systematized, the maskerading for the stage was curiously varied and complex. Seven different masks were prepared for old men's characters; only three for old

women; whilst young ladies had the maximum of fourteen duly assigned to them, each indicating not alone the character and temper, but also the age of the fair one.* This clumsy expedient, limiting the powers of expression by the most artificial of restraints, may supply the measure of the superiority enjoyed by modern above antique impersonation on the stage. Had an actor been equal in versatility and passion to Garrick or Talma, had an actress possessed the genius and beauty of the supreme Siddons or the nobly classic style of Rachel, we may doubt whether those qualities, under such disguises as the antique stage imposed, could have ever secured the triumphs—the mastery over the minds of thousands through duly exerted effort—attained by those eminent artists in their respective walks and characters. The modulations of the voice were sometimes sustained by the music of a flute; and, with singular disregard to scenic illusions, the so-called “actor” on many occasions did nothing but gesticulate, whilst (behind the scenes) a vocalist sang the words. Cicero mentions the apparently inseparable connection between music and declamation on the tragic stage: “Let dramatic recitations with vocal music and singing, lyres and flutes, be practised in the theatre as by law prescribed, as long as they are kept within the bounds of moderation.” (“Laws,” Yonge’s translation, l. 11, xii.) Valerius Maximus (l. 11, c. iv.) mentions the practice of a popular actor and dramatic writer, Livius, who, after his voice had become weakened through long exertion, used to confine himself to tacit gesti-

* Collins, “Plautus and Terence” in “Ancient Classics for English Readers.” Julius Pollux, a Greek of the second century (Christian era), in his “Onomasticon” enumerates no less than twenty-six different classes of theatric masks, divided into the ranks of men, women, youths or boys, and slaves. (v. Gell’s “Pompeii.”)

culatation, whilst a boy accompanied him on the flute. In the "De Legibus," Atticus says to Cicero: "As your friend Roscius, the actor, in his old age was forced to give up his most brilliant modulations, and to adapt the instrumental accompaniments to a slower measure; so you also, my Cicero, find it necessary daily to relax from those lofty conflicts of oratory," &c. (l. 1, iv.) It is supposed that all Roman citizens with their wives and children were admitted gratis; slaves alone, and also foreigners, unless the latter were public guests, being refused that privilege at the Roman theatre. The hours of performance (of course by daylight, as is the case in many second-class Italian theatres at this day) were between 12 and 2.30 P.M.—namely, just before the usual hour of the *cæna*, which gradually superseded the dinner. (Mommsen, "Römische Geschichte.")

Among entertainments of later introduction in this city, was the "Pyrrhic Dance," a species of ballet-pantomime in which both female and male slaves used to take part. In its origin this was a Doric war-dance, developed into the dramatic form during the imperial period, and first becoming popular in Ionia, where it was usually performed by youths of patrician birth. Such were frequently invited to Rome, there to perform in presence of the Emperors and their courts.

The first performance of genuine comedy in Rome was about the date 239 B.C., when were acted the plays of Livius Andronicus, a freedman, who also appeared in his own characters; but of all whose works only about 105 verses are preserved to this day. In the year 155 B.C. was commenced the first constructive theatre built in Rome, by the two Censors in office; but the severe republican spirit of the age so condemned this novelty that the consul, Scipio Nasica, obtained a decree from the Senate commanding

the works to be stopped and the material sold by auction.* The rude and grotesque farces of olden style were acted in open air, without any arrangement for accommodation. At last appeared temporary theatres, thrown up in woodwork, which successively rose and vanished, after serving for ephemeral purposes, year after year.† The first such temporary structure seen in Rome was prepared for entertainments, among other shows and games, at the triumph of the consul Lucius Mummius for the conquest of Corinth, which city he not only captured but destroyed, B.C. 146. Most magnificent among structures of this description was that erected by Æmilius Scaurus, who, after distinguishing himself in the wars of Pompeius, was by him appointed Governor of Judæa. This woodwork theatre contained 360 columns, and was adorned with 3000 bronze statues, whilst accommodating 30,000 spectators. A scene of fairy splendour must the "house" itself—not to say the stage—have been; for it is described as of three architectonic orders; the first with columns of Cretan marble, the second supported on shafts of rock crystal, the third and highest with columns of gilt wood. Pliny considers that the results, in the moral sphere, of such novel entertainment were more injurious to the citizens than had been, with regard to other interests, all the wars and proscriptions of the remorseless Sulla! (H. N. xxxvi. 15.)

In the year 58 B.C. Caius Curio, who took part, and was slain, in the war of Cæsar against Pompeius, erected two great

* The *Senatusconsultum* forbade the erecting of any seats, permanent or otherwise, for spectators at dramatic entertainments, either in the city or within the circuit of a mile around its walls.

Valer. Max. l. iv. c. iv. § 2.

† Ovid evidently alludes to such structures :

Scæna viget, studiisque favor distantibus ardet :

Proque tribus resonant terna theatra foris.

Trist. l. iii. El. xii.

theatres of woodwork, placed back to back, and rendered moveable through ingenious mechanism, so that, after dramatic performance on the respective stages, both were united together, thus being converted from two theatres into a single amphitheatre, the *scena* of each vanishing like a phantasm, and the spectators remaining at their seats during this marvellous gyration ! Pliny hesitates whether to admire most the skill of the contrivance, the success of the execution, or the imperturbability of the Roman public, who could submit to be thus disposed of in the transmuting process. (H. N. l. xxxvi. c. xv. § 22.) Of course gladiatorial combats formed the second, and no doubt most popular part of the entertainment in this unique "house," which, however, was only made use of in such manner and for such various displays on two occasions.

The Roman Theatre, in its finally determined form and arrangements, was in many respects different from the Greek. It had the same architectonic scenery with colonnades, or other elevations of solid material, though not contrived, like the flat scene on that more ancient stage, to open in the centre for displaying interiors. Nor was the area between the Roman stage and the ascending tiers of seats appropriated for the Chorus, with its measured dance and solemnly chanted lyric declamation ; this entire space (the "orchestra" of the antique, corresponding to the pit of the modern theatre) being assigned to privileged spectators, first to senators alone, finally, as the Lex Roscia, B.C. 68, determined, to those also of the equestrian order, who had fourteen rows of benches behind the orchestral seats of the Conscript Fathers. The profession of the stage was generally in low repute—not, indeed, without exceptions to this rule. Roscius, the greatest artist ever seen on the Roman boards (ob. B.C. 60), was the friend of Cicero, who defended him in a lawsuit, and a man so respectable in private

life that he rose to the rank of senator. He is said to have been remunerated at the average of £4,800 sterling per annum—according to one reading of Cicero's report on this subject, £43,434. Another famous actor, Latinus, was the friend of the Emperor Domitian, and is eulogized not less for his virtues than his talents in the epitaph, "Dulce decus scenæ," written for him by Martial.* Performers in lower walks also earned large sums. Marcus Aurelius restricted to ten gold pieces† the gifts which magistrates, or other persons who ordered dramatic entertainments, used to bestow on all successful actors engaged by them. Vespasian, on occasion of the inaugurating of a restored stage in the Marcellus theatre, gave large sums, not less than 40,000 sesterces, to every performer, besides golden crowns to all the more eminent, and to one, the tragedian Apollinaris, 400,000 sesterces.‡ A female dancer could earn 40,000 francs per annum. An actor says of himself in the Latin Anthology: "Hence (from my professsion) have I secured a spacious house and a sufficient fortune."§

Cicero is witness both for and against the Roman theatre, both to the merits and high character of pre-eminent

* "I, that lie here, am Latinus, the pleasing ornament of the stage, the honour of the games, the object of your applause, and your delight; who could have fixed even Cato himself as a spectator, and have relaxed the gravity of the Curii and Fabricii. But my life took no colour from the stage, and I was known as an actor only in my profession. Nor could I have been acceptable to the Emperor without strict morality. He, like a god, looks into the inmost recesses of the mind. Call me, if you please, the slave of laurel-crowned Phœbus, provided Rome knows that I was the servant of Jupiter"—this "Jupiter" being no other than Domitian.—*Epig.* xxviii. l. ix.

† The *aureus*, somewhat more, according to Gibbon, than eleven shillings.

‡ About 100,000 francs.

§ "Hinc mihi larga domus, hinc mihi census erat."

actors, and the generally low repute of their profession. In the fragmentary "de Republicâ," Scipio says: "As they (the ancients) thought the whole histrionic art and everything connected with the theatres discreditable, they thought fit that all men of that description should not only be deprived of the honours belonging to the rest of the citizens, but should also be deprived of their franchise by the sentence of the censors."—"Comedies could never (if it had not been authorized by the common customs of life) have made theatres approve of their scandalous exhibitions." Elsewhere Cicero says, speaking for himself, that "Comedy is an imitation of life; a mirror of customs, an image of truth." ("Commonwealth," l. iv. Yonge's version). Actors were liable to the degradation of corporal chastisement by the Roman magistrates who engaged them; though this discipline was limited by Augustus to the theatric premises, and the time during which the performance lasted. (Sueton. *Octav. August.* 45.)

Passing over the many Latin dramatists whose works have perished, we first acquaint ourselves with the Comedy of ancient Rome in the pages of Titus Accius (or Maccius) Plautus, the son of a slave (ob. 184 B.C.), and author of 130 comedies, only twenty of which are preserved. He began his literary career about 224 B.C., and continued till death, almost without a rival, to be the favourite of his public. For about five centuries did his plays hold their position, familiarly seen, and ever applauded, in Rome's theatres. Their characters, names, scenery are Greek; but the manners they depict, essentially Roman; and perhaps no other writer has so fully illustrated the every-day life in the great city. Publius Terentius, born at Carthage, B.C. 186, was ten years old when Plautus died; either by birth a slave or enslaved as prisoner of war, he received his liberty from the Roman Senator who bought him, and whose pre-

nomen, Terentius, he took. He is said to have translated 108 of the comedies of Menander ; but six only of his plays are extant, and these, which may be considered originals however imitated from Greek models, are probably all that he ever produced in completeness, or ever saw on the stage. The two writers moved in different spheres. Terence has less of broad farce, and more of the comedy of high life than Plautus. The “Eunuchus” (or “Ethiopian Slave”), by the former, was the most popular of all his plays, and for this the *Ædiles* gave him about £60. sterling, the largest sum hitherto paid for any comedy at Rome. S. Augustine is our authority for the thrilling effect produced by a line in his “*Heautontimorumenos*” (or “Self-Tormentor”) :

Homo sum : humani nihil à me alienum puto—

(Act i. sc. 1.)

at which the whole audience, including many of the rude and ignorant, broke out into most fervent applause—honourable not less to themselves than to the author. This comedy, as well as its Greek name, is in great measure borrowed from a lost one among those of Menander. The ancient theatres being open only on festivals, nor ever for more than a few successive days, no piece could have what we call “a long run,” as in our time. It is said that Terence perished at sea, his MS. translations being lost with him, on his voyage from Greece ; or, according to another story, that he died of grief for the loss of those literary treasures, after escaping from shipwreck.*

* “It is said that when he offered his first play to the *Ædiles*, who, as the regulators of the public games, had to choose the pieces which were to enjoy the honour of public representation, he found the officer to whom he brought it to read seated at table. The young author was desired to take a stool at a distance, and begin ; but he had scarcely got through the opening passage of the “*Maid of Andros*,” when the *Ædile* motioned him to a seat at his own side, and there the reading was

Ten tragedies are usually edited under the name of Seneca, though only four—*Hercules Furens*, *Thyestes*, *Thebais*, and *Hippolytus*—are considered to be his genuine works. By some critics the two former, and also the *Œdipus* are attributed to the Philosopher's father, Annæus Seneca; and the *Octavia* (most manifestly not Lucius Seneca's work, seeing that he himself is among the characters, and his pupil Nero is therein presented under the most odious colours) is attributed either to Scæva Memor, who flourished in the time of Trajan, or (as by Vossius) to the historian Florus. It is probable that all those ten tragedies were written with a view to recitation alone, not to performance on the stage. The Chorus, which on the Roman boards appeared together with the actors, not in the orchestra, where its office was so important and its grouping so grand in the Greek theatre, is introduced in all these tragedies, with declamation in high-sounding lyric verse. The style is generally inflated, the imagery redundant; the rhetorical passages are too prolonged. Inconsistencies, contradictions of thought and sentiment occur in a manner so like what we find in the Stoic Philosopher's undoubted writings, that this alone seems to attest the author's identity in some at least among these dramatic works.* With all their

completed." (Lucas Collins, "Plautus and Terence.") The *Andria* was first acted 166 B.C.

* In the *Troades* the Chorus call to mind "the happy Priam, wandering among pious souls in the safe Elysian fields;" yet elsewhere declare that the departed spirit vanishes like smoke, that after death is nothingness, that death itself is nothing:

"Post mortem nihil est, ipsaque mors nihil."

The Chorus of Corinthian citizens in the *Medea* utter lines that are strikingly prophetic, far beyond the knowledge and geographic theories of ancient Rome:

Venient annis sæcula seris,
Quibus oceanus vincula rerum

faults, they are distinguished by a tone of moral dignity, and an elevated purpose, evinced in frequent assertion of high principles, of just views respecting life and duty. The passages of the Chorus are among the finest, both in thought and language; and the brief sententious dialogue sometimes conveys impressively in single lines the maxims of Stoicism.

Marcus Aurelius regrets the deterioration of dramatic Literature. "After tragedy (he says) the old comedy was introduced, which had a magisterial freedom of speech, and by its very plainness of speaking was useful in recommending men to beware of insolence. But as to the middle comedy which came next, observe what it was, and again for what object the new comedy was introduced, which gradually sunk down into a mere mimic artifice."

We perceive a superior aim in Seneca; but the idea of making the stage a vehicle for moral or intellectual improvement seems scarcely to have occurred to the Roman mind. We are informed of the splendours of spectacular display and appliances of mechanism on that local stage.* Valerius Maximus mentions the awnings for protecting the public from sun and rain,—suggestive of a finely wrought passage in Lucretius;† also the fountains which diffused

Laxet, et ingens pateat tellus,
Tethysque novos detegat orbes,
Nec sit terris ultima Thule.

- * So through the parting stage a figure rears
Its body up, and limb by limb appears
By just degrees, till all the man arise,
And in his full proportion strikes the eyes.

Addison's "Ovid," *Metam.* l. iii.

- † — This the crowd surveys,
Oft in the theatre, whose curtains broad,
Bedecked with crimson, yellow, or the tints
Of steel cerulean, from their fluted heights

coolness through the overheated atmosphere. The decoration of the architectonic scene that writer describes as sometimes all brilliant with colours, or with pictures hung to columns and façades ; at times still more magnificently adorned, the whole being plated over with silver, ivory, and sometimes with gold, (l. 11, c. iv.) But what were the other spectacles displayed to please a Roman public ? Horror-striking realities of bloodshed, torture, and lingering death, which degraded the scene so long occupied by Plautus and Terence into a charnel-house, a scaffold for the agonizing doom of malefactors, who there underwent the sentence of justice by way of entertainment for the crowd—by their pangs affording pastime, giving the ghastliness of reality to tragic catastrophes ! Besides exhibitions that were grossly indecent,* this degraded stage displayed such spectacles as a notorious robber fastened to a cross and devoured by wild beasts, thus made to enact the sufferings of Prometheus ;† another criminal, in the drama of *Dædalus*, raised up on mimic wings, to be cast down among hungry bears

Wave tremulous; and, o'er the scene beneath,
Each marble statue, and the rising rows
Of rank and beauty, fling their tints superb,
While as the walls with ampler shade repel
The garish noon-beam, every object round
Laughs with a deeper dye, and wears profuse
A lovelier lustre, ravished from the day.

Watson's "Lucretius," l. iv. 77 sqq.

* Martial, "De Pasiphais Spectaculo."—(*De Spec.* v.); Suetonius, *Nero*, 12.

† "As erst, bound down upon the Scythian rock, Prometheus with ever-renewed vitals feasted the untiring vulture, so has Laureolus, suspended on no feigned cross, offered his defenceless entrails to a Caledonian bear. His mangled limbs quivered, every part dripping with gore.—This criminal had surpassed the crimes of ancient story, and what had been fabulous was, in his case, a real punishment."—*Ibid.* *Ep.* vii.

for his perhaps merited death;* another condemned to appear in the part of Orpheus, and be torn to pieces by bears, as the poet was by infuriated Bacchantes.† In the part of Mutius Scævola a slave was condemned to have his hand burnt off, thus imitating the voluntary sacrifice of the Roman conspirator against Porsena. Another victim was actually consumed in the flames, by such death representing the scene of Hercules on Mount Œtus. In the presence of Nero, an unfortunate actor was raised from the ground (his part being Icarus), and dashed on the stage so that the Emperor's feet and footstool were sprinkled with his blood.‡ The classic writers of Rome afford ample testimony to the demoralizing influences of the local stage. Ovid counsels young maidens, among remedies against love,

— ne'er to frequent the wanton theatre
Where vain desires in all their pomp appear.

Zosimus points out the licentiousness of the pre-eminently popular pantomime performance: "It was (he says) in the time of Augustus that was introduced the Pantomime with dance, which had never been heard of before, as well as many other things productive of a multitude of evils." Tacitus describes the abuses of the stage in the reign of Nero: "To gratify his passion for scenic amusements, he (the Emperor) established an entertainment called the

* "Dædalus, while thou wast being thus torn by a Lucanian bear, how must thou have desired to have those wings of thine!"—*Ibid.* *Ep.* viii.

† "Above the poet hung many a bird, but he himself was laid low, torn by an ungrateful bear. Thus, however, this story, which was before but a fiction, has now become a fact."—*Ibid.* *Ep.* xxi.

Martial's "De Spectaculis" contains allusions extending from A.D. 80 to about A.D. 94.

‡ "Icarus, upon his first attempt, fell down close by his (Nero's) feet, and bespattered him with his blood."—*Sueton. Nero.* 12.

Juvenile Sports. To promote this institution numbers of the first distinction enrolled their names. Neither rank, nor age, nor civil honours were an exemption. All degrees embraced the theatrical art, and, with emulation, became the rivals of Greek and Roman mimicry ; proud to languish at the soft cadence of effeminate notes, and to catch the graces of wanton deportment. Women of rank studied the most lascivious characters." (*Annals*, l. xiv. 15.) Disorders, leading sometimes to bloodshed, used to take place in the theatre, owing to the passionate partisanship for favourite actors or dancers—and this notwithstanding the presence of an entire cohort, 1000 soldiers, according to regulations for maintaining order at dramatic performances from the earlier times of the Empire. Nero removed that guard from the theatres ; and the consequences were that the tumults of faction increased so as to necessitate the banishment of all Pantomimi from Rome and Italy. They were recalled four or five years later. The Senate decreed (A.D. 15) that those histrionic favourites should only exhibit themselves in public, not at private entertainments. Domitian prohibited their public appearance whilst permitting them to act in private houses. Nerva, yielding to the popular wish, sanctioned the reappearance of the Pantomimi on the public stage. Trajan again suppressed all their performances, but, after his triumph for his Dacian conquests, A.D. 106, revoked that inhibition. Hadrian not only gave full liberty to the stage and its artists, but allowed the Pantomimi who were engaged for the pleasure of his court to exhibit, like others, in public. The law which deprived all actors of the honours and privileges of citizenship was revoked, probably by Diocletian, on behalf of those who had only appeared on the boards when minors in age.

A fatal germ of decay and tendency to corruption mani-

fest themselves in the Theatre as in other institutions of ancient Rome. It is well to contemplate the realities of that stage created and possessed by the genius of such Heathenism as dominated over the Roman mind : its shows and paraphernalia, its fantastic pantomime, and horror-striking tragedies made subservient to licentiousness, pandering to brutal tastes, attracting the lowest minds by the most detestable exhibitions. The walls of Roman theatres might tell a tale almost as dreadful as might the arcades of the Colosseum. There is matter for thought and gratitude in the consideration of such realities of the Past contrasted with those of the Present ; and we turn from the ancient theatre with a quickened sense of all we owe to the beneficent power of that Faith which has made its purifying influences felt even in the haunts of public amusement.

Let us now consider the few remains of buildings appropriated for dramatic performance, at this day extant in Rome. The oldest of which any remnant is visible is the theatre founded, about B.C. 14 (dedicated two years afterwards), by Cornelius Balbus, Consul in the year 39 B.C., the friend of Augustus, and who enjoyed the honours of a triumph for military successes in Africa, B.C. 19. Much of the wealth accumulated from the spoils of victory was applied to the building of this theatre, with a contiguous portico. According to the "Notitia Urbis," it could accommodate 30,085 ; according to other reports, only 11,510 spectators. It is supposed that the gloomy palace, once that of the Cenci family (near the Jews' quarter), stands on an elevation formed by its long prostrate débris. In the pontific "Ordo" of 1143 it is styled, by strange mistake, "Theatrum Antonini." The sole conspicuous remnants of it now visible are a portion of one of the *cunei*, near that "palazzo Cenci ;" also two columns and a fragment of an architrave built into a house front. In the obscure *Via S.*

Maria in Cacaberis there are other remains of its architecture in travertine, two half-columns, an architrave, and an upper storey with brick pilasters, which probably belonged to the portico, one of those called "crypto-porticus" because enclosed within walls. Near this were found (about 1556) the colossal statues of Castor and Pollux, with their steeds, which no doubt adorned that Balbus Theatre, and which now stand on the platform terrace of the Capitol.

Julius Cæsar, desiring to vie with, and in all things surpass, his rival Pompeius (who had founded the most splendid theatre in Rome), ordered the erection of another theatre, in the clearing of the space requisite for which many houses, even temples, were demolished, on an area between the Tarpeian rock and the left bank of the Tiber. Augustus completed this edifice, and dedicated it to his beloved nephew, the early-lost Marcellus, B.C. 12. It is said to have accommodated 20,000 spectators. We are told that in the entertainments for inaugurating it 700 wild animals were slaughtered; and Pliny mentions a tame tiger, the first such specimen seen at Rome, exhibited on that occasion. This theatre was reduced to ruin by the great fire in the time of Nero, and was restored by Vespasian. It probably suffered also from the fire during the reign of Titus; and Lampridius mentions the intention only of Alexander Severus to restore it—"theatrum Marcelli reficere voluit." About the year 1086, it was fortified and occupied by Pier Leone, the founder of a famous family, who gave shelter within these walls, A.D. 1099, to Pope Urban II. at an emergency of danger.* That much-tried Pontiff closed his life, in the same year, while a guest of his protector in this

* The mediæval chronicler of the Popes, Pandolphus Pisanus, says: "Qui (Urban II.) apud ecclesiam Sancti Nicolai in Carcere, in domo Petri Leonis—animam Deo reddidit."

now castellated theatre. In 1116 a tumult broke out among the Roman people owing to a struggle of factions for obtaining the office of Civic Prefect—then invested with considerable powers. Pier Leone desired to secure it for his son, and in consequence his fortress was attacked on the eastern side, where now extends the quaintly characteristic Piazza Montanara—a haunt in which we may observe the genuine Romanesque in the popular life of Rome. That onset, as we may believe, caused great damage to what remained of classic architecture in the metamorphosed building of Augustus. The descendants of Pier Leone were succeeded in occupation here, in the XIII. century, by the potent Savelli family, who became extinct in the earlier years of the last century. Their successors were the Orsini, which baronial family, once alike powerful and turbulent, still owns and inhabits the modern *palazzo* which in this instance absorbs the classically antique. Of the two storeys of arcades only twelve arches remain, with their vaulted chambers still open on the ground floor; above these are the arcades and pilasters of the second storey, still recognisable, though the spaces are filled with mediæval masonry, no doubt thrown up by the Savelli, and of the style called “Saracenesca,” which prevailed much in and around Rome during the middle ages. The highest storey has totally disappeared. It was, we may believe, an attic with rectilinear windows and Corinthian pilasters—seeing that the other orders, Doric and Ionic, are represented in the two storeys still partially preserved. We see here the earliest example in Rome of the prescribed super-imposition of those classic orders, Doric on the ground floor, Ionic on the upper, and Corinthian (as in this instance supposable) on the highest storey. A dusky and sullen pile, in its now half ruinous and rudely repaired condition, has this Marcellus theatre become. The arcades still erect in massive tra-

vertine stonework, scarcely injured, on the ground floor, are utilized as shops of the humblest description, in the interior of which we see the ancient vaulting quite firm and compact. Here we find the establishments of a blacksmith, a cheesemonger, and an *osteria*. The business of the smithy, after night-fall, causes a lighting up of the antique interior most picturesque in effect as seen from the outside ; and I would advise the tourist to order a bottle of wine from mine host of the dim-lit *osteria* for the sake of observing at leisure (and with compensation) the mysterious retreat, which at first sight might be supposed a cavern, or some fit haunt for bandits, where Antiquity is here subjected to such vulgar, yet withal picturesque appropriation.

The plan of this theatre is clearly displayed in a well-preserved portion of the ancient map of Rome, now in the Capitoline Museum.

A few fragments of architecture probably belonging to the proscenium of this theatre—i.e. a Doric pilaster and cornice—remain at the angle of a house near the gateway of the Orsini palace ; also, set into the front-wall of that mansion, some granite columns from the classic stage. In the dingy penetralia of an old-fashioned *osteria* ("della Campana") some of the vaulting which sustained the gradines may be recognized ; and no doubt many other remnants still exist, concealed among the dilapidated houses of obscure streets near the Piazza Montanara which now occupies the site of the Forum Olitorium, or great vegetable market, of the ancient city, external to the Porta Carmentalis in the Servian walls, here rising along the level ground between the Tarpeian Rock and the Tiber. In a narrow portion of those old fortifications there were three gateways, the Carmentalis (under the Tarpeian rock), the Triumphalis, and the Flumentana, nearer to the river. Livius

(l. iv. 26) mentions the *ludus Trojæ*,* in which well-born youths, among others Caius, the grandson of Augustus, took part at the fêtes for inaugurating this theatre, B.C. 12. Suetonius in his life of that Emperor (*Octav. August.* 29) gives but few words to the subject—more in his life of Vespasian, referring to the dedication of the restored *scena*.†

In dark subterranean places by torchlight might be seen, till recent time, vestiges of the first erected, and apparently the most magnificent of permanent theatres in Rome, that founded by Pompeius the Great, B.C. 54, at the same time as, and connected with, other extensive public buildings: a temple, a vast portico with one hundred columns around its quadrangle, and a Curia for the assemblage of the Senate,—scene of a memorable event—the assassination of Julius Cæsar. The temple, dedicated to Venus Victrix, stood within the semicircular *cavea* of the theatre; and this aggregate of stately edifices occupied the level space between the south-western side of the Campus Martius and the left bank of the Tiber. The superb portico was called, from its hundred columns, *Hecatonstylon*; and is said to have been 700 feet in length by 550 in width. The area included within its graceful architecture was planted with trees, as a public garden; and along the four sides of the vast parallelogram opened *exedrae*, for repose or converse,

* Under the general name of *ludi* were included chariot races, gladiatorial combats, theatrical performances, and also those military shows, like reviews or sham-fights, exhibited by youths of patrician birth on horseback, called *ludi Trojæ*. v. Tacit. *Ann.* xi. 11, Suet. *Aug.* 43. Virgil, *Æneid.* l. v. 448-587.

† “In these games—he revived the ancient musical performances (*acroamata*). To Apollinaris the tragedian he gave 400,000 sesterces; to Terpnus and Diodorus, the *citharædi*, 200,000; and the least that he gave to any (of the artists engaged) was 40,000, besides a great many gold crowns.”—*Vespas.* 19.

alternately rectilinear and curvilinear in form. It is supposed that the forty-four columns of granite in the beautiful court of the Cancelleria palace, built by Bramante, may have belonged to that Pompeian portico. The northern angle of the stage is supposed to have reached the site where now stands the tribune of the Theatine church, *S. Andrea della Valle*; the Curia to have stood near the church, or contiguous convent, of *S. Carlo ai Catinari*.^{*} The senatorial prohibition against the erecting of any theatre in the city or its environs being still in force, Pompeius adopted the expedient of giving a species of consecration to the scene for public amusement by raising the temple of Venus at a level with the highest gradines, in the midst of the *cavea*, there so placed that its front would overlook the stage. When, therefore, the public were invited to the festivities for the inauguration of the building, it was for spectacles and games given in honour of the goddess that the Roman people were officially summoned. Dion Cassius (l. xxxix. c. 38) mentions the musical performances and athletic contests provided for the occasion.[†] Plutarch states that the plan and architecture of this theatre were copied from a Greek original, at Mitylene,

^{*} The diagram of these buildings is fortunately preserved among the fragments of the ancient plan of Rome, in the Capitoline museum. We there recognise the theatre, with its mutilated title THEATRUM (Pomp)EI, the portico, and the Curia at the south-western side of the quadrangular colonnades. We may even identify the very spot where "great Cæsar fell" beneath Pompey's statue, in a hemicycle at one extremity of the hall for the Judge's tribunal, at which, no doubt, the Dictator would have taken his seat on the fatal Ides of March. Brutus, we are told, sat at that tribunal administering justice, while perfectly tranquil and self-possessed, on the morning of that day.

[†] He also mentions, but does not guarantee, the report that this theatre was actually built by one Demetrius, a freed man of Pompeius, who had acquired immense wealth in the campaigns of that leader.

the capital of Lesbos, where Pompeius had been present at games and poetic recitations given in his honour after his victories over Mithridates, king of Pontus. Struck by the beauty of that Lesbian theatre, the victorious leader ordered plans and drawings of it for his architects to copy in another edifice, his own creation, the desire of erecting which in Rome seems then and there to have entered into his mind.* According to Pliny (H. N. xxxvi. 15), this theatre could accommodate 40,000 spectators; but other reports reduce the number to 27,000, or 17,580. In the mind of the founder, his theatre and temple became associated with ominous portents of his own fate. Plutarch tells us that, on the night before the battle of Pharsalia: "Pompeius dreamt that he was entering the theatre where the people received him with joyous bursts of applause, and that he proceeded to adorn the temple of Venus, giver of victories, with many spoils won in battle; which vision in one sense encouraged him, but in another gave him trouble through the fear that, the race of Cæsar being derived from Venus, it might signify that glory and splendour were to be acquired not by himself but by Cæsar, his antagonist." (Pompeius, lxvii.) In the year 22 (A.D.) the stage, probably of woodwork alone,

* "Being delighted (says Plutarch, *Pomp.* XLI.) with the theatre of Mitylene, he ordered designs of the elevation and plan, intending to have one like it erected at Rome, but larger and more magnificent." The same writer describes the entertainments at the inauguration of this theatre: "a variety of gymnastic games, performances of music, and combats with wild beasts, in which were killed 500 lions; but the battle of elephants afforded the most astonishing spectacle." Dion adds that eighteen elephants were then exhibited, to be attacked by armed men; and that the people, moved by their piteous cries, desired and obtained for those creatures that life should be spared. In all these particulars we find no mention of any nobler, or dramatic, appropriation of this new theatre at Rome.

was destroyed by fire. It was restored and dedicated anew, with splendid entertainments, by Claudius.* Among pageants beheld within these walls, the most memorable was that prepared by Nero, in honour of his guest Tiridates, king of Armenia. Not only the *scena*, but the whole *cavea* and gradines of seats were covered with gilding, and the *velarium* (awning) was of purple studded with gold stars, and displaying in the midst the effigy of Nero in act of driving a chariot. In memory of this, the day so celebrated for the reception of the oriental King was called "the golden day."† The theatre again suffered much from the great fire, A.D. 80, in the time of Titus, and was restored by Domitian. Eusebius mentions another conflagration, A.D. 247, in which not only this theatre but the great portico adjoining it sustained serious injuries ; and after which it was again restored. Yet once more did fire devastate these buildings, kindled during a grand spectacular performance given by Carinus (*v. Vopiscus, Life of that Emperor, c. xix*). The restoration by Diocletian is described as most magnificent ; and thenceforth was the "Hecatonstylon" called "Porticus Jovia," from the cognomen of Jovius, which Diocletian assumed. From a mutilated epigraph copied by the "Anonymous of Einsiedlin," it appears that yet one

* The description of the dedicatory festival by Suetonius indicates the position of the temple with respect to the *cavea* and *orchestra* : "In the games he (Claudius) exhibited for the dedication of the Pompeian theatre, which had been burnt and restored by him, he presided on a throne erected in the *orchestra*, after having first offered up prayers in the temple above (*cum prius apud superiores ædes supplicasset*), and then descended into the middle of the *cavea*, whilst all present kept their seats in silence." (*Tib. Claud. 21.*) The same historian tells us that Caius Cæsar finished (*absolvit*) the theatre of Pompeius and the temple of Augustus, "works that were left incomplete under Tiberius." (*C. Cæsar Calig. 21.*)

† τὴν ἡμέραν χρυσῆν. Dion, l. xliii. 6.

more restoration, probably after damages caused to these buildings by earthquake, was carried out in the names of Arcadius and Honorius, then reigning over the East and West—an important testimony, for it serves to prove that the performances of the classic stage (whether dramatic or merely spectacular) were kept up in Rome during the earlier years of the V. century.* There are indeed grounds for supposing that till the reign of the Ostrogothic King, Theodoric (who ruled over almost all Italy for thirty-three years, till his death, A.D. 526), entertainments of some kind were still given in the Pompeius Theatre, for we find mention in the letters of his secretary Cassiodorus (*Varior.* l. iv. § 51) of certain repairs ordered by him, and which he charged the Senator Symmachus to see carried into effect as requisite in the then state of this antique building. That it still existed in ruins which were conspicuous, and known under the right name, till the XII century, is shown by the pontific “Ordo” (1143), which directs that the procession attending the Pope on his way from St. Peter’s to the Lateran, on Easter Monday, should pass between the Circus of Alexander and the “Theatrum Pompei.” Towards the close of the XIII. century these classic remains were, like so many others in Rome, appropriated by baronial owners, and for fortified residence, namely by the then powerful Orsini. Petrarch saw what he calls an “Arch of Pompeius the Great”—probably one of the arcades, or chief entrances, of the theatre, still erect. An epigraph found on this site, “Genium Theatri Pompeiani,” is given by Flavio Biondo, probably one among many the exhuming of which, together with heaps of marble frag-

* *DDm. Arcadius et Honorius perpetui Augg. Theatrum Pompei exteriori ambitu magna etiam interiori virtute convulsam subductis et excitatis in vice—.*

ments, on this area, is mentioned by the learned Poggio Bracciolini early in the XV. century.

But what was the fate of that Curia—scene of the ever memorable tragedy which it would indeed be interesting to associate with any extant ruins? After the murder of the great Julius the Senators retired in confusion, heedless of the efforts of Brutus to detain and address them on the spot. In their retreat they spread terror and confusion through the city. The low populace and the gladiators began the work of pillage and rapine. If there were any power left in Rome amidst the anarchy ensuing, it might be said to rest with that poor mangled corpse, which lay bathed in blood at the base of Pompeius' statue, an image itself overthrown in the struggle of the death-scene, till three slaves at last carried it away on a litter to the house of the widowed Calpurnia. During the tumult excited by the subtle eloquence of Antonius in his well-known funeral oration, the people rushed to this Curia and set fire to it, but apparently without any serious damage to its solid architecture. The site of the bloody deed being held in abhorrence, it was soon ordered that this edifice should be shut. From the words of Suetonius ("Curiam, in qua occisus est, obstrui placuit") we may infer indeed that the entrances were walled up; and at the same time it was decreed that the Ides (15th) of March should be designated *parricidium*, and that the Senate should never assemble on that day. Appian is our authority for the firing of the Curia by the populace; and Dion Cassius mentions its being closed, no more to serve as a senate-house, immediately after the murder. (l. xlvii. 19.) Thenceforth we find no record of this building, and may suppose that, together with the portico of a hundred columns, it either perished through some shock of disaster, or was taken to pieces by unscrupulous owners—probably the Orsini—intending to use its materials for their barbaric

fortresses. In modern time, long after the Orsini castle had disappeared, a *palazzo* named after its proprietors, "Pio Righetti," arose on a part of the ground once occupied by the now buried ruins of the theatre. Below that mansion were, till recently, visible and accessible some note-worthy remains of the Pompeian buildings. One descended from two different wings of the residence into cellars communicating with some halls in ancient masonry under vaulted roofs of tufa stonework; the construction in other parts being of the same stonework mixed with the *opus reticulatum*. Another chamber is excavated out of solid rock (lithoid tufa), and on one side lined with brickwork. But the most remarkable remnant of the antique among these ruins is an elevation of enormous and regularly hewn blocks of the tufa called *peperino*, apparently the foundation walls of some edifice. One must accept the conclusion of learned archæologists that this belongs to the temple which Pompeius dedicated to Venus, and that the halls with reticulated masonry belong to the ground-floor storey of the theatre.*

It was with surprise and indignation that I learnt, when desiring on one occasion to revisit these ruins, and applying as usual at the Pio-Righetti mansion, that the subterranean chambers were no longer accessible; that in consequence of some buildings being undertaken by new proprietors, those underground places were so blocked up by partition walls that no portion of the antique constructions could be seen. In an obscure crescent-formed street, called *Grotta Pinta*, near this spot, are some remains of massive vaults covered with apparently ancient stucco, now all begrimed with smoke, and enclosed within some rude and dismal stables. These also may be considered remains of the Pompeian

* Measurement of the peperino construction, 22 paces in length; the square hewn stones, 6 palms in width, 2 in height. v. *Beschreibung Roms*.

theatre; and new buildings, recently in progress, threaten to cause the destruction, or concealment, of the few vestiges of antiquity on this site, as elsewhere. The name *Grotta Pinta* is derived from a Madonna-picture discovered, after being long forgotten, in one of those ancient vaulted chambers—such as are popularly called in Rome “*grotte*,” in this same street—no doubt belonging likewise to the buildings of Pompeius.

The ruins of the public works raised by that mighty leader were suffered to disappear, buried underground, for the convenience of private persons, without any interference from authorities, or protest from learned societies, under the late Government of Rome. Such neglect is inexcusable, seeing that it betrays not alone want of reverence for the illustrious dead, but disregard for the solemn lessons of History embodied in the brilliant course of Roman triumphs. With the above-mentioned ruins are associated the memories of two among the greatest made known to us on the historic page. Reading the lives of Cæsar and Pompeius as narrated by Plutarch, and considering the marvellous display, in both, of exhaustless energies, unfailing resources, power to endure, to guide and subdue, the wonderful drama of victories, and the pageant-symbolism of those victories in the long-drawn triumphs on the Sacred Way—above all, the pathos of the tragic catastrophe with which each illustrious career closes—can we fail to admit the conviction that these men were instruments in the hands of God? May we not with justice apply to both (to the Dictator more especially) the lines in Manzoni's sublime lyric on the death of the first Napoleon :—

Chiniam la fronte al massimo
Fattor, che volle in Lui
Del Creator suo Spirito
Piu vasta orma stampar !

Plutarch, writing about eighty years after the death of Cæsar, may have availed himself of oral traditions still popular and distinct, and is therefore a credible witness. He mentions the circumstance, so fraught with impressive effect, of the illustrious victim falling at the base of Pompeius' statue, and drenching it with his blood—"as if (says the historian) Pompeius himself had presided over the vengeance inflicted on his foe, who now lay prostrate at his feet," pierced with twenty-three wounds, after (and this we have also from the same writer)—

Folding his robe with dying dignity—

that no indecorous attitude or exposure might mar the solemnity of his death-scene. The celebrated statue now in the Spada palace was found (1553) under a street, *Via de' Leutari*, at some distance north-westward from the theatre,* where it lay under earth, being actually divided into two by the partition wall of a house, the head lying on one side, the body on another. Purchased by a Cardinal for 500 scudi (2500 francs), it was placed in that mansion which subsequently took its name from other owners, the Spadas. Much controversy has been raised about this colossal figure, which is of Greek marble, eleven feet high. In support of the claim investing it with most of interest, may be urged the resemblance, pronounced by critics unmistakeable, in the nobly characterized head to that of Pompeius on coins; and among details in which likeness appears, is the gathering of the hair in a species of knot over the forehead, a peculiarity distinguishing the great leader—see Plutarch, who calls this natural head-dress *αναστολη*.†

* "He (Augustus) removed the statue of Pompeius from the Curia in which J. Cæsar had been slain, and placed it on a marble Janus (arch), opposite the royal entrance to his (the Pompeian) theatre."—Sueton. *Octav. August.* 31.

† The archæologist Fea assumes that this is a portrait statue of Domitian, executed during his life, and (like others of that Emperor) ordered

Other sculptures of a high order have been exhumed on, or near, the site of Pompeius' buildings. In the time of Julius II. was found under the adjacent *Campo di Fiori* the far-famed "Torso Belvedere," or seated Hercules, probably belonging to a group of the demi-god with Hebe standing beside him—the work, as the Greek epigraph on the base informs us, of Apollonius, an Athenian. In 1864 was discovered, in the course of laying foundations for new building at the Pio-Righetti palace, the colossal bronze Hercules, referred by some critics to the best period of Greek art (though opinions on its claims widely differ), which was purchased by Pius IX. for 10,000 scudi, and placed in the Vatican Museum. It was laid underground, at the depth of thirty feet, in a kind of tunnel formed of travertine stonework, and otherwise filled with shells and débris, being thus deposited, no doubt, in order to preserve it from injury—and, we may suppose, by some ancient Heathens who feared the iconoclast zeal of the Christians.*

to be broken after his death. The marks of fillets on the shoulders show that the head was crowned with a diadem; this detail, also the globe in the right hand, and the nudity of the figure, seem to militate against the notion that it can be intended for an officer or magistrate under the mighty Republic. But the diadem and globe *may* have been assigned by flattery to the conqueror of Mithridates, to him who "found Asia Minor the boundary, and left it the centre of the Roman Empire" (v. Murray's "Rome"); and there is reason to believe that the place where this antique was found, under a cellar, corresponds to that of the Janus Arch on which Pompeius' effigy was erected after its removal from the Curia.

* In the same curiously contrived burial-place with the statue were found heaps of broken marbles, various in quality, and comprising the most precious species; also, at the feet of the Hercules, a small female bust. In the recent works at the same *palazzo*, other now subterranean chambers were opened, and among fragmentary marble objects that lay in them were found a dressed female statue, in style superior, and a head so death-like as to be evidently from a cast taken after decease. Explorations on this site, undertaken by Signor Righetti, led to the

One conjecture is that it is a portrait of Domitian in the character of Hercules, that Emperor's favourite deity.* Before the time of Pompeius the treasures of Greece had been brought in abundance to Rome. The Consul Marcellus, who conquered Syracuse after a siege of three years (B.C. 212), declared that he had despoiled that great city in order to enrich the public edifices of Rome. Well known is the story of the Consul L. Mummius, the conqueror and destroyer of Corinth, Thebes and Chalcis (B.C. 147), who, sending to Rome the art-works seized at Corinth, imposed the obligation on those to whom he entrusted them, in case of their being damaged or lost, to make others like them! Other Roman Generals had a different way of estimating such objects; but almost all alike regarded, and appropriated them, as spoils of war. Lucius Scipio, returning from his campaigns, brought to the now well-enriched metropolis 1424 lbs. weight of silver, and 1024 lbs. of gold wrought in vases. Marcus Fulvius Nobilior (Consul, B.C. 189) returned from his victories in Ætolia with 280 statues of bronze, and 230 of marble. Sulla, after despoiling Athens and other Greek cities, brought with him the artistic and other treasures from the three most splendid temples of Apollo at Delphi, from that of Æsculapius in Epidaurus, and that of Jupiter at Elis, from which last fane

unearthing of many remnants of marble ornamentation, no doubt from the theatre; and at the same time researches were ordered by Government with the object of reaching the possibly extant ruins of the Hecatonstylon portico. No important results were obtained; and we must mourn the loss of the Pompeian buildings as irretrievable.

* Near the site of the Pompeian theatre was found the colossal statue of Melpomene (the right forearm and the tragic mask in the hand restored) now in the Louvre—a cast at the South Kensington Museum. It is a grand embodiment of the ideal of personified Tragedy, like one inspired from the musings of profound melancholy tempered by an atmosphere of lofty serenity.

even its columns and the bronze threshold of its portal were carried to Rome. Varro and Licinius Murena (the former in the wars of Pompeius against Cæsar, the latter in the Mithridatic war under Sulla) caused the walls of temples in Sparta to be stript of their fresco-paintings, that those works might be transported to the same great centre. Julius Cæsar collected statues, paintings, intaglio gems, &c., thus setting an example followed by many wealthy citizens, who became connoisseurs, amassing such treasures for private benefit. Many Greek artists, driven by want from their now subjected country after the wars between Cæsar and Pompeius, repaired to Italy, and found employment, fame and ample recompense at Rome.

To return to the vicissitudes of the theatre,—which, under Christian authority and influences, were utterly unlike anything occurring in earlier times, and (as might be expected) were most singular in the Rome of Papal Government.

While the memory of what the ancient stage had been was still vivid in the public mind, it was natural that the Church should severely condemn it, denouncing not only the histrionic profession, but all those who countenanced it by their presence. In primitive times spiritual penalties were decreed against the faithful for attendance at theatres. In the so-called “Apostolic Constitutions” is the clause: “Whoever is addicted to theatres and public spectacles—let him either cease to intervene at such, or be refused Baptism.” It was rigorously required that actors should quit the stage before being admitted to any Sacraments. Cyprian (in a letter to one Eucratius) answers with uncompromising negative the inquiry whether an actor who had been duly received into Christian communion, but who, as means of supporting himself, gave lessons in his art to young candidates, could be permitted thus to countenance

the profession he had ceased publicly to practise. In the latter half of the IV. century, a Council at Laodicea strictly forbade the frequenting of theatres to all ecclesiastics; and the apostate Emperor Julian commends the self-denial of the Christian Clergy with this respect, in a letter to a Heathen *pontifex*. The second Council of Arles (A.D. 452) decreed that a Christian who appeared in any part on the stage should be deprived of communion during forty days. An African Council, in the same century, undertook to petition the reigning Emperor for the suspense of all theatrical entertainments, even with Heathen performers, on Sundays and other festivals. The sixth Œcumenical Council, at Constantinople, A.D. 680, excluded actors from the sacraments, and forbade the faithful to assume any theatrical travesties.*

Eminent Fathers of the Church, eastern and western, Augustine, Basil, Ambrose, and Cyril of Jerusalem alike condemn the stage and its artists. But it does not appear that the taste for it was at any time eradicated among the faithful, at least after the fresh fervour of the Apostolic age had passed away. We are told that at the funeral of the above-named Julian, "comedians, resenting his contempt for the theatre, exhibited, with applause of a Christian audience, the lively and exaggerated representation of the faults and follies of the deceased Emperor." (Gibbon, ch. xxiv.) The corruptions of the antique Roman stage may be considered to be expiated at this day by the modern theatre, and those connected with it, wherever the Latin Church is dominant. In the christianized city under the Papal sceptre the first permanent theatre was founded by a private speculator, and opened for public performances in (or soon after) the year 1691, on the site of the prisons called from a mediæval tower "Torre di Nona," where the

* Mamachi, "Costumi dei primitivi Cristiani," t. ii. c. v. § iii. 11.

unhappy Beatrice Cenci spent the last days of her life, and near to which she suffered on the scaffold. But the reigning Pope Innocent XII. was so displeased at this novelty that he ordered the new theatre not only to be closed, but demolished. His more liberal successor, Clement XI. (1700-21), allowed it to be rebuilt by the architect Carlo Fontana. Both those estimable Pontiffs, however, rejected the appeal of the body of actors in France against the rigours of the national clergy, who had excluded them from the sacraments during a jubilee proclaimed by Innocent XII. in 1696, and during the "Holy Year," 1700. Their supplications were referred to a Committee of Bishops at Rome, who in each instance decided unfavourably, of course with sanction from the Vatican—*v. Migne*, "Dictionnaire des Mystères." Restored several times, and in the last instance in 1820, the "Tor di Nona," or *Apollo*, is still the fashionable theatre for operatic performance. A descriptive work on Rome, 1744,* enumerates, besides that same "Tor di Nona," seven theatres then in activity within this metropolis; the second in date of origin being the *teatro Capranica*, built (1720) within the picturesque XV. century palace of the Capranica family; the third, *teatro Valle*, still appropriated to legitimate drama, and originally built (1726) within the palace of the Della Valle family. Till the late political changes, the Cardinal President of Rome and the Comarca used to "assist," in his magisterial capacity, at the first performance of each winter season at the *Apollo* opera-house.†

* Bernardini, *Descrizione dei Rioni di Roma*, published by order of Benedict XIV.

† Lecky, "History of Rationalism," follows out thoroughly and ably the curious particulars of the conflict between the Church and the Stage, and shows how it has resulted in the victory won, with aid from the auxiliary forces of modern intellect and popular taste, by the latter over the former.

CHAPTER XIII.

THERMÆ, CIRCUSES, AND AQUEDUCTS.

THE public Bath and the various entertainments enjoyed at the "Thermæ" fill a prominent place in the social life of the ancient Romans, that life from thorough acquaintance with which we learn no lesson so strikingly conveyed as this—that, among nations guided by no deeply-felt or rational religion, accepting no high standard of morality, decay and irremediable corruption are the inevitable law and darkly prevailing fact.

For the exercises of bathing and swimming, as for personal cleanliness, those citizens were first provided with a lake (the *piscina publica*), which all could make use of, in the year B.C. 312, when the waters of the Appian Aqueduct were brought along underground channels to a spot near the Circus Maximus, in the valley between the Coelian and Aventine hills. Here alone could they so enjoy and cleanse themselves till within a few years before our era, when the first establishment for cold and hot baths (Thermæ) was bequeathed to the citizens by its founder Vipsanius Agrippa, the son-in-law of Augustus by marriage with his only daughter Julia, from the age of eighteen the intimate friend, later the influential counsellor of that Emperor, and who, in the stages of a brilliant career, was thrice Consul, once Ædile, B.C. 33, commander of fleets and armies, and who died at the age of fifty-one, B.C. 12.* To him were this

* Justly is it said of this distinguished man in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "that he was the greatest military commander of Rome

people indebted for the free use of the Thermæ built in his extensive gardens on the Campus Martius, and supplied with water from a source near the Via Collatina, called "Aqua Virgo," eight miles distant from the city-gates. The chronologic order in which other public Thermæ were founded, those of Agrippa having been opened B.C. 21, was as follows: those of Nero, A.D. 65; of Titus, A.D. 81; of Domitian (probably an amplification of the former), A.D. 95; of Trajan, between A.D. 98 and 117 (the precise date uncertain); of Commodus, A.D. 185; of Septimius Severus, A.D. 202; of M. Aurelius Antoninus, A.D. 216; of Helio-gabalus, between A.D. 218 and 222; of Alexander Severus (who probably united by intermediate buildings the Thermæ of Agrippa and Nero), A.D. 229; of Decius, between A.D. 249 and 251; of Aurelian (in the Transtiberine quarter), between A.D. 270 and 275; of Diocletian, A.D. 302; of Constantine, A.D. 326.* Besides these, other such establishments were founded by the Empresses Agrippina and Helena, and by a patrician matron, Olympias, alike for their own sex exclusively.

The whole system of the Roman Bath, and the arrangements in the great public buildings appropriated to it, are fully described by learned writers; and the English reader will find all information on this subject in the Dictionaries of Classic Antiquity by Smith, Rich, and Ramsay. I need but mention the principal compartments into which those edifices, so few of which are preserved to this day even in ruin, were divided: the "Frigidarium," a great hall, containing since the days of Julius Cæsar, and the most honest of Roman Governors in any province." *Virtutis nobilissimæ, labore, vigiliâ, periculo invictus*, is the eloquent praise bestowed on him by V. Paternulus.

* There is reason to conclude that the buildings of Agrippa and Alexander Severus should class among the great *balnæa* for bathing alone, not among the Thermæ, where so many other accessorial pleasures, and so many halls or courts for different purposes were provided.

the cold plunge bath (*natatio, piscina*), large enough for many to join in the exercise of swimming; the “Tepidarium,” of about the same size, heated artificially, but not at very high temperature; the “Calidarium” (*sudatorium, concamerata sudatio*), usually a rotunda, heated by a furnace under the pavement (*hypocaustum*), from which the hot air ascended by flues (*caloriferes*) ranged around the walls; and here did the bathers sit on stone benches, rising one above the other, till profuse perspiration came on. At one angle of this apartment was placed a cylindrical pillar communicating with the furnace, and closed at the summit with a metal disk, which could be lifted so as to admit hot air, or even flames, as desired for raising the temperature—and this, sometimes indeed the whole apartment from this object, was called the “Laconicum.” Besides these, the three principal divisions, there was the Balneum, where the hot bath could be taken in two ways—either in a large marble vessel (*labrum*) around which the bathers were seated, or in a marble tank (*alveus*) sunk below the level of the floor, and in which the whole body was immersed. Other minor compartments were: “Apodyteria” (rooms for undressing), “Capsarii” (for slaves who took care of the bathers’ clothes), “Baptisteria,” smaller (probably private) chambers for the plunging baths; “Eloeothesia,” for the anointing of the body with oil; “Conisteria,” for sprinkling it with sand after the bath or athletic exercises; “Sphaeristeria,” for the, among the Romans, favourite game at ball. In some, if not in all the Thermæ, one apartment contained an altar dedicated to the Deity supposed to preside over such establishments. The main body of buildings, the Thermæ properly speaking, stood in the midst of a great quadrangle laid out as a garden with walks, and planted usually with plane trees, around which rose porticos and other structures,—an imposing ex-

tent of rich architecture for various uses, the haunts of pleasure, or of study, where intellectual converse, fine art, and favourite spectacular displays might be enjoyed by all classes alike. Here were placed the Exedræ, open hemicycles with seats, for conversation ; the Scholæ, for literary discussion, and in which, probably, took place the frequent recitations by poets, or other writers, of their own works ; a stadium (called also *theatridium*) with seats ascending stepwise, as in theatres, for races and other popular amusements ; also Pinacothecæ, and libraries, usually two, one for Greek and one for Latin literature. The Palæstræ were spacious hypæthral courts, surrounded with porticos, for gymnastic exercises or the performances of professional athletes, and which (as still distinguishable in the Antonine Thermæ) formed two great compartments at the opposite sides of the main body of buildings. It appears that the “ xysti ” on the thermal premises were not covered corridors, like those attached to the Greek gymnasia, but open walks, bordered with box, and winding amidst beds of flowers in the (no doubt) very pleasant gardens amidst which the great central edifice stood. Literary pursuits occupied much of the time spent by cultivated men on such premises. Augustus used to compose epigrams while in the bath. The younger Pliny mentions his similar literary habits—composing his hendecasyllabic verses in his carriage, at the supper-table, or in the bath.—(*Epist.* xiv. l. iv.) Aulus Gellius tells us that he used to read Sallust’s “ Catilina ” with a congenial friend, whilst they walked together in the gardens around the Baths of Titus.* Horace complains of the too frequent declamations by poets, who loved to collect audiences for a

* “ Hieme jam decedente apud balneas Titias in area sub calido sole cum Favorino philosopho ambulabamus, atque ibi inter ambulandum legebatur Catilina Sallustii, quem, in manu amici conspectum, legi jusserat.”—*Noct. Attic.* l. iii. 1.

sort of preparatory publication of their works in the Scholæ or Exedræ of—

The vaulted baths, which best preserve the sound,
While sweetly floats the voice in echoes round.

Juvenal, enumerating the miseries of life in Rome, does not forget such recitations in the Thermæ—

Where poets, while the dog-star burns, rehearse
To gaping multitudes their barbarous verse.—*Sat. iii. 6.**

The enjoyment of the Bath was often carried to a voluptuous excess—especially by some of the worst among the Emperors. Commodus used to bathe seven times a-day; Gallienus five or six times daily, at least in the summer-months. Dark reminiscences overshadow the courts of the great Roman Thermæ, though destined for purposes so useful, blameless, and conducive to health. We learn that the slaves there on duty were sometimes punished for slight misdemeanours by being “washed alive,” as, with horrid levity, death by suffocation in the hot bath was called; and on one occasion Commodus, the callow tyrant being then but twelve years old, ordered a *balneator* to be thrown into the fiery furnace for overheating the water which the young Cæsar was about to use, at Centumcellæ—now Civitavecchia. The Bath was one of the scenes of that dissolute Emperor’s habitual orgies: “Hac igitur lege vivens ipse cum trecentis concubinis—in palatio per convivia et balneas bacchabatur.”—Lampridius, *Commod. 5*. In the rage of the fratricide Antoninus against the friends and dependants of the murdered Geta, numbers were put to

* “Those (poets and historians) whom frequent failure had made desperate waited till the bathing hour, and would then assault the ears of the disgusted but helpless bathers.”—“Here might also be heard the latest extravagances of the Philosophy of the day, the last ingenious turn given to the tenets of Epicurus or to the arguments of Zeno.”—Walford’s “Juvenal” in Collins’ “Ancient Classics.”

death in private houses, at the supper table, and in the Thermæ.* During the struggle between two rival claimants for the Roman Bishopric (fearfully ominous of future corruptions in the local Church and on the Papal throne!)—Liberius and Felix II.—after the return of the former from exile (A.D. 357), many of the adherents of the latter were “inhumanly murdered in the streets, in the public places, in the baths, and even in the churches.”—(Gibbon, “Decline and Fall,” c. xxi. Baronius, *an.* 157, § 58.)

The Thermæ were generally opened to the public between 1 and 2 P.M., when a bell rang to give notice;† and they remained open at least till sunset, even in the night-hours under the reigns of some Emperors—a usage forbidden by Tacitus (A.D. 275) for fear of seditious assembling on those premises.‡ The license of a corrupt age permitted both sexes to frequent them at the same hours, an abuse tolerated and prohibited by successive Emperors, whose moral standard may be thence inferred. It was allowed by Heliogabalus, suppressed by Alexander Severus.§ The entrance fee was never (as ascertainable) more, for any class of citizens, than a quadrans, about half a farthing English; and under some Emperors absolute gratuity was the system. The Cæsars themselves used to bathe among their subjects; and the virtuous young Alexander often walked from the Palatine to the Thermæ, which he would enter, distinguished by a purple mantle alone, among other customers.||

* It is said that 20,000 persons were put to death by Antoninus “Caracalla” for the offence of attachment to his brother.

† Redde pilam; sonat æs thermarum, ludere pergis.—Martial. l. iv. Ep. 63.

‡ “Thermas omnes ante lucernam claudi jussit, nequid per noctem seditionis orireter.”—Vopiscus, *Tacit.* 10.

§ “Balnea mixta Romæ exhiberi pròhibuit; quod quidem jam antè prohibitum, Heliogabalus fieri permiserat.”—Lampridius, *Alex. Sev.* 24.

|| “Thermis et suis et veterum frequenter cum populo usus est, et

The abandonment of the public Thermæ and cessation of all the entertainments there provided, seem to have been caused by the long-continued Gothic war in the VI. century. The supply of water was, if not entirely, for the greater part cut off by the breaking of the Aqueducts, an expedient of Vitiges, the Ostrogothic King, whilst he was besieging Rome, A.D. 547. After the capture of this city by Totila, King of the Ostrogoths, A. D. 546, that conqueror left the desolate seat of Empire for a time absolutely depopulated, obliging all the citizens to follow him into exile, and detaining all the Senators as hostages. During forty days it is on record that an awful and absolute solitude prevailed within the city walls; no sound of human life was heard, no gathering was seen in public places, no bell invited worshippers to Christian rites.* Procopius, a contemporary, describes this appalling fact—among all recorded in the history of the ancient metropolis the one most impressive to the imagination.† It is impossible to determine

estate maximè balneari veste ad Palatium revertens, hoc solum imperatorium habens quod lacernam coccineam accipiebat.—Lampridius, *Alex. Sev.* 42.

* One-third of the fortifying walls having been demolished by command of Totila before he left with his army, “the Senators were dragged in his train and confined in the fortresses of Campania; the citizens, with their wives and children, dispersed in exile; and during forty days Rome was abandoned to desolate and dreary solitude.” The Senate after this catastrophe became virtually extinct, though the title of Senator was still assumed by the Roman nobles. After the victory of Narses those Senators made captive (v. Gibbon) endeavoured to return, but were prevented by the Goths, and many were massacred in the Campanian fortresses. “Few subsequent traces can be found of a public council, or constitutional order.”—*Decline and Fall*, ch. xliii.

† Procopius, mentioning the forced emigration after the siege and capture by Totila, states: “Caeteros omnes cum conjugibus et liberis ad Campaniæ loca transmisit—nullo hominum in Urbe relicto, quam

precisely the date when the last of the public *Thermæ*, not in ruin, was closed and finally abandoned. The total desuetude into which the public bathing fell, together with the loss of all that the vast thermal establishments had provided, seems due not to the decay of civic prosperity and wealth alone, but to moral causes, to an antagonism between ancient and modern manners, and to that tendency of deplorable asceticism which went so far as to encourage the notion that the neglect of personal cleanliness was in some sort meritorious; that austere saints and hermits ought to be imitated in the habitual disregard of all cares for the body as in other respects. Yet the more enlightened spirit of primitive Christianity is opposed to such abject superstition; and the examples of beneficence among the clergy show a juster sense of what self-respect demands within the bounds of temperance. The holy Pope Gregory I. reproves the timid scruples of those who objected to the use of the baths on Sundays. When, A.D. 467, Anthemius, a general of the eastern Empire, was elected by the Roman Senate to the throne of the West, that ill-fated Emperor caused his house in Constantinople to be converted into a church and hospital, with baths, for aged men. Theodosius II. Emperor of the East from 408 to 450, passed a law extending the privilege of sanctuary to the porticos, gardens, and baths connected with churches, as to the sacred buildings themselves. His consort, Elia Eudocia, founded baths (for the poor gratuitous) in several cities of the eastern Empire. The wisely

penitus destitutam dimiserat.”—(Hist. l. iii.) In that disastrous epoch (the VI. century) Rome was taken by invading armies, and occupied by conquerors, Gothic and Greek, five times; by Belisarius, A.D. 536; by Totila, 546; by Belisarius again, 547; again by Totila, 559; lastly by Narses, 552. Pope Gregory the Great mentions a prediction of S. Benedict that this city should never be destroyed by Totila, but would be ruined by earthquakes and the shocks of Nature.

liberal Theodoric, among other benefits conferred on Italian cities under his sway, founded public *Thermæ* at his capital Ravenna, in Naples, Pavia, and Spoleto. We find that baths, gratuitously opened, were long maintained on the premises of monasteries ; and at one cloister, founded in the Lucca province in the VIII. century, the bath, besides other charities, might be enjoyed by twelve poor persons daily during Holy Week (Muratori, "*Antich. Ital. diss.* xxxvii). The Confraternity of the *SS. Trinità*, dedicated to the assistance of pilgrims at Rome, was founded by S. Philip Neri, A.D. 1548 ; and as its charitable cares are now applied in the *SS. Trinità de' Pellegrini* hospital, with the substantial supper and the *lavanda* for multitudes of pilgrims of both sexes daily from Palm Sunday till Easter, the intention of that Saint is so carried out as to recommend and exemplify the union of cleanliness with piety.*

Of nine public *Thermæ* in Rome, remains of which are extant (though not all visible), only three rise before us at this day with any imposing masses of ruin from observation of which the original plan or architectonic characteristics

* The hospital above-named, and the new church attached to it, were opened in 1612 ; but the charitable reception of pilgrims in an asylum, originated by the good San Filippo, dates from 1550. That hospital contains 488 beds ; and in the two refectories, for men and women separately, 944 may be seated and served at the same hour. The pilgrim, to be entitled to admittance, must present credentials from his bishop or that prelate's vicar, with proof that he has travelled at least 60 miles, and for a devotional object. In the "Anno Santo" this asylum used to be continually open to such applicants ; and in the last Jubilee Year, 1825, the number of those received was 263,592. That fountain of charities has been stopped since the recent change of government—not (that I am aware) through any interference from new authorities. Pilgrimages to heathen shrines and oracles were common in ancient time ; but where was there anything like the charitable provision organized by Christian saints and princes ?

can be understood or imagined. The extensive buildings of those earliest founded—the Thermæ bestowed on the Romans by the munificent Agrippa, exist but in a few scattered ruins near the noblest of his public works, the now christianized Pantheon. Most conspicuous among these remains is a circular hall, with shattered dome-like vault, partly hidden by the mean houses of an obscure street, *Via dell' Arco della Ciambella*, a name which is curiously significant. Early in the XVI. century a Cardinal della Valle ordered excavations on this site, with a view to finding the buried remains of Agrippa's buildings. Presently was dug up a large civic crown of gilt bronze, which the workmen reported of to his Eminence as a huge *ciambella*—the name given to a ring-formed cake, still much in request at cafes, &c. in Rome. Hence the title of that narrow street near the Minerva piazza (*v.* Flaminio Vacca's curious notes on the discoveries and researches made in his time.) The mention of the extant ruins, during the XVI. century, by Albertini and Fulvio, leads us to suppose that they were then far more conspicuous than at present. In 1719 some still lofty walls of bath chambers (or porticos) were demolished on the space then required for the Accademia Ecclesiastica, founded in that year, near the Pantheon, and with its front on the same Minerva piazza. Some vestiges of the antique brick buildings are still seen behind the walls of that college. I cannot here consider the glorious Pantheon as connected with, or even intended for, the uses of the Thermæ.

Other ruins of Thermæ have entirely disappeared. Those of Constantine were finally destroyed, or buried underground, when the Rospigliosi palace was built on the same site by a Cardinal Borghese, nephew to Pope Paul V. In the works for founding that mansion on the Quirinal hill were discovered the statues of Constantine and his two sons—

the first now in the atrium of the Lateran basilica, the two others on the terrace summit of the Capitoline hill—and the few extant remains of those latest Thermæ can only be sought for in the cellars of the modern *palazzo*. The Thermæ called alternately Neronian and Alexandrine, are often named in mediæval chronicles; and we learn that in the X. century the potent family of the Counts of Tusculum raised their barbaric fortresses amongst, and above, the ruins. Till the time of Benedict XIV. conspicuous remains of those vast buildings stood on the premises of the Palazzo Madama, formerly the Post-office, now the Senate-house of the Italian kingdom. That *palazzo*, built by a Cardinal in the XV. century, and ceded to Margaret of Austria on her marriage with Ottavio Farnese, was purchased by Pope Benedict from the Lorraine Emperor, Francis I., and converted into a residence for the Governor of Rome, as well as seat of the criminal tribunals. Other ruins of antique structures were visible in its vicinity till recent times, but are now completely hidden by modern walls; and thus have perished those Neronian Thermæ so often mentioned in the epigrams of Martial. *

The luxurious Otho, who reigned during three months, A.D. 69, thought of spending a sum equal to about ten million francs on the completion of the “Domus Aurea” of Nero. Vespasian (as we have seen) almost entirely demolished those vast buildings, and restored the imperial gardens to the citizens for private use, though he spared many of the Neronian buildings on the Palatine, and also those on the south-western slopes of the Esquiline hills. These latter were appropriated by Titus for the Thermæ founded by him, and with a portion of their structures raised above

* ——— Quid Nerone peius,
Quid thermis melius Neronianis ?

l. vii. *Ep.* 34.

the palatial halls, which were filled up for the support of the superimposed buildings.* Domitian completed what Titus had commenced; and Trajan founded other Thermæ less extensive, and supposed to have been destined for female bathers alone, farther eastward on the high ground of the same hill. Proof is afforded by an epigraph dug up among the ruins of the latter, Trajan's Thermæ, that they were restored, and therefore, no doubt, were in use during the V. century,† In the actual state of the numerous ruins extending over several gardens (especially those of the S. Pietro in Vincula monastery) on the Esquiline, it is difficult to distinguish the works of the respective Emperors; but all are now picturesquely blent together by the reconciling hand of Time, midst decay that beautifies what it overthrows.

Fortunately the great thermal structures did not offer such advantages as mediæval Popes or baronial families cared to avail themselves of (save in few instances) for fortification or residence; but neither did these relics of antiquity escape from deliberate spoliation. Albertini (*de Mirabilibus Urbis*) tells us that Julius II., in whose time he lived, removed the porphyry columns found among the ruins on the Esquiline for adorning a chapel in St. Peter's; and the ruinous chambers with various paintings on their walls, which the same writer mentions,‡ near the church

* Both Suetonius and Martial notice the rapidity with which these Thermæ were built :

Hic ubi miramur velocia munera thermas
Abstulerat miseris tecta superba ager—

says the latter, *de Spectac.* II.

† Works ordered by the Prefect of the City "ad agendam Thermarum Traianarum gratiam," are there recorded.

‡ Loca diruta variis picturis exornata, &c.

of S. Pietro in Vincula, have totally disappeared. In 1796 a great hall of the buildings of Titus was converted into a powder magazine, the superfluous parts of the ancient masonry being swept away. Great wealth of art-works has been yielded by the soil long accumulated over the Esquiline ruins. In 1506 was found the group of the Laocoon, under a vineyard on this hill belonging to one Felice de Freddi, who was rewarded by the reigning Pope, Julius II., with the right to one half of the taxes received at the Porta S. Giovanni—commuted by Leo X. into an office under Government.* Flaminio Vacca mentions numerous fragments of statuary and painted ornamentation dug up in his time (XVI. century) on the grounds near S. Pietro in Vincula. About 1594 several massive and finely wrought marble cornices were taken from the same site for adorning the new church of the Jesuits—the *Gesù*, founded by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, 1568. One writer records the discovery among the same ruins of fifty-four fragments of sculpture and twenty-five complete statues, all found near some halls supposed to belong to Trajan's Thermæ, and popularly called "Sette Sale," near which also was unearthed that famous Laocoon group. After ages of neglect and apparently oblivion, several ruinous chambers belonging (as inferrible) to the Thermæ of Titus, were reopened and explored in the earlier years of the XVI. century, when able artists fortunately saw, and copied, the now lost ornamentation on the walls of those dark interiors.

I transcribe a passage in Vasari's life of Giovanni da Udine:—"Excavations were made at S. Pietro in Vincula, and among the ruins of the Palace (?) of Titus, with the

* The fact is mentioned in the epitaph on the tomb of De Freddi, at Aracoeli. Pliny (H. N. xxxvi. c. iv.) tells us that this much admired work, which, he says, "may be considered superior to all others both in painting and sculpture," stood in the palace of Titus.

hope of finding statues, when certain subterranean chambers were discovered ; and these were decorated all over with minute *grotesche*, small figures, *storie* and ornaments, executed in stucco of very low relief. These discoveries Raffaello was taken to see, and Giovanni accompanied his master, when they were both seized with astonishment at the freshness, beauty, and excellent manner of these works—in so fair a state of preservation—called *grotesche*, because first found in grottoes or subterranean places,”—Giovanni copied those rilievi twice, and with the utmost exactness. These copies he showed to his illustrious master, “ who was then in process of adorning the Papal loggie by command of Pope Leo X. He (Raffaello) caused Giovanni to decorate all the vaultings of the house (the Vatican palace) with most beautiful ornaments in stucco, surrounding the whole with *grotesche* similar to the antique—in mezzo and basso rilievo. Giovanni not only equalled the antique in this performance, but even surpassed them—his productions being infinitely superior in these respects to the antiques found in the Colosseum, or painted in the Baths of Diocletian and other places known to us.” The curious origin of the word “grotesque,” in sense so different from that now commonly understood therein, is noticeable ; and seeing the habitual carelessness of Vasari, we may suppose that the “ Baths of Diocletian” are here put for those previously misnamed as the “ Palace of Titus.” After the close of the XVI. century those ruins seem to have been neglected ; the painted chambers left long unvisited. We hear of their being again to some extent accessible in 1774, at about which date the frescoes still seen on the walls were copied for the engravings given in a valuable work, “ Le Terme di Tito,” by Mirri and Carletti, 1776—see also Bellori, *Pict. Antiq. delineatæ a Bartoli*. In 1811 these ruins were more thoroughly explored and made accessible, as at

the present day, by the French. It was found that the Thermæ of Titus comprised, besides the great compartments of the Tepidarium and Frigidarium, accessorial libraries (Greek and Latin?), gymnasia, sphæristeria, a theatre for races or athletic exercises, and a portico, supposed to have connected these structures with the Colosseum. We now enter a suite of long parallel chambers, the walls of which pass obliquely to those of many other differently planned chambers and corridors, entered after we have passed through the outer buildings. The former, the inner halls and passages, may be referred to the Neronian palace. Among them is a long and lofty vaulted gallery (*crypto-porticus*), originally lit from windows in the roof, but now in total darkness only dispelled by torchlight, and which (after untold ages of desertion) was reopened in 1813. On its vault we see by the lurid light of the lifted torch various exquisite paintings on a small scale : floating figures of bacchantes and nymphs, citharisti, griffins, bright-plumaged birds, &c., amidst borders of flowery arabesque. Many of the wall-paintings here copied and engraved in past years have totally vanished, or are now scarcely distinguishable. Among those that remain are several of very pleasing character, *e.g.* Venus attended by two little "Amorini" and her emblematic doves, on the vault of a semicircular recess in a dark room; and in another chamber, also on the vault, a group of Mars and Rhæa Sylvia, the god descending from the skies towards the recumbent figure of the Vestal destined to become the mother of Romulus and Remus.

In style and finish these wall-paintings much resemble the Pompeian; and the fairy architecture amidst which many of the figures move, has the same unsubstantial character as in the pictures at that long-buried city. A chamber which now stands isolated from the rest, was con-

verted, probably in the VI. century, into a Christian chapel, dedicated to the matron Felicitas and her seven sons, who all suffered martyrdom at Rome, A.D. 164. The rudely-executed paintings on the walls of this interior have much faded since it was re-opened ; and it is now difficult to distinguish any of the subjects, except that in a recess over the place for the altar, a group, namely, of that matron Saint with her children.*

Within the long deserted halls of the Neronian palace used for his Thermæ by Titus, we see the traces of habitations serving for the residence of private citizens, who probably contrived thus to establish themselves during the interval between the death of Nero and the new appropriation of these remains of his "Domus Aurea." Their obscure mansions, now reduced to ruin within ruin, had upper storeys, the staircases leading to which have left vestiges still to be perceived on the surface of the ancient walls, in finely compact and firm brickwork. Near the cryptoportico we look down upon a still complete pavement of plain black and white mosaic, at a lower level, and no doubt belonging to one of the many mansions demolished on the area requisite for the buildings or pleasure-grounds of Nero. Here we are reminded of the line quoted above from Martial, in reference to the Neronian palace :

" Abstulerat miseris tecta," &c.

* V. Nibby, "Roma Antica, 1838." Copies of the more important among those faded pictures are to be seen in the Christian Museum at the Vatican. The names of the sons of Felicitas are inscribed over their figures ; and above the recess containing them is painted the Divine Lamb on a mount, from which issue the four mystic rivers, with the twelve sheep, emblems of the Apostles, proceeding from the gates of Jerusalem and Bethlehem. A dedication by one Victor was inscribed below, in the following words : *Victor votum sulpit et pro votu sulpit*. On one side was represented, in dimly traceable colours, a calendar of the Church.

There are no ancient buildings in Rome, not even on the Palatine, with which the memory of Nero is so immediately connected as with these ruins on the Esquiline hill. Perhaps among these dark and vacant halls of the "Domus Aurea" was one of those superb triclinia for the banquet beneath ceilings of ivory lamina made moveable, so that flowers and perfumes rained down at intervals from their glittering surface upon guests reclining at the luxurious *cæna*. With the reign of that Emperor coincide events of high import to the destinies of the Christian Church : the arrival and mission of S. Paul (if not that of S. Peter also) in Rome ; the preaching and epistles of the former Apostle, his arraignment before the Imperial tribunal on the Palatine, his efforts (not unsuccessful) to make converts "in Cæsar's household ;" his preliminary acquittal and final condemnation, probably by sentence from Nero's lips, and his death at the solitary spot near the Ostian Way (*ad Aquas Salvias*), two miles beyond the magnificent basilica where his relics repose under a high altar. The first persecution of the Christians, inflicted and witnessed by Nero himself, was one of those fiery ordeals the effects of which on the aggregate life and energies of the primitive Church need not be here pointed out. May we not conclude that Providence, in raising up such a Ruler, designed not only to prepare an instrument for strengthening through opposition the cause of Divine Religion, but also to exhibit on the pinnacle of power the last extreme of guilt and licentiousness unchecked by moral or spiritual restraint ? Almost the only link that allies Nero with the common lot (besides the inevitable accidents of humanity) appears in the remorse recorded of him. *That* witness, the voice of God within the sinful soul, the tyrant could not silence ; and among the historic memories which haunt the dismal ruins of the "golden palace," is that of the agonies endured by, and the testimony

extorted from the imperial wretch to a principle seated in the inmost life of the soul, to "the immortal being with our dust entwined."*

——— Oh ! ben provvide il Cielo
Che uom per delitti mai lieto non sia.
(Alfieri.)

The ruins of the *Thermæ* of Trajan, scattered picturesquely over an extent of monastic gardens on the eastward height of the Esquiline, pertain to several distinct compartments of building—the spacious *Tepidarium*, the semi-circular *exedræ*, and *Baptisteria* for hot and cold baths. It is disputed whether a great reservoir for water, in nine compartments, further eastward on this hill, pertained to these or to the earlier founded *Thermæ*. Seven only of the vaulted chambers being accessible, the two others filled with soil and debris, they are popularly called the "Sette Sale." They communicate with each other by four arched apertures in each partition wall, placed alternately so that no two are opposite; and in consequence of this arrangement for the passage of the water with sufficient resistance to its action on the building, we may obtain a view, obliquely, through the whole suit of these ruinous chambers, the effect of which, thus seen, is striking. Below this there is another storey of the same reservoir, alike divided into

* "When he was in Greece (says Suetonius) he durst not presume to attend at the performance of the Eleusinian rites, upon hearing the crier discharge all impious and wicked persons from approaching." The historian so strikingly describes his remorse for the murder of his mother, that it is better to quote the original words: "*Sæpe confessus exagitari se maternâ specie, verberibus Furiarum ac taedis ardentibus. Quin et facto per magos sacro, revocare manes et exorare tentavit.*" (Sueton. in *Nero*. 34.) Dion adds the circumstances that, whilst on the beautiful shores of *Baiæ*, the scene of that murder, the matricide was terrified, even in the daytime, by a sound like warlike yet mournful trumpets issuing from the unhonoured tomb of *Agrippina*.

chambers, but now completely buried under earth, nor in any part explorable. Ficoroni, "Vestigie di Roma Antica," describes these now buried chambers, which he had seen open; and mentions the discovery among them of coins stamped with the figure of a woman, and the legend *Judæa capta*—affording proof that these buildings should be ascribed to Titus, rather than Trajan. I have described above (p. 363) the other section of the latter Emperor's Thermæ which has been consecrated for Christian worship, and is still in use as a crypt chapel below the Carmelite church, *S. Martino ai Monti*.

There is another spot, where monumental ruins and landscape, the near and distant features of the scene, are full of that charm which so distinguishes the historic localities of Rome. On the height of the Aventine, overlooking the valley between that hill and the Palatine, and near the solitary church of S. Prisca, are some remains of lofty constructions, with arches, supposed to be the Thermæ (or, more probably, balnæa) named after Licinius Sura, one time Consul, and confidential friend of Trajan. In the best-preserved portion we find a large cavernous room fitted up to serve as a kitchen and wine-shop, and before the entrance to this half-modernized antique, we may seat ourselves at a table, enjoying one of those never-to-be-forgotten scenes which form the distinction and fascination of the "Eternal City"—the Palatine ruins the central object, a multitude of church-towers and cupolas beyond, the vast remains of the Antonine Thermæ in the middle-distance southwards, and the Sabine and Alban mountains forming majestic boundaries to the Campagna region seen in glimpses beyond the walls of Aurelian and Honorius. There is a passage in Aurelius Victor (*Epit.* c. xiii.) which makes Trajan himself the founder of these balnæa, and assumes that he named them after L. Sura out of gratitude

for services that had contributed to raise him, by election, to the imperial throne.* It seems probable that the buildings, whatever their character, were founded by Trajan before he became Emperor, and supplied with water from the aqueduct known as "Aqua Traiana." An epigram by Martial alludes to the house of Sura as situated near the famous temple of Diana on the Aventine, and commanding a view of the Circus Maximus, which occupied the now quiet valley, laid out in vegetable gardens, between the eastern slopes of the Aventine and the western of the Palatine hill.†

While contemplating this spot, our thoughts naturally recur to other memories; and I may here allow myself a digression from the thermæ and balnæa of the Empire to the much more ancient structures and entertainments of the Circus Maximus. This was, originally, an arena destined for those chariot races and other spectacles of which the Roman populace were most fond; nor was the great Circus enclosed within walls till towards the end of the Republican period. There were, eventually, seven such places of amusement in Rome. The one distinguished as "Maximus" is said to have been founded by Tarquinius Priscus on the site of the traditionary Rape of the Sabine women by the rude subjects of Romulus. Restorations and considerable additions to this theatre of "Circensian" games were made during the Republic; and the whole structure was more superbly restored, or rather rebuilt with new magni-

* "Hic in honorem Suræ, cujus studio imperium arripuerat, lavacra condidit."—Lead water-pipes have been found among the ruins with the inscription *Aqua Traian. Q. Anicius Q. F. Antonian. cur. Thermarum Varianarum.*

† Quique videt propius magni certamina Circi,
Laudat Aventinus vicinus Sura Dianæ.

Epig. l. vi. 64, "In Detractorem."

ficence, by Julius Cæsar ; subsequently embellished, or amplified, by Augustus, Claudius, Domitian, Trajan and Antoninus Pius. Its proportions, after the improvements by Julius Cæsar, were 2187 feet in length and 960 in breadth ; the number of spectators it could accommodate, about 250,000, and this without including about 150,000 who could stand under the porticoes encircling the arena. Here were exhibited the trophies of war ; and the immense Circus became the favourite resort of loungers and itinerary speculators, vendors of ointment, market-criers, soothsayers, etc. There were five principal entrance-gates: two at the angles of the twelve "carceres," whence the chariots issued for the race ; one at the opposite extremity, the *Porta Triumphalis*, for the victors to make their exulting exit; and a lateral ingress, the *Porta Libitinaria*, was appropriated for carrying out those slain in the chariot race, or in sanguinary combat. The other gate, "Porta Pompæ," served for the entrance of the grand processions with which the entertainments commenced. Not exactly in the axis, but obliquely, passed the Spina, along elevated platform through which flowed a stream of water. On this platform stood obelisks, and pillars (*phalæ*) with architraves, on which rested seven eggs and seven dolphins of marble (the former allusive to Castor and Pollux, the latter to Neptune), one of which was taken down at the end of each course, to mark the progress of the chariot-racers.

Images of the deities presiding over the Circensian games stood on the Spina, and at one end (probably that nearest the "Carceres") was an altar underground, dedicated to the god Consus—among those of the lower world, but identified in later times with Neptune—which same altar was never uncovered, or seen, except when sacrifice had to be offered to that divinity. At the two extremities of the Spina were placed low conical pillars, "Metæ," for marking the com-

mencement and term of each race—those at the starting-point being called “*primæ*,” those at the end “*secundæ metæ*.” The arcades around the great Circus were used for many purposes, some for trading; often abused, as was tolerated under the Empire, for the haunts of vice.

Till the time of Honorius the combats, or chace, of wild animals, were kept up, and continued to attract multitudes to this favourite scene. Theodoric revived (and apparently for the last time) the more splendid shows of the Circus, which gradually fell into desuetude in Rome, though much longer maintained at Constantinople.

The wildest excesses of partisanship, sometimes with tragic consequences, broke out from the zeal on the part of a corrupt and idle populace for the factions, or, as they were called, “colours” of the Circus; the charioteers being classed according to the colours which were, severally, their badges for distinction—these, from earliest time, being *Veneti*, *Prassini*, *Russati*, *Albati* (blue, green, red, white), with supposable allusion to the four seasons of the year. Domitian added two others (Factions and Colours), the *Aurati* and *Purpuræ*, or golden and purple. The secret of the immense popularity enjoyed by the “greens” at Rome, is explained by the later Byzantine writers, from whom we learn the curious fact that their colour was popular among the Romans because proper to the goddess Flora, whose name was one of those deemed sacred and mystic, only known to the privileged, nor allowed to be publicly pronounced, i.e. *Amor*, and *Flora*—by which the sovereign city itself was designated.

At Constantinople those frivolous, but in result most fatal rivalships, led to worse evils than are on record even in Roman Annals. During the reign of Justinian a tumult broke out among the partisans of the two factions then dividing public favour at that eastern capital, which led to

the sacrifice of 30,000 lives in a single day—nor subsided even after such fierce ebullition ; for, as Gibbon states, the “ blue and green factions continued to afflict the reign of Justinian, and to disturb the tranquillity of the Eastern Empire.” The popularity of the Circus was maintained, and at highest intensity, long after the gladiatorial and other shows of the amphitheatre had been suppressed ; and the same historian tells us that “ the impatient crowd rushed, at the dawn of day, to secure their places ;”—that “ many passed a sleepless and anxious night in the adjacent porticoes,”—(“ Decline and Fall,” Chap. XXXI.)—such was the eagerness to witness the Circensian games !

Very different are the reminiscences for which we must turn to the pages of ecclesiastical historians, who describe a strange scene in the Circus Maximus, during the brief residence of the Emperor Constans in Rome, and whilst the occupation of the Papal Chair was disputed (A.D. 356), by two claimants, Liberius and Felix. The former had yielded to the more powerful party, and was for a time exiled to Thrace. Constans issued a decree for his return, with the strange provision that he should be re-installed to govern the Church *together with his rival*, Felix. This decree, read before the people in the Circus, was received with sarcasm and reprobation ; some exclaimed in irony that as the spectators were divided into two parties, distinguished by colours peculiar to the arena, it was fair that one should be governed by Liberius, the other by Felix ! But the prevailing sentiment expressed itself in unanimous cries : *Unus Deus, unus Christus, unus Episcopus !**

As to the Circus Maximus, its now recognisable ruins are

* Liberius did not return to Rome till the next year, and was then exposed to many hostilities till after the death (as it seems a violent one, and by order of Constans) of his rival Felix II.—v. Baronius, *an.* 356 § 114, '15.

few : mere shapeless masses of brickwork, representing the curvature of the southern extremity, beside the high road, at a short distance from the south-western angle and slopes of the Palatine hill. The foundations of the Carceres are under *S. Maria in Cosmedin*. Through the vegetable gardens that now cover the valley of the arena, flows the quiet stream of the Maranna, or *Aqua Crabra*. A range of vaulted halls (used as work-shops, or applied to other humble purposes) along the western base of the Palatine, either belong to, or were connected with, the arcade-por-tico surrounding that arena. In that valley, now occupied by gardens and a few cottages, were exhumed, 1587, the two obelisks transferred to their present sites by Sixtus V.—both found here under soil accumulated to the depth of twenty-four feet. At the same time were discovered some vaulted conduits, through which the Tiber-waters could have been admitted (for the Naumachia) into the Circus. The influx of those waters prevented the farther prosecution of researches on the site (see F. Vacca). Till the XVI. century (see Gamucci) stood the ruins of a gateway of the great Circus behind *S. Maria in Cosmedin* ; and much later were to be seen the tiers of seats beside the highway (*Via de' Cerchi*) where the curving form is still discernible in a few heaps of ruined masonry. From the letters of Cassiodorus it appears that this Circus must have existed in its antique completeness under the reign of Theodoric ; to aristocratic Vandalism may be ascribed its final desolation, after it had passed into the possession of the Frangipani, in mediæval periods.

However such havoc may have been caused, it has so transformed the scene as to present, in that quiet valley between the Aventine and Palatine hills, the greatest possible contrast to the spectacles here displayed in olden time. The great Circus was, in fact, the centre of almost

all the pageants and entertainments in which ancient Rome took delight: the chariot and foot-race, the athletic contest, the gladiatorial combat, the naumachia, or mimic sea-fights, the chase and slaughter of wild animals, &c. The *pompa*, or grand procession, before the *ludi circenses* on high festivals, displayed all the gay magnificence, the gorgeous profuseness, the picturesque accessories, the symbolism, and absurdities of Latin Heathenism. Descending from the Capitol into the Forum, this procession passed through the “*via sacra*,” skirting the base of the Palatine, and entering the Circus at the north-western extremity, whence it moved slowly round the arena before coming to a halt shortly before the games were to commence. First appeared the *Ædile*, or *Practor*, clad in an embroidered toga;* next, a company of patrician youths on horseback, representing the order of Knights; next to these the charioteers, in coloured tunics and leathern cuirasses; next, the athletes, almost nude (as they had to appear for their performances); after these, public dancers divided into three corps—men, youths, and boys; musicians playing on flutes, pipes, or louder instruments; performers representing, in costume, Satyrs and Sileni, with goat-skins thrown round them, long matted hair, and garlands of flowers in their hands or hung to their shaggy persons—these being the comic actors of the occasion, who used to accost, and crack their jokes with, the admiring spectators. After them came the subordinate ministers of worship with incense and perfumes; next, in solemn array, borne on chariots and stages inlaid with ivory and gold, the images of gods, deified Emperors and Empresses, all with jewelled crowns on their heads; first, among the

* The *toga picta*, originally worn by Consuls at their triumphs; afterwards, under the Empire, by Consuls, *Practors*, and *Ædiles* alike, when they presided at the Circensian games.

imaged celestials, being the twelve major Deities (*Dii Consentii*); next to these, Mars, Hercules, the Graces. The last group consisted of a company of noble youths wearing embroidered togas, with chaplets of flowers on their heads. When the onward movement had stopped, and all was ready for the games, the images were placed on the spina—namely, in *ædiculæ* along its summit. The names of one hundred charioteers were put into an urn, and thence drawn out, four at a time, as they had successively to join in the race. At the signal given by the *Ædile*, or other presiding magistrate, who lifted up a red napkin (*mappa*) in his right hand, the chariots started; the marble eggs and dolphins (first introduced by Agrippa) were used as markers in the race—an egg being (as we may suppose) taken down at the beginning, a dolphin at the end of each course round the spina. We see, in several *rilievi* on sarcophagi representations of these *ludi*, with the curious detail of trials of the charioteers' skill by assistants, or slaves, who used to throw large vases under the horses' feet as they dashed along through the arena; also the rash self-exhibition, for further such trial, of slaves who used to throw themselves across the path traversed, expecting to be driven over without injury or accident! Twenty-five courses were usually run, the chariots being four at each "heat;" and after the victor had made good that title, he received from the *Ædile*, or *Praetor*, his due rewards, a leafy crown of gold or silver, a palm branch, and a sum of money, before he made his exit through the triumphal gate. Foot-races, wrestling, pugilistic contests, gladiatorial combats, and sometimes dramatic performances prolonged the entertainment after the chariots had been driven off.* The most magnificent *pompæ* and *ludi* of the Circus

* Vitellius, we are told by Tacitus, "built a set of *carceres* (stalls) for the charioteers, and kept in the Circus a constant spectacle of gladiators

were those at the festivals of Ceres (9th of April), and Consus, the especial protecting Deity of this institution and of the exercises appropriated to it.* The games in honour of Consus lasted five days from the 6th October ; and on such occasion was for the first time acted the *Hecyra* of Terence, whilst Julius Cæsar and Cornelius Dolabella were Ædiles.

It is remarkable that both S. Paul and Horace draw a moral, referring to our mortal race through the stadium of life, from the exhibitions of the Circus :

Thus from the goal when swift the chariot flies,
The charioteer the bending lash supplies,
To overtake the foremost on the plain,
But looks on all behind him with disdain.
From hence how few, like sated guests, depart
From life's full banquet with a cheerful heart !

(Francis's "Horace," *Sat.* l. 1, 1.)

The latest description by an ancient writer of the entertainments as still kept up, with their olden splendour and variety, on Rome's great Circus, is supplied in Claudian's poem on the sixth consulate of Honorius. That poet dwells with a courtier's delight on the details of pomp and demonstrations of loyalty to the young Emperor then present. He tells of the chariot-races, the slaughter of wild animals, and a bloodless military pageant that seems to have united the characters of a tourney and a warlike dance.† These

and wild beasts ; in this manner dissipating with prodigality, as if his treasury overflowed with riches."—*Hist.* l. 1, xciv.

* "Circus erit pompa celebr, numeroque Deorum

Primaque ventosis palma petetur equis.

Hi Cereris ludi, &c."—Ovid, *Fasti*, l. iv. c. 2.

† "As soon as the appointed number of chariot races was concluded, the decoration of the Circus was suddenly changed ; the hunting of wild beasts afforded a various and splendid entertainment, and the chace was succeeded by a military dance, which seems, in the lively description

festivities were ordered for the two-fold purpose of celebrating the sixth consulate of Honorius, A.D. 404, and the vainly-assumed victory over the Goths after their retreat, led by Alaric—but a few years before their greatest victory, and the last humiliation of the imperial metropolis through their means.

The ruins which serve best for enabling us to re-construct the antique Circus are those near the Appian Way, founded, about A. D. 310, by the Emperor Maxentius, and dedicated in the name of his son Romulus, who, cut off by early death, A. D. 309, was deified by his father. That last of the Heathen Emperors who reigned at Rome had a villa near this site, the ruins of which, gloomy but picturesque, rise amidst the scant growth of trees on an uncultivated upland of the desolate Campagna overlooking the scene of vanished pleasures. A mediæval chronicler mentions this Circus under the barbaric name of *girulum*; and it seems that the ground and buildings became a sort of dependency of the great castle built, about 1298, by the Gaetani family, on high ground southward above the valley occupied by the Maxentian structures—that castle for which the majestic mausoleum of Cecilia Metella was appropriated as a donjon-keep. The antique remains here before us still retain sufficient distinctness of form to enable us to recognise the constructive plan, leading arrangements and

of Claudian, to present the image of a modern tournament.” (Gibbon, “Decline and Fall,” c. xxx.) I subjoin the lines in which, speaking as an eye-witness, the poet describes such perhaps unusual displays on this classic arena :

“ Hæc et belligeros exercuit area lusus,
 Armatos hic sæpe choros, certaque vagandis
 Textas lege fugas, inconfusosque recursus
 Et pulchras errorum artes, jucundaque Martis
 Cernimus.”

features of the Roman Circus. Still do we see *in situ* the spina traceable to its entire extent; the twelve carceres in more low-reduced ruin, with the chief entrance to the arena in the midst; the arched triumphal gate at the opposite extremity; on one side (northwards), amidst the gradines of seats for the public, the *pulvinar* (or loggia) for the Emperor and his court (communicating by a corridor or gallery with the villa of Maxentius); on the other side of the lateral walls bounding the arena, the tribune for the presiding Ædile, or other magistrate in the capacity of "editor spectaculorum." The tiers of seats rose above vaulting, now all ruinous, thrown up between two parallel curtains of wall. Along the platform summit of the spina was a channel for water; and two transverse passages across it (still recognisable) served for the assistants, who, moving from side to side, threw water on the chariot wheels for precaution against the danger of their igniting. Several fragments of sculpture, among others a headless statue of Libera (or Proserpina) seated, with Cerberus crouching under her chair, also pedestals for other statues, have been found on this spina. Not far from the central point on its summit we perceive a space, originally hollowed out and filled with flint stones, in which was erected the obelisk, here exhumed, after being long left prostrate and broken, before its removal (1650) to be again raised up, in its present place, on the Piazza Navona. The direction in which the spina passes through this Circus does not correspond to the axis of the arena, but is slightly oblique; and the twelve carceres are not built in a right line but along the segment of a circle, so that each chariot would have to traverse the same distance from its *carcer* (or stall) to the starting point between the western extremity of the spina and the gradines of seats overlooking the arena on the right. The accommodation for spectators consisted of a single

præcinctio with ten gradines, on which 15,000, or (according to some writers) 18,000 could be seated. At the angle between the carceres and the lateral walls stand two lofty towers, curvilinear on the outer, rectilinear on the other sides, which afforded stations for musicians, the exulting strains from whose instruments, played probably on the roofs of those high buildings, commenced the brilliant entertainment. Then did the *Ædile* raise the scarlet *mappa* as signal for the races to begin; and now, we may suppose, came the most thrilling in the (no doubt) highly exciting and picturesquely varied *ludi* of the ancient Circus. Researches, made in 1825, have led to the discovery of stairs, with seven steps, on the outer side of the triumphal gate—therefore must the victorious charioteer have quitted the arena, with his crown and palm-branch, on foot through this egress. An epigraph in red-painted letters, dug up during those works of excavation, affords clearest proof of the origin, and dedication, of this Circus by Maxentius.* It was a short time after he had dedicated it under the name of the youthful “Cæsar,” that the tyrant was overthrown, and lost his life in the battle with Constantine at the Saxa Rubra. It seems that popular hatred against the memory and vices of the former led to the despoiling of his villa near the Appian Way, and also (as inferrible) of the Circus here before us, which seems to have been deprived, through some violent onset, of its architectural decorations and sculptures—though, as we have seen, many fragments of the latter were left, to be eventually exhumed and collected after the breaking up of the ruin-encumbered ground. It is certain that, after the date of that momentous battle,

* *Divo Romulo N(obilis) M(emorix) V(iro). Cos. Ord. II. Filio D(omini) N(ostri) Maxentii Invict. V(iri) et perp. Aug. Nepoti T(er) Divi Maximiani Sen(i)oris ac (bis Augusti.)* This inscription has been placed beside the arch of the triumphal gate, below which it was found.

A.D. 312, we hear no more of this suburban Circus. Its ruins become associated (as do the relief sculptures on the Arch of Constantine) with the memorials of an eventful conflict—the antagonism of powers and principles—fraught with consequences of enduring effect, after resulting, immediately, in the overthrow of the Heathen and establishment of the Christian dominion. Such thoughts of the past as may well occupy our minds amidst the solitude of a memory-haunted scene, and the solemn beauty of the landscape which here extends before us, overstrewn with ruins of the Republic and Empire, from the towered tomb of Cecilia Metella to the olive-clad declivities of the Alban Hills,—such thoughts assuredly constitute the attraction of the desolate and silent spot on which we stand amidst these Maxentian ruins, where the relics of Heathen Empire, the dry bones of perished Antiquity, are linked with interests affecting the inner-life and immortal destinies of man.

I have been led into so long a digression from my present subject, the Thermæ, by another view, that from the Aventine height overlooking the valley once peopled with the pomps and entertainments of imperial Rome. Before returning to the consideration of such antiques, let us observe some interesting ruins under an old casino, in a vineyard of Prince Torlonia not far from the same ridge of the Aventine hill. Here we descend by a long inclining corridor into the vaulted halls of a residence assuredly palatial, but now all dark and silent. We enter galleries diverging in different directions, and chambers of different size, in the most spacious of which are seen graceful paintings, human figures, birds, garlands, &c. of miniature scale, preserved on the still firm stucco of the walls and vault. We may believe that this is the palace of Trajan, built for that Prince by the Senate; the style of the artistic ornaments, as also the

brickwork masonry, indicating his period. The buildings of the dusky casino are also in part antique, probably remnants either of that palace or of the balnæa called after Sura. The reign and character of Trajan are memories that give dignity to this sombre place—the desolate old farmhouse and the now buried chambers beneath it. -

The stern majesty of Ruin and the calm loveliness of Nature blend together in the vastest among all remains of imperial Thermæ extant, those founded by Antoninus, named “Caracalla.” Formerly these ruins were mantled and garlanded with verdure and wild growth in rich luxuriance. Forest trees overshadowed the enormous piles of fallen masonry, or waved on heights apparently inaccessible; the arbutus, the monthly rose and other graceful plants flourished under the shelter of the stupendous walls; the overhanging vaults, still spanning abysses beneath, were carpeted with green weeds, velvety moss, and a profusion of wild flowers. One might have apostrophized the immense structure in Wordsworth’s lines on a very different ruin under northern skies :

Time *loves* thee ! at his call the Seasons twine
Luxuriant wreaths around thy forehead hoar ;
And though past pomp no changes can restore,
A soothing recompense, his gift, is thine !

But a change has come over the scene within recent years. It has been thought best to cut down the forest-trees, uproot the wild plants, and display the ancient structures in denuded vastness—a proceeding which may serve to check continuous decay, but has (I think) been carried too far both in these and in the Flavian buildings. We may hope that Nature will be allowed to re-assert her rights, alike here and in the Colosseum, without such danger to the maintenance of the Antique as archæologists should warn and provide against.

Spartianus describes the Antonine Thermæ as *magnificentissimæ*, and extols as an inimitable masterpiece of construction the roofing entirely formed of bronze or copper bars interwoven like the straps of a sandal, over a great apartment which he calls the *cella soliaris*—probably the Tepidarium. Lampridius tells us (*in Heliogab.* c. xvii.) that Antoninus himself inaugurated these Thermæ, bathing here on the first day that they were opened (A.D. 216). This may have been one of the last appearances of that Emperor in public before he left Rome never to return. He was at Nicomedia in the April of the same year; and on the 8th April, 217, the guilty wretch was assassinated by a centurion on his journey from Edessa to Carrhes, after reigning little more than six years. His Thermæ certainly were not complete when the founder inaugurated them; and the outer porticos, probably all the accessorial buildings, were added during the reigns of Heliogabalus and Alexander Severus, A.D. 218-235.* We are told that they contained 1600 marble chairs for bathers, and 200 columns (*v.* Olympiodorus, a writer of the V. century)—reports that may well be believed, seeing that the great central block of buildings, surrounded by a quadrangle of subordinate halls and porticos, measures 720 feet in length by 375 feet in width; the whole occupying an area of 140,000 square yards. It is certain that these baths were in use till at least the earlier years of the VI. century, and the *signa* found on tiles afford proof that they were restored in the reign of Theodoric. Till the XV. century the buildings were invested with much of their pristine splendour, marble incrustations still clothing

* Aurelius Victor states that they were finished whilst Antoninus was in Syria. Among the *signa* on tiles, found among the ruins, is one with the names of two Consuls in office A.D. 206—proof that the works were commenced before Antoninus had succeeded to his father on the throne, A.D. 211.

the brick walls, columns erect, architraves and sculptured friezes still in their place. Almost all objects of value, and all the discoverable works of art were removed from these outraged ruins by order of the Cardinal Farnese, who became Pope as Paul III., for adorning the palace founded by him some time prior to 1534, in which year he ascended the pontific throne. A systematic spoliation was carried out by that Farnese Cardinal. Then were exhumed and appropriated those precious antique sculptures to which the Farnese name is still attached: the colossal Hercules (supposed to be a copy from Lysippus), the colossal Flora, and the largest marble group of antique sculpture hitherto known, the so-called "Toro Farnese"—i.e. the punishment of Dirce, who is tied to the horns of a wild bull by the sons of her rival Antiope—brought (as Pliny tells us) from Rhodes, and originally possessed, in Rome, by Asinius Pollio. Not contented with such spoils, the unscrupulous Cardinal even caused the coating of fine brickwork to be stript off the lofty walls (the inner-masonry being alone left) for the supply of building-material to his workmen at the new *palazzo*! The last of the great granite columns left erect in the central hall of these Thermæ (the Tepidarium), was presented by Pope Pius V. to Cosimo I., Grand Duke of Tuscany, and eventually raised to its present place on the Piazza S. Trinita at Florence, 1565. The first Pope who took any steps towards preserving or clearing out these ruins, was Paul V. 1605-21). He desired them to be made accessible on every side, and destined the area for the exercises and pastime of seminary-students. The first important excavations on this site, in modern time, were undertaken by a Count de Velo, in 1824; and then was discovered the largest mosaic yet known among Roman art-works of its class, representing numerous life-size figures, heads of athletes and pugilists, all probably

portraits of favourite performers on the arena—strikingly characteristic and most repulsive in coarseness.* This composition (now at the Lateran palace) covered the floor of a semicircular recess on the southern side of a great quadrangular court, formerly surrounded by porticos, and serving for the exercises of the palæstra, where we now first enter the ruins of the great central building. The *disjecta membra* are so immense, and still to such a degree intelligible, that it is comparatively easy to reconstruct these Thermæ for theoretic consideration. The halls and courts displayed different degrees of splendour; and though visitors of every class were admitted by the *tesseræ* (tickets) the price of which was next to nothing, it seems that distinctions were observed in the nature of the accommodation supplied for patricians and plebeians severally—not but that many of the pleasures here localized were for all alike. The various accessorial buildings, dressing rooms, private bath-chambers, also the libraries and pinacotheca, were probably lighted from unglazed windows; but the large apartments, in which costly decoration and grace of architecture were carried to the highest degree, had no other illumination than that from pendant lamps, candelabra, and sconces—a light which, we may suppose, would have been finely suitable, and strikingly effective as it gleamed on the surface of radiant marbles, the long-drawn perspective of halls and vaults, the columns of porphyry and granite, the bright-hued mosaics, and (noblest among adornments of the scene) the statuary which rose, pure, grand, majestic, in

* Pliny (H. N. l. xxxv. c. vii.) mentions the first appearance of paintings representing gladiators and their combats in the time of Nero. They were usually placed in porticos; and one such picture was hung up by Terentius Lucanus in the sacred grove of Diana on the Aventine hill.

arched recesses or under the chiselled cornices and friezes of Carrara marble.

The principal front of these buildings on the side overlooking the Appian Way, also the two narrower fronts of the central structure presented a perspective of colonnades with shafts of red granite ; the architraves, and (probably) the attics above, being adorned with vitreous mosaic. From the portico along the eastern front was entered the suite of chambers for private baths, still recognizable (the bath-compartments being preserved in some interiors), though all are ruinous, all more or less encumbered with brushwood, weeds, and fallen masonry. At the extremities were two spacious halls, probably the Greek and Latin libraries, with alabaster columns, mosaic pavements, walls partly encrusted with marble, partly adorned with stucco relief-work. From the outer court, laid out like a garden and planted with trees, amidst which rose the main buildings, were entered, through colonnades of yellow Numidian marble, the semicircular tribunæ called *exedræ*, serving for converse or repose. Two great quadrangular courts, at the northern and southern sides of the central building, both surrounded with porticos, served as *palestræ*, or *ephebæa*, for athletic exercises, wrestling, and other gymnastics. The *Frigidarium*, an immense oblong apartment on the eastern side, was without roof, but of rich architectonic character ; eight large granite columns supporting an architrave of white marble ; smaller columns dividing this interior at the two narrower sides from splendid anti-chambers. Along the lofty walls were two orders of niches, flanked by columns, where statues (the works, we may believe, of Greek masters) looked down on the bathers in the ample *piscina*, into which they descended from a marble ledge extending around it. The *Tepidarium*, the central

apartment in these buildings, was the most splendid ; its lofty vaults resting on eight immense porphyry columns ; its walls in great part lined with the same purple stone. In the Sudatorium the walls and vault were alike one gleaming surface of mosaics and precious marbles. In some of the smaller chambers, ranged around the three principal apartments (the Tepidarium, Frigidarium, and Sudatorium), there were walls encrusted with rose-coloured alabaster ; and in all these interiors the tessellated pavement of coloured marbles displays rich and varied devices, the designs being usually copied from most graceful patterns, still before us are many remains recently brought to light. The time of most numerous assemblage for bathing was in the earlier afternoon-hours, before the *coena*.* Then might be seen every grade of society, the aggregate representatives of Rome's ancient life, high and low, rich and poor, aristocratic and plebeian, gathered together for the same enjoyment or "*dolce far niente* ;" sometimes, amidst the heterogeneous throng, the Emperor himself, bathing or conversing, while distinguished from other visitors only by a purple mantle thrown over his white linen vestments,—as was the virtuous young Alexander Severus when he visited the public thermæ. The recitations, or readings, by poets, philosophers, historians, of their newest works, may have been given either in the pillared library or in the hemicycle of the vaulted exedra. In the Conisteria, where the athletes had their bodies rubbed before exercise, it is supposed that geometricians used to

* Such the time of day preferred by Horace for his visit to the *balnea* :

Ast ubi me fessum sol acrior ire lavatum
Admonuit, fugio rabiosi tempora signi.

Sat. vi. l. 1.

design figures, for the instruction of their hearers, on the sand-strewn floor.*

While wandering through the vast ruins of the Antonine Thermæ, we may be reminded of one salutary and just principle admitted in the system, and influencing the social state, of Latin antiquity—the recognition of a character entitled to respect and privileges in the “*Civis Romanus*,” whatever the individual might possess in mind or fortune, whatever the accidents of birth or occupation—a dominant idea preparatory, we may believe, to the ascendancy of another more high and beneficial one, that of universal brotherhood uniting the human race under one supreme Father.

From a garden near the northern side of these buildings, below the declivity of the Aventine hill, we may descend into a range of vast subterranean corridors, extending in diverse directions under the great Thermæ, but so obstructed by enormous masses of fallen brick-work that we cannot in any part explore to great dis-

* V. Montfaucon, “*L’Antiquité expliquée*,” t. iii. p. 11. “The visitor (to the baths) first entered a room not artificially heated, where he undressed, and had the body rubbed, or anointed. He thence passed into the Tepidarium, and remained there for some time; thence into the Sudatorium, where, besides the subterranean fire, there was the Laconicum, which appears to have been a furnace level with the floor. From the Sudatorium he passed into the Calidarium, and after staying for a time in the hot bath, returned to the sweating-bath, and thence passed again into the Tepidarium, finally into the Frigidarium. As all who came to bathe did not pass through all these processes, there were baths in the tepid chambers for those who did not wish to go farther; also others in the cold chambers for those who did not want either the tepid or the hot bath.” The same learned writer enumerates the various perfumes used for anointing the body, and in which great costliness was manifest: they were compounded of roses, lilies, myrrh, marjoram, narcissus, iris, nard, wild vine, &c.—most precious being that called cinnamonium. Different perfumes were used for the hair and eyebrows, neck and arms, &c.

tance. The daylight here penetrates in some places ; but occasionally we are in darkness only dispelled by the taper-light which, as well as a guide, must be procured. It is a strange and awe-striking labyrinth, in its present state of gloom and unexplorable vastness. Such a subterranean storey may have served for different purposes—as the support of the superstructure ; the discharge of the water, millions of gallons of which, daily used in the baths, could thus have been drawn off without causing damage or inconvenience otherwise inevitable. The many slaves in the service of the bathers had, probably, occasion to descend into this lower region for various purposes connected with their task in the care of the extensive premises.

A striking and rapidly wrought change in the aspects of this scene of ruins, with some loss of the picturesque, but also much gain for archæological interests, has been the consequence of the labours here carried out, under new authorities, since 1870. I shall not forget the effect produced, and the astonishment it excited when I visited this spot, after a long interval of absence, in the Spring of 1872. The lofty walls and high-hung vaults were denuded of the verdant draperies and leafy veils with which Nature had clothed and adorned them. Only a few evergreen trees were left, with their dusky foliage still waving at some of the highest points, or least accessible “coins of vantage.” Many workmen were here engaged on that spring-day ; their activities and the sound of their implements disturbing, with strange contrast, the quiet and solemn stillness which here held almost undisputed reign in days gone by. The richly paved floors, distinguished by rainbow-varieties of tints, and graceful or fantastic designs on the tessellated surface, attracted and pleased the eye in many chambers where, hitherto, grass and flowering weeds alone had spread

beneath the feet. Some elaborately chiselled cornices of white marble had been replaced where (at least) they were supposed to have been originally set against the walls. Most precious among recently recovered treasure-trove were three male torsi in Greek marble, now erected on pedestals, in the great court at the southern side of the central buildings — one of these being colossal, the others of heroic proportions; all (as it seemed to me) marked by fine characteristics.

In a ruinous (but still roofed) hall, at the south-eastern angle of this spacious court, I saw that day another recently-found treasure—a much mutilated colossal head of Bacchus, the ivy-wreath round the brow indicating that god as the subject; little being left of this sculpture except the forehead and eyes—yet that little sufficient to convey an impression of noble beauty, serene, even solemn. In the central apartment of the Tepidarium lay several fragments of chiselled marbles, broken shafts of porphyry and granite columns strewn on the recently-opened ground, where the ancient pavement was now brought to view below enormous accumulations of *débris*. The architectonic ornaments, among these relics of scattered wealth, are beautifully wrought. Uncommon in design, and finely executed, are several white marble capitals, severed from their columns, of the composite Roman order, with human figures, deities or Victories, sculptured in high relief under strongly marked volutes. One of these accessorial statuettes is evidently a Hercules; and some capitals are thus ornamented with four statuette *rilievi*, the figures too much mutilated for the subjects, still graceful in decay, to be recognised.*

* Other examples of original and effective employment of figures, armour, trophies, &c. on the capitals of antique columns, are seen among the architectonic fragments in the Tabularium; also in the colonnade

The so-called Thermæ of Diocletian should be more properly named from that Emperor's colleague, the co-reigning Maximianus, who actually founded them, A. D. 302. The former, however, fills the more prominent place in history, and is naturally brought to our minds by the ruins of the great structure dedicated in his name. Valerius Aurelius Diocletianus, both of whose parents were slaves, took his original and less high-sounding name, Diocles, from Doclia, a small town in Dalmatia, the birth-place of his mother. He was elected Emperor by the army on the same day, A. D. 284, that his predecessor, Numerianus, was assassinated whilst on the march, returning from a campaign in Persia. The new sovereign associated with himself on the throne a comrade in arms, Maximianus; and in order to secure more efficiently organized resistance against the increasing dangers of the now enfeebled State, eventually shared the imperial power with two others, Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximinus, both raised to the rank of "Cæsar," A. D. 292. Diocletian reserved to himself the general government of the East. To Maximianus he assigned Italy and the African provinces; to Galerius, Thrace and Illyria; to Constantius, Gaul, Spain, and Britain. "He may be considered" (observes Gibbon) "like Augustus, the founder of a new Empire." It was the deep-laid plan and policy of Diocletian to raise up an elaborately organized despotism on the ruins of the ancient Roman Constitution; to reduce the Senate to nullity; to concentrate all power in the hands, primarily, of the co-reigning "Augusti," and, secondarily, in those of their

(badly restored) of the portico before the *cellæ* of the Dii Consentii on the Capitol; and in the magnificent columns, of very large scale, transferred from some ancient edifice to the chancel of the extramural S. Lorenzo basilica.

subordinate colleagues, the "Cæsars." Hitherto laws had been ratified by the sanction of the Senate; but henceforth that body became "a useless monument of antiquity on the Capitoline hill, losing all connection with the imperial court,"* while Diocletian resided at Nicomedia, Maximianus at Milan. A change of insignia and forms accompanied the innovation in the system of government. Laying aside the austere simplicity of ancient manners and costume, the two "Augusti" now girt their brows with the diadem, a fillet studded with pearls, and assumed robes entirely of silk, sometimes of gold tissue, with a profuse display of jewellery on their persons, even on their sandals.† The ancient titles of civic offices—Consul, Proconsul, Censor, Tribune—hitherto assumed by all the Emperors, were laid aside; the absolute Rulers were addressed, or named, as *Numen—Majestas—Divinitas*. This new monarchic system, whatever its defects, proved more secure and firmly based than the military despotism which had preceded it. During ninety-two years, from Commodus to Diocletian, the throne had been made vacant by violence twenty-two times; and of thirty-four emperors who reigned during that period, thirty suffered violent death; the dangerous supremacy being alike conferred and taken away, in many instances the short-lived nominees deprived of life and power at once, by the Prætorian Guards. Diocletian never saw Rome, after his elevation to power, till the twentieth year of his reign, when he visited it for a triumph he shared with Maximianus, memorable as the last of all such celebrations in the ancient capital. Trophies of victory in Africa and Britain, in the Rhenish and Danubian provinces were dis-

* "Decline and Fall."

† "Qui (Diocletianus) primus ex auro veste quæsitâ, serici ac purpuræ gemmarumque vim plantis concupiverit."—Aurelius Victor, *De Cæsaribus*.

played in the gorgeous procession. Before the chariots of the two Emperors were borne images, or paintings, of the provinces, also the rivers and mountains in regions subject to Rome; the wives, the children and sisters of the King of Persia—themselves made captive, but set at liberty after the concluding of peace with that monarch—were represented in effigies that swelled the pageantry on the “Sacred Way.” Aurelian, in this most splendid triumph (A. D. 302) in which the captive Queen, Zenobia, walked in golden chains before the victor’s path, introduced the novelty of a chariot drawn to the Capitol by four stags (or perhaps reindeers) instead of white horses. In the last preceding triumph, that of Probus (A. D. 281), the Circus Maximus was converted into a forest, where thousands of wild animals, lions, leopards, bears, stags, ostriches, &c. were hunted and slain. Three hundred couples of gladiators were made to fight in the arena during those festivities. Diocletian stayed only two months in Rome after his triumph, and abruptly quitted its walls some days before he was expected to appear in the Senate-house vested with the insignia of the Consulate. In the history of the Church this reign is marked by an event of tragic importance, the persecution, commonly reckoned as the tenth, and which, instigated, it was said, by Galerius, broke out with excessive violence in the year 303; the first step being an edict of intolerance issued at Nicomedia on the 23rd of February.* The Christians had hitherto been protected, even favoured, by Diocletian.†

* The cruel proceeding led to the adoption of a new era by the Christians—the “Era of the Martyrs,” dated from the accession of Diocletian, 29th August, 284, and still in use among the Copts and Abyssinians.

† “The persecution (says Baronius) above all others most cruel, which is called the tenth. It was commanded that the churches should be overthrown and destroyed even to their foundations; that the sacred writings of the Christians should be burnt; that all (Christians) should

The abdication of Diocletian, in his fifty-fifth year, "after he had conquered all his enemies and accomplished all his designs," was the first instance of such a step deliberately and voluntarily taken by a Ruler of the ancient world. On a wide plain near Nicomedia, the Emperor, seated on a lofty throne, laid aside before an immense multitude all the insignia of sovereign power (1st May, 305), and immediately retired from the city to his chosen retreat, a large and splendid palace built for himself near Salona in Dalmatia. Maximianus reluctantly took the same step, as preconcerted, and on the same day, at Milan; but resumed the purple in the following year at Rome, where his son, Maxentius, had been proclaimed Emperor by the army. After some years passed in that palace among the ruins of which now stands the city of Spalatro, Diocletian died there, A.D. 313, in his sixty-eighth year. He used to affirm that he had only begun truly to *live* since the day of his abdication; and it is a well-known anecdote that when urged by his ex-colleague to resume the purple, he replied that Maximianus could never have imputed such a wish to him had he seen the cabbages cultivated by his own hand in the gardens of his home near Salona.* The political system of

be ignominiously deprived of whatever honours they had received; and that private persons who persisted firm in their resolves, should lose their liberty. This, says Eusebius, was the first edict issued; but after a short interval it was ordered by other imperial letters that all the bishops should be imprisoned, and through every possible means forced to sacrifice to the idols." We may reject the assertion of some writers that both Diocletian and Maximianus were induced to abdicate by despair at the failure of this last attempt to extirpate Christianity—"uterque ex desperatione Christianæ religionis abolendæ."—(*Panegy. Veteres*, v. iii.)

* That town is said to have been his birthplace—hence his natural preference for the retreat chosen in his premature old age and enfeebled health:

When Diocletian's self-corrected mind
The imperial fasces of the world resigned,

Diocletian was transmitted to, and fully developed by, the Christian Emperors. It may be said to have operated with effects far from beneficial on the religious as well as political temper of after ages—on the relations between the Church and the governing power under the Eastern Empire. The despotic principles of the later Roman Cæsarism were indeed to a fatal degree inherited by ecclesiastical authority, even beyond those limits, even more in the West than in the East.

Let us now consider the only ruins in Rome with which the name of Diocletian is associated. Those Thermæ on the Viminal hill, the vastest of all such establishments in this city, having accommodation for 1600 bathers at a time, were founded A. D. 302, in the year, namely, that the two co-reigning “Augusti” celebrated their triumph at the ancient metropolis. It is probable that the undertaking was commenced, or ordered, during their short sojourn here, and as a token of regard for their Roman subjects. The buildings were not dedicated till after both those Emperors had laid down the sceptre; the two “Cæsars,” Constantius Chlorus and Maximinus, performing the ceremony, A. D. 306.* There is a tradition accepted by Baronius, but rejected by later historians of the Church—by Fleury and Tillemont — that 40,000 Christian soldiers, after being degraded from their rank in the army, were forced to work

Say why we trace the labours of his spade
In calm Salona’s philosophic shade?

The still retreats that soothed his tranquil breast
Ere grandeur dazzled, and its cares oppressed.

Rogers, “Pleasures of Memory.”

* Gruter gives a fragmentary inscription found near the ruins, referring to that act of dedication: *Thermas felices Diocletiano cæptas Edificiis pro tanti operis magnitudine omni cultu jam perfectis numine ejus consecrarunt.*

at these buildings, and all put to death after the completion of their task.

Seeing the proximity of the Salarian gate, through which Alaric entered Rome, it is inferred that these *Thermæ* suffered more or less from the violence of the Gothic invaders; yet we have the testimony of Sidonius Apollinaris in proof that these, alike with the baths of Agrippa and Nero, continued to be in full use, frequented and materially complete, till about the end of the V. century.* Even after falling into ruin these structures stood, imposing no doubt, and immense in extent, till the latter half of the XVI. century. Fulvio (l. 111) describes them as seen by himself in 1527, with lofty vaulted halls, circular chambers, massive columns and rich cornices still *in situ*; the ample reservoirs for water still preserved. Bufalini's map of Rome (1551) shows that the vast edifice then stood free from all incumbrances, in no part enclosed within private property. Engravings, executed about A.D. 1560, present to view the antiquities on this level height of the Viminal as still so extensive and majestic, in despite of all ravages of time, that it is difficult to recognize in what is actually before us the majestic remains of the Diocletian *Thermæ*, now so metamorphosed, modernized, and appropriated with so much sacrifice of the antique.† Neither pontiff

* The poetical Bishop of Clermont thus alludes to them, and in the same lines to the retreat of the abdicated Emperor:

Huic ad balnea non Neroniana
Nec quæ Agrippa dedit, vel illa cujus
Bustum Dalmaticæ vident Salonæ:
Ad thermas tamen ire sed libebat

Privato bene præbitus pudori.—*Carmen ad Consentium.*

† See the interesting, and now rare, views of Rome and the environs, by Ægidius Sadeler—a testimony to the unchecked decay and maltreatment of antiquities in this city since the period when that artist saw and sketched them. He gives three engravings of the Diocletian *Thermæ*, exhibiting a spectacle different indeed from what we now behold.

nor patrician had yet interfered with them. A small church dedicated to Cyriacus, a soldier put to death for his faith in the tenth persecution, was the sole modern building hitherto raised amidst these wrecks of the Past. In, or soon after, the year 1560, Pope Pius IV. purchased an estate within which these ruins were then enclosed—originally the property of a French Cardinal, Bellay—from another proprietor, Cardinal Carlo Borromeo, the saintly Archbishop of Milan, nephew to the then reigning Pontiff. The same Pope Pius bestowed the ground on the Carthusian monks, previously established at the basilica and cloisters of *S. Croce in Gerusalemme*. He also commissioned Buonarrotti to build a church for those Carthusians among the thermal ruins. The great artist availed himself of a spacious hall, an oblong quadrilateral, and of several vaulted chambers contiguous to it, for the nave, atrium, and lateral chapels of *S. Maria degli Angeli*, under which title the new Carthusian church was consecrated by Pius IV. The external area was cleared of incumbrances, probably with much demolition of the antique, by order of Sixtus V.; and the large monastery, which presently rose up among the still conspicuous ruins, no doubt contributed much to the sacrifice or concealment of the great thermal buildings.* In 1593 the Carthusians sold a part of these premises, together with the ruins there extant, and a vast number of fragmentary sculptures, architectonic ornaments, &c. found therein, to a pious lady, the Countess Sforza di S. Fiora, who presently handed over her entire purchase to another monastic brotherhood, the Cistercians of the reformed congregation founded by S. Bernard at Clairvaux. In order to provide a church for the latter, a great circular hall of

* Venuti states that Sixtus V. caused most of the buildings above ground to be demolished, and those that were subterranean to be filled up with the waste material for support to the church or cloisters.

the Thermæ, with domed roof still preserved, was easily utilized; and in the course of the works for transforming that ancient structure into the actual *S. Bernardo*, an abundant store of marble and sculptured fragments was exhumed on this spot. Still more acceptable was the discovery of eighteen busts of philosophers, all which were purchased by Cardinal Farnese for enriching the art collection in his palace. The interior of the rotunda, now consecrated, is striking—indeed beautiful, in spite of many tasteless details and adornments added by modern hands. The ample dome, still retaining its antique coffered ornamentation, contributes much to an effect aerial yet solemn in the architecture. It is stated in a MS. history of this Cistercian Abbey of *S. Bernardo* that the pious donatrix ordered many wall paintings, within the rotunda finally converted into a church, to be effaced on account of their obscene character.

It seems that even till the middle of the XVII. century, the principal group of the ruins, possessed by the Carthusian monks, was far more imposing than at present. Nardini (*"Roma Antica"*) describes them in their then condition with "stupendous vaults, massive columns, and subterranean halls"—two "chapels" (bath-chambers?) having been, he says, "lately discovered." Montfaucon mentions what he himself had learnt from the Carthusian Prior, that more than 200 columns had been removed from these extensive remains, to be erected, or otherwise used, in different buildings; and the same writer describes subterranean chambers below the *S. Maria degli Angeli* church, in which had been found many remnants of marble incrustation, all made use of by the monks for adorning or completing that sacred edifice. The entrances to those chambers were walled up in Montfaucon's time (*"L'Antiquité expliquée,"* &c. t. iii. p. ii.).

A deplorable disfigurement of the architecture designed (in part only adapted) by Buonarrotti, was carried out when

this Carthusian church was altered by the architect Vanvitelli in 1747. I need not here particularize the degree to which its fine original character, maintained on the basis of the antique through the efforts of the earlier master, was sacrificed in that last and worst modernization of classic antiquity on this site.* The spacious and solemn cloisters, with one hundred Doric columns supporting rounded arches, also from the designs of Buonarrotti, are still, fortunately, preserved intact, with the four lofty cypress-trees, planted by the same great artist's hand, rising, fit guardians of the religious scene, beside the classic urn of a fountain in the midst. In the Carthusian church, a remarkable statue of

* The whole edifice now received quite a different aspect; the lateral became the principal entrance, and the chapel of the Madonna, formerly least important, became the tribune with its high altar. The chapel of S. Bruno, adapted in Michelangiolo's design for the high altar, became a lateral chapel. Eight additional columns of brick, coated with stucco, were erected; and, for uniformity, the granite shafts of the antique ones were concealed by a similar covering. So ill was Vanvitelli's design accomplished that, at this day, the closed archways may be distinctly seen, owing to the crumbling away of the stucco with paltry ornamental painting on the lateral walls. The dimensions of the church, however, and the leading features preserved from Buonarrotti's design, secure to it still a character of *grandiose* and majestic gravity. The spiritual administrations of the Carthusians being confined to their own community, neither confessional nor pulpit is seen within these walls. Neglect is too apparent, externally and internally; and it seems a reproach that such an edifice should have been long left in forlorn decay, its lofty antique vaulting and the stuccoed columns rendered unseemly by abrasures on their surface. Since the change of government, certain devoted partisans of the Vatican, among Roman citizens, got up a subscription for presenting to the Pope a *golden throne*! Pius LX. had the good sense to refuse the costly bauble; and it is understood that the sum intended to have been wasted upon it will be applied to the worthier object of providing this church with a suitable façade and chief portal. Its outer aspect, on the side of the chief entrance, has been nothing else than disgraceful since the deformation by Vanvitelli.

S. Bruno, by Houdon, a French sculptor who lived from 1740 to 1820, occupies a recess in the rotunda of the antique building through which we pass into the nave of the now sacred edifice. With arms folded and head drooping, as in profound thought or wrapt contemplation, over the breast, the ascetic Saint here stands before us like an intensely present individuality, a form, indicating with wondrous truthfulness the "depths of a being sealed, and severed from mankind." Here, amidst the surroundings of the Christian sanctuary, we may find subject for meditation in the contrasted motives which led two men to quit the world for retirement amidst circumstances and influences the most unlike that can be conceived—the Emperor Diocletian and the Carthusian Saint, Bruno.

The tradition of the 40,000 soldier-martyrs may be almost baseless ; yet it is quite possible that the victim S. Cyriacus, a chapel dedicated to whom once stood in the ruinous *Thermæ*, may have been one of those compelled, with convicts or slaves, to labour in the works for erecting them. We may consider the edifice that here perpetuates Diocletian's illustrious name as a memorial, not only of the greatness but also of the injustice of that Ruler. Associated with the history of the tenth persecution, and the saintly heroism of those who through endurance resisted the shock, its ruins remind us of a triumph far more momentous and glorious than that celebrated by the co-reigning "Augusti," in the year 302, at Rome.

Further injuries to those remains on the Viminal hill have been caused by recent public works ; and the locality with all its features has gone through much change during the last few years. The adjacent railway-station has afforded pretext for not a little demolition. Massive remnants of the Servian walls have been brought to light, and partly swept away, in the works for laying down iron rails

near the south-eastern side of these Thermæ. A rotunda in the quadrangle of ancient buildings, central to which stood the main structure for the baths (corresponding to that other rotunda now used as a church), was long since enclosed within the premises of a prison for felons. The great hemicycle of the theatre (or stadium) for races and athletic displays, on the south-western side of the quadrangle between those two circular halls, has been broken through for the opening of a new line of streets. That hemicycle had its inner side adorned with statuary in twenty recesses, all (till recently) preserved. It was enclosed, and consequently protected from injury, in the gardens of the Cistercian monks; but, those "religious" having lost their property, the ruins have suffered from the irrepressible progress of civic improvement. More and more are the once vast and splendid buildings of the Thermæ on the Viminal hill becoming transformed, or obscured, by the spirit of change. The ruins which were a favourite haunt of Petrarch in the calm evening hours, would not certainly be recognized by the Laureate of the XIV. century, were he to revisit them now.

The Aqueducts, which may be classified next to the Thermæ, form a striking, indeed unique feature not alone in the solemn landscape of the Campagna and in mountainglens beyond that solitary region, but within the very walls of the ancient city. If less interesting than are such structures as remind us of institutions or social conditions, these also may be deemed monumental—recording, as they do, the enterprise and knowledge, the practical energies, the architectural skill and science of the Romans. Considered from one point of view, they remind us also of religious ideas, of that worship of waters, rivers, streams and fountains, as well as the mighty ocean, which seems born of gratitude towards the beneficent powers of Nature, and

presents one of the pure and genial aspects in Greek and Latin mythology.* Many pages might be filled with quotations from classic poets who utter this sweet and natural feeling,† no where more gracefully expressed than in the well known ode of Horace :

O fons Bandusiae, splendidior vitro, &c.‡

In this city of fountains—there are no fewer than 660, many adorned with sculptures, in modern Rome—

The sound, and sight, and flashing ray
Of joyous waters in their play

may often bring to our minds a thought of the Naiads and

* Simul ipsa precatur
Oceanum patrem rerum, Nymphasque sorores,
Centum quæ silvas, centum quæ flumina servant.

Virgil, *Georgica*, l. iv. 381.

† Oft for his love the mountain Dryads sued,
And every silver sister of the flood :
Those of Numicus, Albula, and those
Where Almo creeps, and hasty Nar o'erflows;
Where sedgy Anio glides thro' smiling meads,
Where steady Farfar rustles in the reeds, &c.

Garth's "Ovid," *Metamorph.* l. xiv.

‡ Oh ! worthy fragrant gifts of flowers and wine,
Bandusian fount, than crystal far more bright !
To-morrow shall a sportive kid be thine,
Whose forehead swells with horns of infant might.
Ev'n now of love and war he dreams in vain,
Doomed with his blood thy gelid wave to stain.

Let the red dog-star burn !—his scorching beam,
Fierce in resplendence, shall molest not thee !
Still sheltered from his rays, thy banks, fair stream,
To the wild flock around thee wandering free,
And the tired oxen from the furrowed field
The genial freshness of their breath shall yield.

And thou, bright fount, ennobled and renowned
Shall by thy Poet's votive song be made, &c.

(Translated by F. H.)

other peaceful deities presiding over rivers and streams. We learn from Frontinus that the Sibylline books were consulted before it could be officially decided which waters, those of the Marcian or Anio Vetus aqueduct, should be brought along subterranean channels to the Capitoline hill. Tacitus informs us of the indignation excited against Nero because he had bathed at the fountain-head of the former, the Marcian, waters: "By this act of impurity he was thought to have polluted the sacred stream. A fit of illness, which followed this frolic, left no doubt in the minds of the populace. The gods, they thought, pursued with vengeance the author of so vile a sacrilege." (*Annals*, xiv. 22.)

The best ancient authority on the subject of Aqueducts is the above-named Sextus Julius Frontinus, who was Urban Prefect under Vespasian, A.D. 70, was made Governor of Britain, A.D. 75, and from the year 97 held the office of "Curator Aquarum" under Nerva and Trajan. His work in two books, "*De Aqueductibus Urbis Romæ*," is the fullest that could be desired. During about four centuries the Romans had no supply of water except from the Tiber, from cisterns, and a few running streams. The first person who secured to them such advantage was a citizen of military renown, but more famous, and truly a primordial benefactor, in his magisterial capacity, Appius Claudius, named "Cæcus" from his misfortune of blindness, who was twice Consul (for the second time B.C. 295), and for many years Censor.* Through the energies of this Censor a new era commenced for Rome, with respect at least to public works and material improvements. "Then (says Mommsen) did she lay aside the aspects of a mere

* Aurelius Victor (*De Viris Illustr.*) gives the anecdote of his appearing in the Senate, carried on a litter, when blind and old, to oppose, and effectually, by a magnificent speech the proffered treaty of peace with Pyrrhus, the King of Epirus who had invaded Italy.

village, becoming a well-adorned and stately capital." The aqueduct which, alike with the highroad made by the Censor, was called "Appian," was constructed B.C. 312, and brought water from a source about five miles distant along channels almost entirely subterranean, entering Rome through the Cœlian, passing under the Aventine hill, and thence along a *specus* (conduit), visible for about 60 paces, to the Porta Capena, over which its channel was carried.* The other aqueducts were built at the following dates respectively: B.C. 293, the Anio, called "Anio Vetus," founded by the Prætor of the City, Manlius Curius Dentatus, bringing the waters of that classic river from a source near Subiaco—the length of this construction being forty-three miles; B.C. 146, the Marcian, by the Urban Prætor L. Marcius Rex; B.C. 126, the Tepulan, from a source near the tenth milestone on the Via Latina, founded by two Censors, C. Servilius Cepio and L. Crassus Longinus; B.C. 34, the Julian, and B.C. 27 the Virginiana, or "Aqua Virgo," both built by Vipsanius Agrippa—the former restored by Augustus in the year 5 B.C., and subsequently by M. Aurelius Antoninus; the latter, celebrated for the excellence of its waters, having received its name from the fact that its source, about ten miles distant from Rome, near the Via Collatina, was pointed out to some soldiers, desirous of quenching thirst, by a young maiden. This was the water most prized, and especially preferred for bathing—see Martial (*Ep.* l. xiv. 163):

Virgine vis sola lotus abire domum—

who elsewhere calls it *cruda-nivea*; Ovid describing it as *gelidissima*. Frontinus mentions an *ædicula* built over the

* Alluded to in Juvenal's lines (*Sat.* iii. 10) mentioning his departure with a friend on a journey;

— dum tota domus rhedâ componitur unâ
Substitit ad veteres arcus, madidamque Capenam.

source, and in which was placed a picture of the peasant girl who led the thirsty soldiers to that spring. Agrippa during the one year of his ædileship, B.C. 27, supplied the city with 700 *lacus* (pools), 105 fountains, 130 reservoirs, and 170 baths for public use, for the adornment of which, in the aggregate, 300 statues of bronze and marble were erected by his order.*

The next aqueduct in sequence of date was the Alsietina, originally made by Augustus for the sole purpose of supplying a "Naumachia," or lake for the mimic show of sea-fights. This brought water from two lakes, the Alsietinus and Sabbatinus (now *lago di Bracciano*); but those streams not being quite salubrious, Trajan supplied the conduits from another source, near the last-named lake, about 26 miles from Rome; and he in part rebuilt this aqueduct (A.D. 109). The "Aqua Traiana" reached the highest level within the city on the Janiculan hill, and supplied the Transtiberine quarter. It continued to flow till A.D. 537, when it was utilized for turning the mills erected during the stress of the siege of Rome by the Goths (v. Procopius); on that account did the invader, Vitiges, determine to cut off the water-supply on this side, and cause the aqueduct to be broken. After the siege it was restored by Belisarius. Again, A.D. 755, was it broken by a besieging force under Astolphus, king of the Longobards; about twenty years afterwards it was again restored by the energetic Pope Adrian I.; again, and repeatedly, becoming ruinous, it was made for a time serviceable by Gregory IV., A.D. 827, and by Nicholas I. shortly after the injury inflicted on it by the Saracens in A.D. 846. This is the aqueduct which, now modernized, is called "Acqua Paola," and supplies the showy but ill-

* Pliny, H. N. l. xxxvi. c. xv.—a chapter full of curious details respecting public edifices, &c. in Rome.

designed fountain on the Janiculan hill, erected by Paul V. in 1612.

Next in succession appears the most magnificent among all such public works, the double aqueduct of Claudius called "Anio Novus" and "Claudian," commenced by that Emperor's predecessor, Caius Cæsar, A. D. 38, and finished A. D. 52. The channels of the Anio Novus bring water from a distance of 42 miles, the entire length of the constructions, subterranean and above-ground, being 62 miles; the other, called the Claudian, being supplied by springs 38 miles distant from Rome. Both channels are supported on the same arcades, which, extending like a procession of ruins along the Campagna, are of the continuous length of $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles. These are the most imposing, the loftiest, and in their actual state most graceful among all such constructions; in some parts rising to the height of 109 feet,* and in two storeys of arches, for some distance running parallel with, and at one point (between the city and the Alban hills) joining the more ancient arcades of the Marcian aqueduct. This double Claudian aqueduct brought at first three, and finally four springs of pure water into Rome; but, strange to say, they ceased to flow, owing to some fortuitous injuries, after ten years, and the wonderfully constructed channels were left dry till restored by Vespasian, A. D. 71. In the reign of Titus other repairs

* "Hi sunt arcus altissimi sublevati in quibusdam locis CIX. pedes"—says Frontinus, from whom we learn that the Anio Novus and Claudian channels brought into Rome one-third of all the water supplied in his time. The *specus* of the Claudian is 6 Roman feet high, and 3 wide; that of the Anio Novus, 9 feet high and $3\frac{1}{2}$ wide. Suetonius says, in somewhat depreciating tone, that Claudius executed many works rather great than necessary (*magna potius quam necessaria*); that "the principal of these were an aqueduct that was begun by Caius, a canal for the discharge of the Fucine lake, and the harbour of Ostia."

were found necessary, A. D. 80; and this aqueduct was subsequently restored by Septimius Severus, also (as inferrible from the masonry in some parts) by Constantine. It was broken, alike with others, by the Gothic enemy during the siege in 537, but no doubt repaired once more, subsequently to that disaster, for we learn from the "Anonymous" of Einsiedlin that part at least of its waters reached the city when he (the German pilgrim) visited Rome—about the beginning of the IX. century.

The vast constructions of the Claudian Aqueduct terminated in a *castellum*, the ruins of which were formerly conspicuous, near the inner side of the Porta Maggiore, but have totally disappeared (*v.* Piranesi, *Antichita*, t. i. § 124, and Nibby, *Roma Antica*, v. i.). Nero added a magnificent new branch to this aqueduct, with finely-built arcades extending from that gateway along the Coelian hill to the temple of Claudius, site of the *SS. Giovanni e Paolo* church and convent. Those structures were restored in inferior masonry by Septimius Severus, A. D. 201; and the Neronian aqueduct was ultimately prolonged, in order to supply the Palatine and Aventine hills, either by Vespasian or Titus; the masonry of the period of those Flavian princes being recognizable in the later adjuncts—as in the arcades still standing at the base of the Palatine, nearly opposite the S. Gregorio church. Subsequently were built the other less important aqueducts as follows: A. D. 111, the Traiana, called after Trajan, who completed what Nerva had commenced; the Severiana, built by Commodus for the supply of his Thermæ; the Antoniana, by M. Aurelius Antoninus for his more magnificent Thermæ, thus amply supplied; the Alexandrina, A. D. 225, by Alexander Severus, which last aqueduct brought water from a distance of about thirteen miles, first to the Thermæ of that Emperor on the Campus Martius—the constructions of this aqueduct being for

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some extent utilized to support the channels of the Aqua Felice, so called from the founder of the modern building, Sixtus V. (Felix Peretti). Procopius states that fourteen aqueducts were broken by the Ostro-Gothic invaders during the siege in the VI. century ; but we find convincing proof that the Romans continued to enjoy an abundant influx of pure waters till much later times. Alaric cannot have damaged any aqueduct in the earlier Gothic siege. The Gallic poet, Rutilius Numantianus, dwelling with delight on his recollections of Rome about A.D. 416, in his "Itinerarium," mentions those constructions in terms which imply their then perfect preservation ;* and Cassiodorus, writing about twenty years before the siege by Totila, employs words, in the same reference, of similar import. The Gothic king, whose minister he was, Theodoric,† during his stay in Rome, A.D. 500, appointed an officer for the repair and maintenance of aqueducts, whilst alike providing for the restoration of public works in general. During the VIII. and IX. centuries several repairs of aqueducts were ordered by the Roman bishops, as mentioned in the Biographies ascribed to Anastasius. In 786 the Antoniana (then called the "Jopia") aqueduct was restored by Pope Adrian I. In the IX. century the most ancient, the Appian, aqueduct still brought its waters into Rome ; and it seems that the Virginiana never

* Quid loquar aerio pendentes fornice rivos
Qua vis imbriferas tolleret Iris aquas?
Hos potius dicas crevisse in sidera montes.

Intercepta tuis conduntur flumina muris,
Consumunt totos celsa lavacra lacus.

Iter ad Ven. Rufum, 97-102.

† "Flumina quasi constructis montibus producuntur." — *Variar.* vii. c. 6.

ceased to flow, however its channels were obstructed, and though but a scanty stream, during many ages. In the XII. century that branch of the great Claudian aqueduct which was extended by Nero along the Cœlian hill, is mentioned as in use, and known by the name of "Aqua Lateranensis," from the basilica near which it passed. During the XIV. century, and whilst the Popes were absent, long deserting their ancient See, the supply from the Roman aqueducts was so scanty that water used to be sold in the streets. The mother of Cola di Rienzo eked out a livelihood by such humble traffic. Strabo says truly that "whole rivers flowed through the streets of Rome." The nine aqueducts described by Frontinus delivered daily almost 28 millions of cubic feet; and it is calculated that when all the aqueducts were in operation, the water supply must have been 50 million cubic feet in twenty-four hours—more than ten times that of London! The total length of the aqueducts in the time of Frontinus was 278 miles. The aggregate number of such constructions, finally built, is given by Aurelius Victor, in the IV. century, as fourteen; but nineteen are mentioned in the catalogues (or "Notitiæ") of the Regionaries. All entered the city at the eastern side, between the Porta Tiburtina (or S. Lorenzo) and the great monumental structure of the Porta Maggiore—with exception of the Appian, the Virginiana (which passes under the Pincian hill), and the Alsietina, which supplied the higher grounds on the Janiculan and the Transtiberine quarter. The superintendence of aqueducts was assigned by Augustus to a magistrate called "Curator Aquarum," whose office was superseded, in the reign of Diocletian, by that of the "Consulares Aquarum;" and again, in the V. century, was such superintendence vested in a single officer, "Comes Formarum Urbis." Under these responsible persons were placed 700 *employés* charged with the repair

of the constructions and distribution of the waters; this body being divided into *Familia publica* and *Familia Cæsaris*, the former paid by the State, the latter by the Emperors. The first works for restoring aqueducts ordered by the Popes in the XV. century, were those of Nicholas V.; next, those of Sixtus IV., both of whom provided for the requisite repairs of the Virginiana structures, as also at the great fountain called "di Trevi," where those waters first discharge themselves after entering the city (v. Infesura, *Diario*, anno 1452).

Well known, and often described, are those aqueduct constructions which are the most conspicuous of their class in Rome: the monumental and double arch, in rusticated travertine stonework, of the Anio Novus and Claudian, which, built into the cincture of fortifying walls, forms the actual Porta Maggiore;* the other arch, in travertine of the best (the Augustan) period, with an ox-head sculptured on the keystone, surmounted by the three *specus* of the Marcian, Tepulan, and Julian aqueducts, and alike converted into a civic gateway — Porta Tiburtina, or S. Lorenzo;† the nymphæum, or decorative fountain, on the

* There are three epigraphs on the ponderous attic above the archways: the first records the original works of Claudius, supplying Rome with the waters of two springs, called Cæruleus and Curtius, from a distance of 35 miles, also those of the Anio from a point 62 miles distant; the second records the restorations by Vespasian, adding the singular fact that the two former springs had ceased to flow along this conduit for nine years; the third, similar repairs, after the buildings had decayed (*vetustate dilapsus*), by order of Titus.

† The Julian is the highest, the Marcian the lowest; and the ruinous *specus* of the latter may be entered, also to a short extent explored, at the right (inner side) of the gateway. Over this arch, great part of which is embedded in earth, there are three inscriptions: the first recording restorations of all the existing aqueducts by Augustus (*rivos aquarum omnium refecit*); the second, the restoration of the Marcian, and the supply of other waters, the Antoniana, by M. Aurelius An-

Esquiline hill, with three arched recesses for sculptures, long misnamed, but now known (from the testimony of medals) to belong to the aqueduct of Alexander Severus;* the lofty pile of brickwork probably belonging to the Marcian, Tepulan, and Julian structures (by some writers referred to the Neronian aqueduct), on an almost uninhabited height of the Cœlian hill, near the S. Stefano Rotondo church. This rises among other huge remnants of the branch of the Claudian aqueduct added by Nero, and rests upon the travertine arch named after Dolabella, which (a work also of the Augustan age) was erected, A.D. 10, by the Consuls P. Cornelius Dolabella, and C. Junius Silanus, perhaps for the sole object of supporting, with a certain architectural grandeur, the specus which passes above it. Another tradition is (see Murray's "Rome") that this arch formed an entrance to the Campus Martius, where games in honour of Mars used to be celebrated on the Cœlian hill when the lower ground of the

toninus; the third, a restoration by Titus of the same Marcian aqueduct, whose waters had ceased to flow (*aquam quæ in usu desierat, reduxit*). The travertine arch is so buried in debris as to present a curious example of the changes of level in the ground on which Rome's antiquities stand; and the heavy towers of the Honorian gate encumber while concealing much of its structure.

* This romantic ruin-pile, near S. Maria Maggiore, is still mis-called "Trofei di Mario," from the sculptured trophies (of the time of Trajan) which stood in two lateral recesses till transferred to the Capitoline hill, 1585. It is known that trophies were erected, and probably near this spot, on the Esquiline, in honour of Marius; that they were destroyed by Sulla, and replaced by Julius Cæsar. As "Trofei di Mario" those extant sculptures were idealized in a spirited political song:

"Scuoti, O Roma, la polvere indegna," &c.

much in vogue during the first years of Pius IX. For the representation of this nymphæum on medals, see Donaldson, "Architectura Numismatica."

Campus Martius was inundated. There are other less familiarly known sites, in quiet gardens or private villas, where the extant remains of aqueducts—specus, castellum, nymphæum, or reservoir—are well worthy to be inspected, and where a charm of natural beauty and local features adds to the attractiveness of the scene. I may particularize the remains formerly supposed those of the Alexandrine, but now referred by good authorities to Trajan's aqueduct, in the extensive grounds laid out as orchard and vineyard, near the south-eastern city walls, and entered from a rural road, *Via di Porta Maggiore*. Here also is seen an underground *specus* of the Appian aqueduct, into which we may descend, to explore, by taper-light, till progress is stopped by a wall thrown up across the narrow passage. Amidst cultivated grounds near the quiet *Via di S. Bibiana*, on the Esquiline hill, we see the finely picturesque arcades, mantled with ivy, of either the Julian aqueduct built by Agrippa, or the Claudian in the branch added to its structures by Nero.

The extensive gardens, bounded by the south-eastern city-walls of the S. Croce monastery, contain several interesting ruins—among others, a lofty brick building with the hemicycle of a great hall in the midst, supposed by some antiquarians to be the “Sessorium,” or palace built by Constantine; by others, a nymphæum of Alexander Severus, in the gardens of an imperial palace.*

* Other antiquarians (v. Emil Braun, “Ruinen und Museen Roms”) conclude that these ruins, of much-disputed origin, are a basilica for administering justice. There is reason to believe that such a judicial court existed in this neighbourhood, and that the causes of slaves, allowed appeal to this sole tribunal, were heard and decided within its walls. The ancient (though modernized) Christian basilica dedicated to the Holy Cross, the sign through which is proclaimed true and spiritual liberty, may be set beside the traditionary remembrance of that tribunal where alone could the miserably enslaved class, in the heathen metropolis, have any chance of obtaining justice.

They are still popularly called, without the slightest reason, the "Temple of Venus and Cupid." At one extremity of these monastic gardens rises, like a tower, above the ancient fortifying walls, a good example of the aqueduct castellum, divided into four chambers, according to the system adopted for the process of filtering; all those inner compartments being open to daylight in the now shattered condition of the building. An imposing extent of the double Claudian aqueduct forms a part of the eastern boundary to those gardens of the S. Croce monastery. A castellum of the same aqueduct is built into the fortifying walls between the Porta Maggiore and Porta S. Lorenzo. Another conspicuous portion of it is seen, parallel to the same walls, near the outer side of the former gateway. The *specus* of the Anio Vetus aqueduct was formerly seen, where it entered the city, near the former gate; but this was walled up at the time of the Garibaldi invasion, 1867, for fear of its being entered by the foe. In a vineyard contiguous to the S. Croce gardens we see the ruinous castella of three different aqueducts.

The pleasant grounds of the Villa Mattei on the Cœlian hill contain aqueduct constructions that are note-worthy. From a level garden terrace we may descend by a ladder into a great reservoir of the Appian waters, excavated with architectonic regularity in the native rock, and forming a chamber, spacious and lofty, illuminated by two skylight windows, its floor being for the most part under a pool of shallow water. Several stone brackets, at regular intervals round the rocky walls, may have served for supporting a wooden gallery along which the *aquarii* could walk when engaged on their several tasks. In the garden and orchard of the SS. *Giovanni e Paolo* convent, also on the Cœlian hill, the arcades of two diverging aqueducts form a picturesque feature in a rural scene; the one apparently destined for

bringing water to the Flavian amphitheatre ; the other being a restoration of, or addition to, the Neronian aqueduct by Septimius Severus. More imposing are the better preserved arcades of Nero's structure which pass along one side of a quiet road, between gardens and trees, also on the Coelian, and which thence extend through a solitary region to the platform where several piles of aqueduct ruins rise, isolated in stern decay, near the arch of Dolabella. In another pleasant garden on the declivity of the Coelian, near S. Stefano Rotondo, we find an edifice much ruined, but still marked by the beauty of decay, supposed to be a nymphæum with water from the aqueduct of Alexander Severus, and resembling the so-called grotto of Egeria, which is still so favourite a resort, notwithstanding the rejection of traditions immortalized in verse. In this once delicious and richly decorated sanctuary of the water-nymph there are several niches for sculpture on the walls ; but instead of the tessellated pavement, weeds and long grass now cover the flooring ; the fountain no longer gushes into its marble basin, but flows in darkness through a ruinous arched conduit opening on the shady hill-side ; and of the vaulted roof remains but a fragment, no longer sheltering the visitor or this once favourite retreat from the sultry sunbeams. The finest portion of the Neronian aqueduct, in the best laterital masonry of the period, rises with two storeys of lofty arcades between the S. Croce and Lateran basilicas, crossing a highroad at a point near the latter of those churches. No better example of antique brick masonry, with the enormous tiles used in it, is to be seen in Rome. The specus of another aqueduct (the Appian ?) was discovered by Mr. J. H. Parker (or at least first reported of by that gentleman) on the declivity of the Coelian, and near the probable site of the *real* Grotto of Egeria. A formless pile of ruins on this hillside may (as assumed) be that temple of the Muses

(*Ædes Camænarum*) which stood outside the Porta Capena, in a sacred grove, the cavern and fountain of Egeria being under the shadow of the same ancient trees. In the low grounds below this side of the Cœlian hill we may therefore recognise the "Vallis Ægeriæ," consecrated by the beautiful legend of Numa and the inspiring Nymph—the *vallem Ægeriæ—et speluncas*—both alike changed from their former aspects (*dissimiles veris*) even in the time of Juvenal (v. Sat. iii., 27). Nature, here reclaiming her own, has more than fulfilled the satiric poet's wish:—

"Quanto præstantius esset
Numen aquæ, viridi si margine clauderet undas
Herba, nec ingenuum violarent marmora tophum."

The few extant remains of what is antique in the structures of the Virginiana aqueduct, still in use, are noticeable within a court behind a private house, *Via del Nazzareno*, near the south-western slopes of the Pincian hill. We there see the upper part of an immense arch, the rest of which is imbedded in earth, with an epitaph in large letters on the cornice informing us that this is a restoration of the Aqua Virgo by Claudius, after his predecessor, Caius Cæsar, had wantonly destroyed a part of those constructions raised by Agrippa.* Vast subterranean halls and channels of this aqueduct may be seen under the Pincian hill. Passing through a door which opens on the public promenade, near the French Academy, we descend by a winding staircase which sinks to considerable depth till it brings us to a channel of the waters under an arched roof formed in the native

* *Ti. Claudius Drusi F. Cæsar Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maxim. Trib. Pot. V. Imp. XI. P. P. Cos. III. Desig. IIII. Arcus Ductus Aqua Virginis disturbatos per C. Cæsarem A. Fundamentis novus fecit ac restituit.*—The date here indicated corresponds to A. D. 46. It is conjectured that the frantic tyrant, Caius, proposed to erect an amphitheatre on the site where the aqueduct was thus broken by his order.

rock. We soon enter a spacious and lofty chamber, into which those waters flow through an excavated specus. From the groundfloor of the adjacent *Accademia* (Villa Medici) we descend by another somewhat ruinous staircase, apparently mediæval, under a lofty vault and between walls alike cut in the rock, the sides being in many parts covered with petrifications. At considerable depth we reach another large chamber under a rocky vault, into which the waters flow through the arched specus on one side, and out of which they flow through two narrower conduits on the side opposite. Though here of the depth of between five and six feet, these "virgin" waters are so clear that one can distinguish their rocky bed, and every loose stone on its surface, by the taper-light of the custode. Singular and striking is the scene in those two underground halls, so deep in the dark recesses of the Pincian! And one might here imagine oneself in some haunted cavern destined for the delivery of oracles by an inspired priestess.

In another once quiet garden, now intruded on by the lines of railway and approached by new buildings, exists a reservoir of the ancient Marcian, not far from the spot where it entered Rome—namely, at the Porta Tiburtina. This part of the old constructions stands near a very beautiful ruin, as to which it is difficult to determine the class it belongs to! It is popularly called the "temple of Minerva Medica;" but the more admissible among different theories is, that it formed a great hall for the baths of a palace in the Licinian gardens, a favourite retreat of the voluptuous emperor, Licinius Gallienus. Old Roman topographers call it, "Terme di Galuzze," admitting the tradition that it belongs to the baths built by Augustus, and dedicated in the names of his grandsons, Caius and Lucius. It is a decagonal structure, with nine large recesses (for sculptures) on as many sides, arched windows above these,

and a dome-like roof, preserved till modern time almost complete, but at last overthrown by earthquake, and (in 1828) struck by lightning, a remnant, however, being spared. Numerous, and some valuable statues have been exhumed near and in this ruin; porphyry pavement has been found on its floor. Profusely clothed and decorated as it is with ivy, and still isolated in majestic decay, it is one of the most striking, though least intelligible, among antiquities in Rome.

In 1855 several constructions of various character and origin were found on the declivity of the Aventine below the gardens of the S. Sabina convent. They comprise the ruins of a palace, evidently vast and of patrician style, in which had been built up, where they still stand, some massive walls of lithoid tufa, no doubt belonging to the fortifications begun by Tarquinius Priscus and finished by Servius Tullius. Lower on the hill side were opened the conduits of the Appian and other aqueducts, communicating with a natural cavern used as a reservoir for their waters. Fragments of statuary, marble architectonic ornaments, epigraphs, and some curious *graffiti* were secured among the palatial ruins—but much less is now to be seen on this spot than whilst excavations were there in progress, undertaken by the Père Besson, a French Dominican once Prior of S. Sabina.

Many other curious wrecks of olden structure, above and below the ground we tread on, remind us of the marvellous aqueducts which so copiously poured their healthful streams into Rome. Not few of such ruins are found remote from all inhabited quarters, where there is nothing to remind us of the historic “Urbs,” except, perhaps, some glimpse of distant buildings, sullen mediæval towers, church-cupolas, or high square belfries. Unique, I believe, among all things presented to view within the walls of cities, are

those sites where ruin and landscape, the dim records of the Past and the sacred or civic monuments of the Present, are associated so impressively, whilst resplendent tints clothe, as with an imperial mantle, the distant declivities of the Sabine and Latian mountains. The lovely features—it may be the very natural objects here before us, the trees that overshadow, the stream that flows by our path, remind of such still retreats as Horace loved to dwell amidst, and to celebrate in unforgotten verse :

Haunts where the silvery poplar boughs
Love with the pine's to blend on high,
And some clear fountain brightly flows
In graceful windings by.

(l. ii. Ode 3.)

In conclusion, I may mention one especially favourite spot—the delicious gardens of the Wolkonski villa near the Lateran basilica and Porta S. Giovanni, where the arcades of the Neronian aqueduct rise, lofty and majestic, in two storeys; those most pictorial relics of the imperial period being here all mantled with luxuriant ivy and creeping plants. From the embowered paths and verdant lawns of a quiet and most pleasant home, we may look through the framework of those ancient arches on a scene the nearer and more distant features of which are alike interesting—an ever memorable and finely characteristic combination of landscape with monuments; the Rome of the Cæsars with the Rome of the Popes; the undulatory Campagna and gracefully accentuated mountains beyond the walls and towers of Aurelian and Honorius; in the foreground the basilicas of Constantine and the Pontiffs—a spot where one may linger with delight, or meditate not unprofitably, and where it is good for us to pass a leisure hour :—

—— While the day
Sinks with a golden and serene decay,

amidst the glorious colouring and balmy atmosphere of an evening at Rome.

In order thoroughly to acquaint ourselves with the characteristics and grandeur of aqueduct ruins, we should wander over the wide Campagna, penetrate the lovely valley among the Sabine mountains, travel through romantic glens and wild solitary regions between Tivoli and Subiaco. Within Rome's walls also there are other sites, besides those above alluded to, where the student of Antiquity will be rewarded for his explorings. But, no doubt, much that has hitherto formed the peculiar local charm—the undisturbed memories, the picturesque solitudes extending around the sites of classic antiquity—will gradually undergo change when overswept by the tide of civic improvement and increasing population in the newly-chosen Italian capital. Such transformations have already appeared, and considerably altered some monumental regions. Much (if not all) that has hitherto distinguished many attractive scenes, beautiful in their almost rural quiet, like those above described, will perhaps exist for the future only in the colours of the artist, or on the tablets of Memory.*

* Mr. J. H. Parker identifies the extant remains of eighteen aqueducts. I may here refer to that celebrated archæologist as the first authority on this subject, which he has made, strictly speaking, his own; having explored, discovered, and described, in lectures and writings, more than had ever been previously ascertained or brought to public knowledge in this range of antiquities.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE PANTHEON, HEATHEN TEMPLES, AND
CHRISTIAN CHURCHES.

THE noblest temple of Heathenism in Rome, rescued from decay through its dedication to Christian worship, may be considered a monumental link between the histories of two Religions at this centre. In order thoroughly to feel the grandeur and religious effect of the Pantheon, one should visit it after nightfall, while the moonbeams, streaming through the orifice of its dome, diffuse a softly solemn twilight over the majestic architecture. In such an hour and scene we may be disposed to meditate on the moral life of Antiquity; to consider the influences over mind and thought which proceeded from the ancient worship; the causes of the extraordinary duration, and the wonderful intervention which led to the final overthrow of the system that created, and the belief that sent up the incense of its homage to the Gods within, this celebrated fane. "Every religion (as observes Max Müller), even the most imperfect and degraded, has something that ought to be sacred to us; for there is in all Religions a secret yearning after the true, though unknown God."

It is a well known tradition that this edifice was not originally destined for a temple, but for one of the great halls (perhaps the Calidarium) in the Thermæ of Agrippa, the ruins of which are adjacent; and we perceive that the pronaos and portico do not properly belong to the great rotunda, but are an adjunct, according to plan and designs subsequently adopted. It was founded by the munificent son-in-law of Augustus, B.C. 27, and finished within the

short space of three years, B.C. 25. On the triangular pediment above its noble portico was placed a relievo in bronze of Jupiter fulminating the rebel Giants ; on the apex, a statue of that God, wielding thunderbolts, in a chariot ; on the lateral acroteria, two figures of bulls—all in bronze, and the work of Diogenes, a famous Athenian sculptor. The original dedication was to Jove the Avenger ;* and the origin of the name by which the edifice became finally known, seems doubtful. Dion Cassius says : “ It is called Pantheon because containing the images of several gods, besides those of Mars and Venus ; or rather, as it seems to me, because the circular dome bears resemblance to the heavens.” We are told that many other statues stood in its interior, those namely, of Pallas, Juno, Julius Cæsar, and Romulus. Agrippa desired to place that of Augustus among the marble group within these walls, but the prudent master of the Roman world declined this honour, permitting however the erection of his effigy in the pronoas, beside that of Agrippa—the niches for both which (no doubt colossal) sculptures, are still to be seen. The temple was several times injured, and as often restored. After much damage caused by the terrible conflagration in the reign of Titus, A.D. 80, it was restored by Domitian, A.D. 93 ; again injured by a thunderbolt, in the time of Trajan, A.D. 110, it was repaired with increased splendour by Hadrian ; and finally, after other injuries, by Septimius

* “ Pantheon Jovi Ultori ab Agrippa factum,” (Pliny, H. N. l. xxxvi. c. xv.) Dion calls it, in the Greek, Πανθεῖον. In the inscription on the architrave recording restorations by Septimius Severus and his eldest son, it is named “ Pantheum.” The epigraph in larger letters on the frieze :

M. AGRIPPA L. F. CAS. TERTIUM FECIT,
gives the date corresponding to B.C. 27. And it is probable that the dedication took place among festivities for the marriage of Agrippa with the unworthy daughter of Augustus.

Severus and his son Antoninus. It is certain that the edifice stood in its majestic completeness, intact and beautiful, till the end of the IV. century. Ammianus Marcellinus, describing in detail the state visit of the Emperor Constantius to Rome, A.D. 356, mentions the admiration excited by the great public buildings, the temples, the thermæ, "of the size of provinces," and the Pantheon, "with its vast extent, its imposing height, the solid magnificence of its arches, and the lofty niches rising one above another like stairs, adorned with the images of former Emperors, etc."

In the actual state of this edifice we may recognize different periods: the portico with 16 Corinthian columns of granite, the rotunda, and the general plan being the work of Agrippa; the columns of Phrygian and Numidian marble, fronting seven large tribunes (or niches) in the interior, raised by Hadrian; the *ædiculæ* with pediments (now surmounting Christian altars), the rich marble incrustation of the walls, and the marble and granite pavement being added by Septimius Severus. It is probable that when the interior was renewed by Hadrian, the bronze statues (or reliefs) of Caryatides, mentioned by Pliny as among the celebrated works of the Athenian Diogenes, were removed, and columns raised in their place before the semicircular recesses, which no doubt contained statues and altars.

We may infer that the year 399 was that in which this grandest sanctuary of the now proscribed worship was closed, after the last sacrifice, the last offering of prayer and incense to the Olympic deities at its marble altars. Then ensued long years of silence and desolate solitude, during which a visit to the courts of this temple would assuredly have impressed the thoughtful mind—a grand, however mournful, symbol of the triumph of

Truth over Error must this desecrated fane have then appeared ! About A.D. 608, Pope Boniface IV. consecrated it to Christian worship, with permission, requisite even for the already powerful Bishops of Rome in such case, from the Greek autocrat, the usurping Phocas. It was thenceforth dedicated to the "Mother of God" and the holy martyrs. The report that, on this occasion, relics of the revered dead, filling no fewer than 27 cars, were brought from the subterranean cemeteries to be enshrined in the newly consecrated temple, is now set aside. It is proved (see an article in the *Bullettino* of Christian Archæology by the Chev. de Rossi) that Pope Boniface placed in this church no other relics than what the devout were then satisfied with, in lieu of the more sacred remains of the dead—namely, oil from lamps burning before the martyrs' tombs, veils or other articles of dress which had touched those revered graves, or been in contact with the bodies of such witnesses to heavenly Truth. The practice of dividing those bodies themselves, and distributing them over different churches, or sending them to distant countries, had not been yet sanctioned. The first removal of bodies from the catacombs was the act of Pope Theodore, A.D. 648 ; but the first general transfer of such relics from those subterranean cemeteries was ordered by Pope Paul I., A.D. 757, on account of the recent spoliation of the graves therein, and the removal thence of bones supposed to be those of martyrs by the Longobards, while they were besieging Rome A. D. 755.

Notwithstanding the now sacred character of the Pantheon to Christian regards, it was not spared in the detestable proceeding of the Emperor Constans II. who, during his ill-omened visit to Rome, A.D. 663, seized everything precious in the range of monumental wealth that he could possibly carry away with him, before he left this city for

Syracuse. All the gilt bronze which covered the cupola was then stript off, and appropriated by that unscrupulous Greek despot. It appears that a second dedication, or at least a new title, as the church of "All Martyrs," was received by this temple through means of Pope Gregory IV., about A.D. 834; and thus originated the festival, thenceforth decreed for universal observance, of All Saints, on the 1st of November.* The Christianized fane became a Catholic basilica. Besides the chief celebrations for that November festival, the feast of Pentecost used to be solemnized here with a Papal "Cappella" (High Mass before the Supreme Pontiff), during which a shower of roses descended from the cupola on the antique pavement of porphyry, granite, and marble. A plenary indulgence attracted multitudes, citizens and pilgrims, to this twice-consecrated temple for the All Saints' festival; and on the evening of that day (or on its vigil) a brilliant illumination, with thousands of tapers burning around the cupola and cornices, used to present a magic scene no longer, unfortunately, witnessed in the Pantheon—for the observance was abolished, on account of disorders amidst the pressure of throngs (not all devout), by Clement XI. in 1701.

Entering this noble building, one receives an impression which is, I think, best expressed in the words of Madame de Stael: "*Quelle sérénité! quel air de fête on remarque dans cet édifice! Les Païens ont divinisé la vie, et les Chrétiens ont divinisé la mort: tel est l'esprit des deux cultes.*" The tradition that it was not originally intended for sacred use, seems to me untenable; nor can I find any clear proof of this in ancient Latin writers. Suetonius merely states

* Some writers affirm that the dedication to all martyrs, and the consequent institution of the festival, were acts of Boniface IV.; and that Gregory IV. only admonished the Emperor Louis, "the Pious," to enforce the observance throughout France and Germany.

that Agrippa raised many very remarkable edifices—"complura et egregia monumenta." May we not regard this noblest among all his public works as an expression, embodied in architecture, of that pure Theism which formed the basis of antique Mythology, however overlaid, disguised, or popularly forgotten—that high ideal of the unity of the Supreme and omniscient Creator, which finds utterance in the most beautiful lines of poetry, in the finest passages of eloquence among the rich gems of classic literature?* There are some lines by one of our own poets which have often recurred to me, as accordant in words with what this architecture in its own silent language seems to convey :

To Thee whose temple is all space,
Whose altar, earth, sea, skies,
One chorus let all beings raise,
All Nature's incense rise!

* "Among all the varieties of animals, there is not one except man, which retains any idea of the Divinity. And among men themselves, there is no nation so savage and ferocious as not to admit the necessity of believing in a God. . . . From whence we conclude that every man must recognize a Deity, who has any recollection and knowledge of his own origin."—Cicero, *de Legibus*, l. i. viii.

"Rejecting—fables with contempt, a Deity is diffused in every part of Nature; in earth under the name of Ceres, in the sea under the name of Neptune, in other parts under other names.—The best, the chastest, the most sacred and pious worship of the Gods is to reverence them always with a pure, perfect, and unpolluted mind and voice."—*Ibid. De Naturâ Deorum*, l. ii. xxviii.

Canst thou conceive the vast Eternal Mind
To rock and cave, and Libyan waste confined?
Is there a place which God would call his own
Before a virtuous Mind, His Spirit's noblest throne?
Why seek we farther? Lo! above, around,
Where'er thou wanderest, there may God be found,
And prayer from every land is by His blessing crowned.

(Translated from Lucan, *Pharsalia*, l. ix. 578.)

The modern appropriation of this building has not improved, but rather marred its classical character and the grand simplicity of its original design. The works of sacred Art now seen here, in painting and sculpture, are poor and uninteresting. In the cycle of the ritual year, the observances, even those of Holy Week, are comparatively cold and unattractive within these walls—strange that it should be so, seeing the wealth of local associations and memories !

We must look with reverence on the tomb of Raffael Sanzio, and with interest on the altar (the one nearest to that modest grave) adorned with rich marbles by desire of that great artist, according to his last will and testament. But the Madonna and Child, his gift, a group erected above that altar (the sculptor, Lorenzo Lotti), is heavy and common-place. The present high altar, gorgeous in coloured stones and gilding, was substituted (1719) for a more ancient one provided with baldacchino and marble chancel-screens of mediæval style—no doubt far more suitable ; and after this change, four porphyry columns, taken from the *ædiculæ* rising at intervals around the interior, were carried away for use in other buildings. One of the Byzantine Madonna-pictures, of no intrinsic value, so superstitiously revered in Rome, hangs in the hemicycle behind that altar, where formerly stood the colossal statue of Zeus. Over another altar we see the coffer in which, for about a hundred years, lay deposited the “Volto Santo,” said to have been placed here by Boniface IV., and which picture (no doubt Byzantine) is still a notoriety among the “Major Relics” exposed at S. Peter’s. Others among the illustrious dead, besides Raffael, repose in the vaults beneath us : Pierin del Vaga, Giovanni da Udine, Taddeo Zuechari, Annibale Caracci, Baldassare Peruzzi, Flaminio Vacca. An accessory admired, and recorded, by Byron and Madame de Staël,—

namely, the busts of distinguished artists, as well those laid here in death, as others of different countries, formerly placed in oval recesses along the circular walls,—is now missing. Pius VII. commissioned Canova (1820) to transfer those portrait-busts to the “Protomotheca” in the Capitoline palace; but five of them still remain in their niches within the antique rotunda—truly an enviable apotheosis of Genius! This church contains fifteen altars, inclusive of the principal one. That of S. Joseph stands in a chapel fitted up, and dedicated to the Saint (1543), by a Canon of this “basilica,” Desiderio Adjutorio, who laid beneath the pavement some earth brought by himself from Palestine—the same worthy Canon having founded the “Congregation of Virtuosi del Pantheon.”

About A.D. 1158, Pope Anastasius IV. built a Pontifical palace contiguous to the ancient rotunda; and here did an Antipope, calling himself Clement II., maintain resistance against Victor III. and his powerful protectress, the Countess Matilda, 1087. Within this church another Antipope, called Sylvester IV., was elected, for a single day of feeble usurpation, after which he had to fly from Rome, A.D. 1101. Scenes of horror have been witnessed under the classic dome of the Pantheon. In the year 768, the leader of a faction concerned in the struggle between an Antipope (called Constantine II.) and the legitimately elected Stephen IV. was pursued into this building, whither he had fled for refuge, dragged out of the sanctuary while clinging to an image of the Virgin, and thrown into a prison, from which, after a few days, he was led out to suffer the horrible punishment of blinding, inflicted publicly on the Lateran piazza. From the XII. century the Roman Senators used, in their official oath as subjects of the Pope, to pledge themselves to defend and maintain for his Holiness the City of Rome, the Leonine City, the Castle of Crescentius

(S. Angelo), the Senate-house, the Mint, and *S. Maria Rotonda*. In 1270 the capitular clergy of this basilica erected a ponderous square belfry at the eastern end of the graceful portico. That tower was demolished by Urban VIII. about the same time that the same Pope ordered the reprehensible despoiling of the bronze ceiling of the portico, not for sole use of such metal in the tasteless baldacchino over the high altar at S. Peter's, but also for the less excusable object of casting cannons to defend the S. Angelo fortress.* The same Pontiff made himself responsible for the worst possible disfigurement of the Pantheon externally—two vulgar pepper-box structures for belfries, set above the beautiful portico. Far better to have left the mediæval campanile, which, however incongruous, was still picturesque.† I have noticed the deplorable injury done to the interior of the Pantheon by order of Pope Benedict XIV., who (1747) caused the entire attic, or upper storey, to be stript of its rich incrustations, panels of porphyry, Numidian, Thessalian, Chian, and Phrygian marble. The porphyry pilasters which rose round that attic between the recesses opening at regular

* Then did Pasquino launch forth his unforgotten epigram against that Pope of the Barberini family: "*Quod non fecerunt Barbari, fecerunt Barberini*" (preserved by Fea, "*Diritti del Principato.*") The total weight of the bronze was 450,250 lbs, of which only a modicum went to form the baldacchino; all the rest, 448,286 lbs, for one hundred pieces of artillery! Strange indeed is it to see this proceeding recorded in a vaunting epigraph set up beside the portals of the despoiled temple, and in such terms, referring to the antique material carried off, as the following: *Urbanus VIII. . . . ut decora inutilia et ipsi Famæ ignota fierent in Vaticano Templo Apostolicis Sepulchri Ornamenta, &c.* (date 1632.)

† As shown in the engraved drawings by Egidius Sadeler, where the Pantheon as it stood among rude surroundings, with the many storeyed belfry tower at one side, is certainly a far more picturesque object than at present.

intervals above a marble cornice, were also removed, together with their bases and capitals of *giallo antico*. The architect employed for this miserable task, added pediments of his own (very bad) invention to those niches, of which there are fourteen; and substituted for that superb polychrome decoration of the entire storey, a wretched attempt at adornment in coloured stucco. Piranesi's drawings show what the interior of the edifice had previously been. Justice, however, demands that we should not forget the good services of other Popes for the object of preserving, or disencumbering, this noble architecture—as the covering of the cupola with lead, after it had been for centuries left bare, a work ordered by Martin V. (1425), but not finished till the time of Nicholas V.* and the repeated clearing out of the portico after its area had been occupied by paltry booths and stalls for traders—a nuisance first checked by Eugenius IV. in the XV. century—afterwards, as again requisite, by Clement VII. 1525, and by Paul V., 1611. Clement XI. ordered certain repairs, and improved the piazza before the Pantheon: erected a small obelisk in the centre, and reduced the level of the whole area—not indeed to its original depth, for we still look down upon the portico from a higher level, if we enter this piazza at the opposite side. Immediately in front the level is also considerably higher than in former time; and of the five steps on which the peristyle was raised, but a ruinous portion now appears above ground.†

* During the works ordered by Martin V. a large porphyry urn and a lion of basalt were dug up near the colonnade. That urn now serves for the tomb of Pope Clement XII. (ob. 1740) in the Corsini chapel at the Lateran. The lion, with its basalt companion subsequently exhumed, stands in the Egyptian Museum of the Vatican.

† Of the sixteen Corinthian columns, granite with marble capitals and bases, three, at the eastern end, are modern, erected by Popes

In 1543 was founded the artistic Academy of "Virtuosi of the Pantheon," who offer a biennial competition for prizes in painting, sculpture, and architecture. Its members in Rome celebrate the feast of their patron, S. Joseph, with pomp, and with pontifical High Mass under the classic dome. On one occasion I attended when that day (26th April) fell within the octave of Easter. At the "preface" of the solemn Mass, with triumphal music, rich vestments, and guard of honour, the words "*Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus*," struck me even more than when chanted by the Supreme Pontiff at the high altar of S. Peter's—sublimely superior to all that was ever inspired or uttered by the worship which, in olden times, here sent up its incense to the gods of Heathendom.

The installation of a Cardinal "Titular" (one who receives his title in the Sacred College from this church) is another ceremony, held in the evening, and closing with the *Te Deum*, of impressive effect in such an edifice, so contrasted as it is with all that took place here of ancient observance. A novel and ever-memorable view of the interior may be obtained by ascending the cupola, and looking down through the orifice. By steep steps, formed in the leads, we reach the verge of that cavity, 28 feet in diameter, and encircled with bronze which, on the inner side, is adorned with mouldings—this being all left of the antique metallic covering—for the rest removed by the rapacious *Constans II.* On the ascent we observe

Urban VIII. (1627) and *Alexander VII.* (1662) in place of the antique, which have disappeared. Some gracefully designed ornamental *rilievi*, *candelabræ*, sacrificial instruments, &c. on marble panels, placed by modern restorers beside the great bronze doors (the antique valves of which still move on their original hinges), may be considered as scattered gems of ancient jewellery once, we may suppose, profusely spread over the surface of walls under the sheltering portico. The rotunda appears to have been covered with decorative stucco-work.

the armorial shields and epigraphs of the Popes who have successively repaired the mischief done by that despot. It is somewhat trying to the head to look down on the scene that opens before us as we stand on the verge of that wide orifice: a grand sweep of architecture, splendidly graceful, suggesting the idea of a subterranean palace—even of something marvellous brought into existence by enchantment. I have heard of what is said to be current in Roman folklore—the belief that the Pantheon was actually erected by the Archfiend, who once consented that S. Paul should visit it in his own undesirable company, but on condition that the sign of the cross should never be made there in his presence. The Apostle promised, but prevaricated; that sacred sign was made, and the demon flew away, emerging through the cupola which opened a passage for him—hence the origin of that cavity in the roof, which it has been impossible to close since the demoniac flight! Scarcely does a winter pass in which the Pantheon is not invaded by the inundating Tiber, so that the columns of the portico are seen rising out of a tawny lake, their basements under water—all religious services being, of course, suspended. Most striking is the effect of the serenely majestic pile amid such circumstances.

The greatest, to us at least the most interesting, event of Roman History, is the struggle which ended in the raising up of the Cross over the ruins of Heathenism. Such fanes of the fallen worship as were saved from the general wreck for holier dedication, may be regarded as monuments of that historic crisis. One regrets that they have not been more carefully preserved, that their adaptation to Christian uses has not caused less damage to their classical beauty, also that (as in the case of the Pantheon) a certain vulgarity betrays itself amidst the accessories and adornments due to local Catholicism; but it is through

associations with vital interests of humanity that they now derive their special claims, more than from any characteristics investing them with importance as regarded in other light.

The example set by the dedication of the Pantheon to the Virgin Mother and Martyrs, was not speedily, nor in many instances, followed. One such change, with preservation of the antique, is before us in a still classical (though ill-used) edifice, commonly supposed to be the "Temple of Fortuna Virilis," founded by Servius Tullius, but which is, more probably, another temple to that goddess without any special title, raised in its original form by the same king (B.C. 578-'34). Dionysius mentions two temples of Fortune founded by him, one in the Forum Boarium, another of Fortuna *αὐδραία* (or *virilis*), on the Tiber-bank. Ovid (*Fasti*) narrates the story—a deeply significant parable on the power of conscience—that a statue of Servius (of painted wood), placed in this temple, covered its face with its hands when the impious Tullia entered here, after her father's violent death; the poet making the image speak: "Cover ye my countenance that it behold not the iniquitous face of my daughter;" and after this, adds the oracular utterance: "that the day on which he (the imaged Servius) should be unveiled, would be the first day of the departure of shame"—or corruption of manners in Rome.* A marked preference for the worship of Fortune was

* The passage in the *Fasti* (l. vi. 611-20) is remarkable. After narrating the facts of the conspiracy against the aged king and his violent death, the poet tells how Tullia dared to enter the temple where stood her father's image:—

Dicitur hoc oculis opposuisse manum

Et vox audita est: Vultus abscondite nostros,

Ne natæ videant ora nefanda meæ.

Veste data tegetur: vetat hanc Fortuna moveri;

characteristic of the popular mind and religious bias in this city. Plutarch mentions the numerous temples erected to that deity, under different titles, by Servius: to the Fortune of *Good Hope*, to Fortune the *Deliverer*, the *Gracious*, the *First-born*, to the *proper* (or individual) Fortune, to the Fortune of *Happy Augury*, the Virgin Fortune, and another to the "Little (in Latin *brevis*) Fortuna;" so styled because the great successes or reverses of life sometimes depend on, or proceed from, acts of apparently little importance. (*Quæst. Rom.* lxxiv., and *De Fortuna Romanorum*, x.)* The temple in question, rising on a stylobate encrusted with travertine, is of the class "tetrastylus," with four columns, Ionic fluted (the shafts of tufa, the bases and capitals travertine) in front, and seven at each side. The exact date of the architecture before us is not ascertainable. This building was consecrated for Christian worship by Pope John VIII. (872-'82), who gave it the title of *S. Maria Egiziaca*.† Pius V. bestowed it, together with a hospice,

Et sic a templo est ipsa locuta suo:

Ore revelato qua primum luce patebit

Servius, hæc positi prima pudoris erit.

Some old superstition had probably induced the practice of concealing the statue of Servius, in this temple, under draperies. Did Ovid invent, or did he receive from tradition, the story which thus accounts for it?

* There were three temples to "Fors Fortuna," all on the right bank of the Tiber.

† Contrast the worship of the Goddess bestower of earthly good things, patroness of ambition and wealth, with the honours rendered by Catholicism to that Saint of Egypt, who died in the desert (A.D. 431) after expiating by forty-seven years of rigid penance and profound solitude the notorious sins of a depraved youth! She is commemorated on the 1st March, and has become a well-known personality in Christian Art. The most solemn Armenian rites, curiously symbolic and mystical, are not held in this church, but in another, in the Via Julia. (One

on the Armenians of the R. Catholic communion. When, in 1718, a new building was erected for the use of that nationality, close to the church, much injury was done to the classic architecture; much of the antique was concealed; and, as we now see it, the four front and the two lateral columns on each side are built up, the intercolumniations being thus filled; one entire side of the temple is enclosed in the front of the Armenian hospice; the travertine stonework, frieze, and cornice are disfigured by stucco. Formerly the high stylobate was buried in the ground; but this was at last made visible by works commenced by the French, and finished in 1830.

The graceful (though much damaged) circular temple in the same neighbourhood, close to the Tiber-bank, is still erroneously called that of Vesta, according to an utterly baseless tradition—the remains of the real Vesta temple having been recently discovered. The fane here before us has been (*v. Canina*) regarded as that dedicated to Mater Matuta, who was, in the Roman worship, identical with the Leucothea of the Greeks—a marine goddess named Ino in her mortal state.* Her festival, the “Matralia,” was celebrated by Roman matrons, who used during her rites to offer prayers for their nephews and nieces, but not for their children. Free-born women alone could take part in that worship, except one female slave, who was led into the

peculiarity of these observances is the celebrating of High Mass in the evening on the great religious anniversaries, the vigils, namely, of Christmas and Easter.

* “Leucothoe Graiis, Matuta vocatura nostris,” (*Fasti*, l. vi. c. v.) Ino, flying with her son Melicerta from her insane lover, Athamas, a Boeotian King, threw herself into the sea; both mother and son were metamorphosed by the compassionate Neptune into Deities, thenceforth named Leucothea and Palaemon—the latter designated as Portumnus in Roman mythology.

temple for the unenviable duty of suffering herself to be beaten by the aristocratic ladies. (*Fasti*, l. vi. c. v.) A temple of Matuta stood near to that of Fortune, on the Forum Boarium; and after both those fanes had been destroyed by fire, B.C. 214, they were rebuilt by magistrates appointed expressly for the task. The circular temple still extant is now regarded by archæologists as that of Hercules, called "*Æmiliana ædes Herculis*," probably from its proximity to the Æmilian bridge. There are, I believe, few monuments in Rome that hold so distinct a place in memory as this, not only on account of what its architecture is, but also owing to its picturesque, though irregular, surroundings on the Tiber-shore; and when (as I often have seen) the encroaching waves of that river cover the piazza in front, and the circular peristyle is washed by waters on whose surface the marble columns are tremulously reflected, the effect of this fairy temple is such as cannot be forgotten. Its actual architecture is a restoration of the time of Tiberius. But the peristyle has lost two of its twenty Corinthian columns, one being replaced with a new shaft on the ancient base. The capitals are disfigured; the stylobate and steps ruinous; the walls of the cella are in the upper part modern; the original doorway is raised to unsuitable height; two windows (apparently ancient) are boarded up. Worst of all is the graceless, umbrella-like tiled roof, substituted for the antique cupola which (no doubt) covered the circular cella; and that ugly adjunct, the cornice and frieze having, alike with the cupola, disappeared, rests immediately upon the colonnade. The temple was converted into a church by desire of the Savelli family (at what date is not known), and under the title of *S. Stefano alle Carrozze*—probably from the name of an adjacent street. In the time of Sixtus IV. it was restored, as recorded in an inscription on the pavement, which also

informs us of the neglected state in which it had previously been left—neither beauty nor classical claims being regarded: *ædem incultam et incognitam*, as the chiselled lines set forth. Since the XVI. century it has been entitled, *S. Maria del Sole*, from a “miraculous” Madonna picture.* For a long time, after its Christian consecration, the intervals between the columns were walled up. In 1810, such disfigurements were removed and some restoration was attempted, since which date this building has been no longer used for worship. When I last entered it a lamp was burning over the sole altar; otherwise nothing was there that indicated either care or reverence for the antique. The worship of Hercules (to which, I believe this circular temple may with certainty be referred) was deeply significant, and widely disseminated. Many curious observances were introduced in its rites—some perhaps unintelligible to the worshippers themselves, and descending from that dim antiquity during which the primæval honours paid to the Hercules of the Greeks passed gradually into Latium, and were accepted, probably not without transmutations, by Rome. Plutarch, our best authority on this subject, states that many wealthy citizens used to offer a tithe of their possessions to this Demigod; that children were forbidden to swear by his name in the interior of houses, but might do so in the open air; that two altars

* In 1560 a Madonna, painted on pasteboard, was seen floating on the Tiber below this temple. A Roman nobleman drew it to land and presented it to his sister, who put it into a box, and, presently looking at her treasure, saw rays of light issuing from it. This picture thenceforth became famous, and the pious lady bestowed it on the antique church, which in consequence acquired a new name. What are such legends but a reflex of Paganism, tending to gross idolatry, in the Christian mind? In Rome such analogies between the Heathen belief, or worship, and the Catholicism that has succeeded to it, are continually brought to mind.

(both probably in public places) were erected to him at Rome, and that women could not lawfully take, or taste of, the flesh of victims sacrificed on the larger—the *ara maxima* so dedicated. (*Quæst. Rom.* 18, 28, 60.) The same writer describes the magnificent sacrifices and festivities, in honour of this Demigod, celebrated by Licinius Crassus in the year that he was Consul together with Pompeius; the Roman people were entertained by him at 10,000 tables, and corn was distributed to all, sufficient for three months. The Greek origin of the Heracleian worship is mentioned by Tacitus, who says, “It was by this principle (the love of glory) that Hercules and Bacchus enrolled themselves among the gods of Greece; and it was thus that Romulus was deified at Rome.”—(*Ann.* l. iv. xxxviii.) “Even in the time of Polybius (observes the learned Italian historian Carlo Troya) there was no small city or port of Italy, from the Alps to the Faro, which did not assert among its municipal glories that this hero had there trod, or there achieved some victory in the act of combating against robbers, or purging the land of monsters.” Is there not in this poetic legend of heroic effort exerted for the benefit of Humanity, struggling through evils and hostilities, and finally attaining a celestial reward in the demigod apotheosis, something like a dim presentiment of a higher interposition, a more truly Divine Deliverer?

A striking example of unsparing sacrifice of classical antiquity to ecclesiastical claims, and the absorbing (so to say) of temples by churches, is before us in the ruins of three fanes—dedicated to Hope, to Piety, and to Juno Sospita—all enclosed within the buildings of a single church, *S. Niccolo in Carcere*. The largest, and central one among the three, is the temple of Piety (Ionic peripteros), which was founded by the Tribune Acilius Glabrio (about B.C. 200) in fulfilment of a vow made before the battle of

Thermopylæ (B. c. 192) resulting in his victory over king Antiochus.* This fane was dedicated (probably finished) by his son, of the same name, about ten years afterwards; and in front of it did the younger Acilius Glabrio erect an equestrian statue of his father, gilt bronze, the first such "statua aurata" ever seen in Rome. (Valer. Maximus, l. ii. c. 5.) The basement of that monumental statue was discovered when excavations were made on the spot in 1808. On the north side of this temple stood another more ancient, that of Hope, dedicated by the Consul, Aulus Attilius Calatinus, about B. c. 253, and of the same architectural class—Ionic peripteros. This latter temple was injured by lightning, B.C. 219; by inundation, B.C. 214; and finally burnt down, B.C. 31. The last restoration was commenced by Augustus, after whose death the new building was dedicated by the illustrious Germanicus, A.D. 18. Later was founded, at the south side of the central temple, another dedicated to Juno Sospita (the "Deliverer"), under which title that goddess was especially worshipped at Lanuvium. This fane, Doric preripteros, was also built in fulfilment of a vow made before battle (B.C. 166), in the war against the Cisalpine Gauls, by the Censor C. Cornelius Cethegus. The origin of the church which rises above the ruins of these three temples is uncertain. Panvinio ("Sette Chiese") supposes it to be one of the churches called "Diaconal," because titles were taken from them by Cardinal Deacons, according to the institution of S. Gregory I.; but the first member of the cardinalitial College taking his title from that church, is mentioned

* "It is right (says Cicero, *De Legibus*, l. ii.) that Intelligence, Piety, Valour, and Fidelity should be formally consecrated; all of whom possess temples which have been publicly dedicated to them at Rome, so that they who cultivate those admirable virtues—may think that they have the Gods themselves seated in their souls."

under date 1100. The classical ruins remained long so much concealed as to be to considerable extent, if not in their totality, forgotten till modern times—see reports on this subject by Labacco and by Guattani in his *Memorie*, 1816. Recent works have brought them more fully to light, and made accessible much of the antique that could not previously be seen. Here we see interesting examples of the style of the republican period, and, in the restored temple of Hope, that of the Augustan age also. The columns and massive stone-work are partly travertine, partly of the tufa called *peperino*. Below the chancel and nave of the church we enter a long dark corridor, on both sides of which are several narrow cells, all alike in dimensions and in the massive construction of their walls. The erroneous notion that they were anciently used as prisons has given birth to the tradition that we have here before us the scene of the story of the Roman daughter, who saved the life of a condemned mother (not that of a father, as commonly assumed) by food from her own breast. Valerius Maximus (l. v. c. iv.) relates this story affectingly.* Such impression was made by the incident, which the jailors reported to authorities, that the matron's life was spared and a temple (or rather chapel, "sacellum") was built on the spot; but we are informed both by Pliny and Solinus that this chapel no longer existed, having been, with many other buildings, demolished in order to supply space for the

* So also does Pliny (H. N. l. vii. c. 36), who adds the circumstance that both mother and daughter were thenceforth provided for by the State—their rank being, according to him, plebeian, though Valerius Maximus makes it patrician. The latter thus concludes his narrative: "Putaret aliquis, hoc contra rerum naturam factum, nisi diligere parentes prima naturæ lex esset" — words almost paraphrased in Murphy's tragedy, "The Grecian Daughter:"

— All her laws

Inverted quite, great Nature triumphs still !

theatre of Marcellus. At *S. Niccolo in Carcere* we stand, however, near the spot where that celebrated act of filial piety was performed, and so generously rewarded.*

Other temple-ruins contained within church walls, or on the premises of monasteries or convents, are picturesque and interesting, if no longer magnificent; and the blending of contrasted associations on such sites renders them among the most attractive (at least to all thoughtful minds) in this unique city. A once splendid fane was built near the *carceres* of the great Circus by Aulus Posthumius, Dictator B.C. 495, in fulfilment of a vow made during a scarcity of provisions. It was dedicated to Ceres (Demeter, the protectress of agriculture), Liber and Libera—the last two being ancient Latian deities who presided over the culture of the grape and the corn, and were identified in Roman worship with Bacchus and Proserpina. Together with other buildings in the vicinity, and with the constructions of the great Circus itself, this Temple was injured by a wide-spreading fire, B.C. 31; was restored by Augustus, and dedicated anew by Tiberius. Pliny states (H. N. l. xxxv. c. 12) that it was (namely in its original form) the first temple built in Rome in the Greek instead of the Etruscan style—therefore opening a new era in the local architecture. The same writer also tells us that it contained valuable pictures by Greek artists, which, together with some terra-cotta sculptures on its summit, were fortunately saved from the flames. About A.D. 772 a church was built among the

* The title of the church, as is obvious, derives from the popular error; and some Roman topographers committed themselves to the strange mistake of assuming those underground chambers to be not only prisons, but the veritable Mamertine *carcer*! This *S. Niccolo* church has been renewed with much splendour in late years. The actual façade is from a design of Giacomini della Porta, 1599.

ruins—if these buildings were then ruinous indeed.* A larger and more splendid church was built on the site by Callixtus II. (1119-1124) ; and notwithstanding much bad modern work—*e. g.* a wretched façade built in 1718,—the fine characteristics of XII. century architecture may still be admired in the interior, and in the lofty campanile, of *S. Maria in Cosmedin*, as it is called with reference to the richness of its adornments—a name probably given to the sacred edifice of the VIII. century.† A learned Canon of the collegiate clergy here on duty, Crescimbinì, in a history of this church ably written by him, maintains that a small crypt-chapel under the chancel, with heavy granite columns supporting a flat stone roof, is a place of worship much older than the church of Adrian I.—no other, in fact, than the oratory mentioned by Anastasius as having been founded in the temple of Ceres and Proserpina by Pope Dionysius, who occupied the Roman See from 261 to 273. According to this supposition, we have here before us the oldest extant and unaltered oratory for Christian rites in Rome. But the establishment of such a place of worship within the very walls, or premises, of a conspicuous Heathen fane in the third century, seems incredible. It is more probable that the crypt in question is the later church, the first actually founded among the classic ruins by Adrian I. The severe and simple style indicates indeed an almost primæval antiquity ; and when, for the “ Stations ” of Ash Wednesday, this subterranean chapel is open for public rites, the solemn services in such a scene are impressive. The visible remains of the Heathen temple consist of several large

* “ The plan undertaken by Augustus for the building of temples in the place of those which had been injured by time, or damaged by fire, was now completed. Tiberius dedicated the various structures to their respective deities; one near the Great Circus to Bacchus, Proserpine, and Ceres, etc.”—Murphy’s “ Tacitus,” *Ann.* xlix.

† The etymology is obvious: *κόσμος*, *order*, *ornament*, &c.

Corinthian columns of white marble, built up in the walls of the XII. century, within the aisles of the church and in a vestibule leading to the sacristy. These attest the grandeur of the edifice restored by Augustus, which was of the "ærcæostyle" class, the intervals between the columns being four times their diameter.

The Island of the Tiber (*Isola di San Bartolommeo*), now covered with picturesquely irregular buildings, and still connected with the mainland by two antique bridges, is crowded by memories of historic personages—Tarquin "the proud," the early Christian Emperors, the German Kaisers, Pope Gregory VII., the Countess Matilda. We cross into it, on one side, over the Fabrician; on the other, over the Cestian bridge; the former built by L. Fabricius, "Curator Viarum," B.C. 61, its construction being approved, according to established usage, forty-one years subsequently by the two Consuls then in office; the latter built by the Urban Prætor, L. Cestius (probably father to the C. Cestius whose pyramidal tomb stands near the Ostian gate) during the dictatorship of Julius Cæsar.* As that Pons Cestius now exists it is a restoration, of the year 378, by the Emperor Valentinian I., whose name is given in the inscription on the parapet wall, together with those of his sons, Gratianus and Valentinian II., who successively mounted the throne (A.D. 375 and 383). In the chiselled lines

* The tradition of the geological origin of this island from the accumulated corn cut on the fields belonging to Tarquinius, and thrown into the river in token of reprobation against the deposed king, may be classed among pseudo-historic fables. The Fabrician bridge has become "Ponte Quattro Capi," so called from two antique busts of Janus Quadrifrons set on its parapet wall. The Cestian is now called, "Ponte di San Bartolommeo." More ancient bridges, probably of wood, no doubt connected these shores with the opposite Tiber-banks, before either the Fabrician or Cestian were built. The date of the latter is placed by some writers within the period of the reign of Augustus.

all three are alike designated *pius, felix, victor, triumphator*, (sic), and also "Pontifex Maximus," an equivocal title, for Christian Rulers at least, which seven of the Christian Emperors of Rome did not scruple to assume. Soon after the year 1000, the German Kaiser Otho III. founded on this Island a church dedicated to S. Adalbert, bishop of Prague, who died a martyr's death, A.D. 997. Subsequently, after the same Emperor had placed therein the body of S. Paulinus of Nola, and the reputed relics of the Apostle Bartholomew, it was called after SS. Adalbert and Paulinus; finally, after S. Bartholomew—the title by which it is now exclusively known. The ancient church was rebuilt by Pope Paschal II. in 1113, and successively restored by Gelasius II. and Alexander III. in the same century. The Fabrician bridge is overlooked, on the insular side, by a dusky old tower, the sternly picturesque remnant of a great fortress, one of several held by the Pierleoni family, and in which Pope Victor III. resided during a short period of his troublous pontificate (1086-8), together with his powerful protectress and devout adherent, the Countess Matilda, whilst an Antipope (calling himself Clement II.) disputed the possession of the sacerdotal sovereignty and of its metropolis. During the middle ages this island received the name, difficult to account for, of "Insula Lycaonia." The practice dating from the time of Tiberius, of confining persons condemned to death, but only such as were of the higher class, in this solitary place, was kept up during the reigns of several Christian Emperors; but the humane laws of Theodosius prolonged to twenty days the respite, formerly of only ten days, allowed to such persons in this their last melancholy retreat.*

* Arvandus, Prefect of Gaul, was confined on this island under sentence of death, A.D. 468; but his life was eventually spared by the Emperor Anthemius.

From the garden of the Franciscan Convent of S. Bartolommeo we may descend by a steep shelving bank to the water's edge, and there inspect the remnant of a construction in regular travertine stonework, which gave to the greater part (if not to the whole) of this small island the form of a Roman ship—a trireme, the mast being represented by an obelisk which rose at the centre.* On that stone surface, immediately above the tawny waters, we see the figure of a serpent coiled round a wand, and beyond this, chiselled in the same travertine, an ox-head in high relief—these curious relics being all now left to remind us of a once famous temple of Æsculapius here placed amidst the dashing and dark-hued Tiber waters. It stood probably on the site now occupied by the church and hospital of S. Giovanni Calabita (opposite to S. Bartholomew), below which former church was found, some years ago, an epigraph referring to the *favissæ*, cavities or wells, under the Æsculapian temple, for useless ex-votos or other objects that had served their turn to be thrown into, after being swept away from the sacred interior. The origin of the island temple raised to the God of Medicine is recorded by Livius, and, with fuller details, by Valerius Maximus. (*De Memorabilibus*, l. i. viii.) A pestilence having raged in the city during three years, the Sibylline books were at last consulted; and in those oracular pages was found the intimation that deliverance would be secured by bringing the god Æsculapius to Rome from his favourite sanctuary near Epidaurus in the Peloponnesus.

* The basement of the obelisk was discovered in 1676, on the piazza in front of the church. Some fragments of it were long to be seen at the Albani Villa, whence they were taken away by the French. From Paris they reached Munich; thence, at last, Urbino. Examination afforded proof that the original level, on which that obelisk stood, was 14 feet lower than the present area central to the island.

An embassy was in consequence sent thither. The Epidaurian citizens did not oppose; and presently, after the Roman envoys had visited the suburban fane, a large serpent, there kept and revered as emblem of the god, glided spontaneously from the sacred precincts, and swam to the Roman galley at anchor in the neighbouring harbour. When the ship arrived at Antium, the serpent swam to the shore, and stayed three days in the Æsculapian temple near that sea-port. Hence suffering itself to be brought by sea, and up the Tiber, within the walls of Rome, it glided away and hid itself among the long reeds which then grew on the uninhabited island overlooked from one bank by the Capitol, from another by the Janiculan Hill. There, consequently, was founded the temple to the god whose emblem, the compliant serpent from Epidaurus, was, of course, respectfully entertained within the sacred premises till death.* This fane appears to have stood intact, and been still frequented by worshippers, till the V. century of our era. On its threshold was chiselled a metrical prescription for cure from the bite of poisonous reptiles, used with reported success by Antiochus III. (called "the Great"), King of Syria (v. Pliny, H. N. l. xx, c. 24). The sick repaired hither for healing; and many used to pass the night in this temple, expecting intimation through

* "Why (says Plutarch, *Quæstiones Romanæ*, 94) is the temple of Æsculapius placed outside the city? Is it because it was believed that the god had come to Rome from Epidaurus, and that his temple there is not within, but at considerable distance from, the city itself so called? Or is it because, the serpent having quitted the Roman galley and gone to land on the island, where it disappeared from view, the belief arose that the god had by this means indicated the place where his temple should be founded?" The date of the embassy to Epidaurus is given as B.C. 291; though some writers (see Murray's "Rome") assign to the building of the temple itself the earlier date of B.C. 293.

dreams of the remedies that would restore their health.* Ex-voto tablets were appended to the walls, with the symptoms of disease and methods of cure inscribed on them; also other offerings, sometimes wrought in precious metals, representing diseased limbs, which had been healed through the power of Æsculapius, or the skill of his priests—perhaps through the force of imagination alone. Slaves used to be brought to this sanctuary for the treatment of their maladies, and often, if no cure ensued, left abandoned and forgotten, to encounter miserable death, on the island—a cruel practice which was checked by a humanely intended law of Claudius.† Besides the multiform ex-votos there were other objects in this temple, ornaments of intrinsic value, and among them several Greek pictures presented by an Urban Prætor, within the sacred precincts. Two other temples, one dedicated to Faunus, the other to Jupiter invoked as Vejovis, stood in the neighbourhood; and it is supposed that the beautiful granite columns with composite capitals, dividing the nave and aisles of the S. Bartholomew church, are relics from that fane of Jove. Ovid observes the proximity of the two temples consecrated to kindred deities.‡

In many cities and different countries there were hospitals (or establishments which may be compared, for want of other simile, to such), called Æsclepii, in connection

* Similar reliance was placed on the healing powers of the goddess Isis, or her priests, by the Romans. Tibullus mentions the usage of hanging up pictures, commemorative of recovery from illness, in a temple dedicated to her, which, probably, stood near the church of SS. Nereus and Achilleus. The poet addresses her with the assurance—

Nam posse mederi

Picta docet templis multa tabella tuis.

† Suetonius, in *Claud.* 25. See Plautus, *Curculio*, Act 2, Sc. I., for the usage of sending sick slaves to be cured at this temple.

‡ *Junctaque sunt magno templa nepotis avo.*—*Fasti*, l. I. 294.

with the temples of the God of Medicine, to which the sick used to repair, often from distant regions, with the hope of being cured. That the priests of Æsculapius found profit both in the credit and reliance on their medical skill due to their official character, may be inferred from the testimony of Lucian, who calls the temple of that God at Pergamos, "a shop." At Athens the children of those who had died for their country's cause, and also the abandoned offspring of illegitimate unions, were provided for by the State. Nerva and Trajan assigned a subsistence for indigent orphans; but this charitable provision ceased before the reign of Pertinax, about 70 years after the death of Trajan.* Hadrian proved beneficent towards the poor of Rome, and Antoninus Pius maintained many destitute children at his own expense. But no permanent institution for the relief and gratuitous maintenance of the suffering, the refuge of the infirm and aged, or the reclaiming of the fallen—nothing correspondent in character to our hospitals, almshouses, asylums—existed amidst the civilization of the Roman Empire. Among the ruins of the imperial city and those exhumed under the lava of Vesuvius, such edifices—the sanctuaries of Charity—have never yet been recognized. Antique Heathenism had neither the idea nor the word to express Charity in anything like our acceptance of its profound meanings. The well-administered hospital of the order founded by S. John Calabita (called "S. John of God") stands on the Tiber island, with its spacious wards and cheerful gardens overlooking the river, its small but richly ornamented church, and altars for the holy Mass in every corridor, a striking testimony to the pure spirit breathed over the Christian world from the

* See Cardinal Morichini's valuable work: "*Istituti di pubblica Carità in Roma.*"

precepts of Divine Religion. Never has the Catholic Church, even at the worst periods of semi-barbarous superstition and priestly abuses, forgotten to inculcate and act out the principle of self-devoting benevolence. Never has Christian society, under her teaching, ceased to own the deeply-impressed conviction that

“ ——— So many are
The sufferings that no human aid can reach,
It needs must be a duty doubly sweet,
To heal the few we can.”

(Coleridge.)

Let us again visit that region where ruins and historic memories are so abundant, the north-western slopes and terraces of the Cœlian hill. Near the monastery founded by S. Gregory the Great, stands the church, above-mentioned, of SS. John and Paul, brother martyrs who suffered in the reign of Julian. The earliest oratory was founded here in the V. century by a wealthy patrician, Pammachius, namely, in the mansion inhabited by those brothers, and where they were put to death by decapitation—probably the very building of an imperial palace in which they had served their master, both being attached to the court of the son of Constantine. The church was restored, and a venerable campanile with storeys of arcade windows built beside it, in the XII. century ; but in its more ancient part the Roman masonry of early date is still recognizable. Its lofty tower rises above an angle of an edifice, in travertine stonework, evidently of classic character. In order to inspect this more closely, we must enter the grounds on the slope of the hill below the terrace garden of the *SS. Giovanni e Paolo* convent. We here reach the front of a majestic arcade in two storeys, the lower of which is almost buried under earth, though we may still descend into its spacious chambers. The arches are divided by

pilasters of the Tuscan order, and in the style called rustic. After many disputes as to its origin this edifice is now generally supposed to be an outer cincture of porticos surrounding the temple raised to the deified Claudius by Agrippina, but demolished by Nero, who required the area for the inordinate extent of his own buildings and pleasure-grounds. Vespasian restored that temple with magnificence;* and the tradition of such origin (for the building here before us) was retained in mediæval times, as apparent in the designation for the extant ruins, *Clodeum* or *Claudeium*—the former used in a bull of Honorius III., 1217. Some writers, however, conclude that these classic arcades belong to the outworks of a palace called “*Domus Vitelliana*,” which was purchased, enlarged, and long inhabited by Commodus, who formed the covered way leading thence to the Flavian amphitheatre, where the subterranean entrance to it is now visible—that dark corridor in which an abortive attempt was made against the life of Commodus. The unworthy son and successor of Marcus Aurelius is said to have preferred this residence on the Cœlian to the more ancient abode of the Cæsars on the Palatine, because he could not sleep in those gorgeous halls. Truly the voice that cried, “Sleep no more,” might well have been audible to his inner sense. We have abundant proof that the Heathen mind, at least in social conditions such as prevailed at Rome, was not less susceptible to the tortures of remorse than is the Christian. It was in this palace on the Cœlian that Commodus was assassinated, A.D. 192. His luxurious and guilt-stained court presents a striking contrast in association with the edifices, and their inmates, now occupying the retired region on the north-western declivities of the same hill, where Passionist friars lead a

* Suetonius in *Vespas.* c. 9; Martial, *de Spectac.* ep. 11; Aurelius Victor, *de Cæsar.* c. 9.

life of voluntary poverty and rude austerities, where Benedictine monks dwell in the monastic home and perpetuate the memory of the holy Pope Gregory; and where, in the ancient church of *S. Stefano Rotondo*, we see the most terrific examples of agonizing death endured by a martyr multitude, who assuredly (however their sufferings or numbers may have been exaggerated) met with their fate voluntarily for a noble cause—and with what pangs we are reminded by the all too horror-striking pictures around the circular walls of that church.

Under those ruins (whether of temple or palace) near the Passionist convent we may explore a labyrinth of subterranean passages scooped out of the native rock, and said to be of vast extent, leading into some excavated chambers and containing many springs of pure water (Platner reports of no fewer than 42); but these mysterious hypogea are no longer explorable to any great distance, and we have soon to retrace our steps along paths obstructed by fallen rock-masses. Various, and some fantastic notions have been advanced as to these excavations under the Coelian, which I believe to be nothing else than quarries formed for obtaining stone used in the buildings of the city—certainly not, as some learned antiquarians (Venuti among them) assume, a *vivarium* for keeping the wild beasts to be exhibited on the arena of the neighbouring amphitheatre. The recent laying out of streets under the same hill has brought within view, now more easily obtained than formerly through removal of the barriers of private property, a great extent of ancient structures, raised up, and forming lofty buttresses, against the declivities of that hill on the north-eastern side, where it overlooks the Colosseum. These singular and unintelligible ruins are characterized by a certain picturesque grandeur, and are generally set down as substructions of the temple of Claudius. It is also conjectured that they pertain, in part

at least, to a *Ludus Gladiatorius*, or principal establishment where gladiators were maintained and instructed in their sanguinary profession. Some of the buildings and excavations on this hill-side evidently belong to an aqueduct, founded or restored by Septimius Severus, which brought water to the Flavian amphitheatre.

An extraordinary aggregate of ancient constructions, of different periods and various in plan, were discovered, not many years ago, below S. Anastasia, a church founded in the X. and rebuilt in the XVII. century, near the north-western basement of the Palatine hill. It was in the course of works in the vault for preparing the sepulture of the illustrious Cardinal Mai, here interred (1854), that the existence of antique buildings, now subterranean, and for ages forgotten, under this spot became known. Here we may visit by torchlight suites of chambers, corridors, arcades, a spacious room with baths, vaulted halls, &c. ; and among these labyrinthine ruins we reach (most noteworthy object among all) the remains of stupendous fortifications, with a huge square tower projecting from an elevation of regular stonework in enormous blocks (lithoid tufa) fitted together without cement—pertaining, no doubt, to the most strongly fortified cincture round the Rome of the Kings, though perhaps of later date than the walls of Servius Tullius (?). Seen by the lurid light of torch or taper, these relics of an almost unknown Past impress the mind with a sense of awe. We seem to be wandering among the wrecks of a buried world in this dark and silent region so long concealed and forgotten under earth :

Horror ubique animos, simul ipsa silentia terrent.

Some of the buildings here before us, are, it is supposed, of the time of Julius Cæsar ; others, of that of the Antonine Emperors. Many of the smaller chambers were, apparently, shops opening on an ancient road ; others, vaulted

in rectilinear suite, belonging to the arcades (*fornices*) which surrounded the Circus Maximus. Altogether, this strange labyrinth of structures without system or symmetry, those of one period sacrificed to those of another, the earlier to the later, may be said to typify the perplexing obscurities of far-remote or pre-historic times, for guidance through which the torch of knowledge has often been laboriously sought, but rarely kindled with light that is sufficient. Difficult indeed is it to evoke from the colossal wrecks of Roman antiquity the splendid realities of the Past, from her ruined temples to raise before the mind's eye the majestic picture of the sacrificial worship and joyous festivities celebrated under their domes, in their penetralia or porticos ; to remind ourselves, as among things real, that—

There have been bright and glorious pageants here
Where now grey stones and fallen columns lie,

And reeds and lyres their Dorian melody
With incense clouds around the temple blending,
And throngs with laurel boughs before the altar bending.

In one instance we are assisted, for the attainment of such distinctness to the mental gaze, by detailed descriptions of what was in its ancient integrity a most splendid temple, still prominent in its actual decay, and not only founded, but designed, by an imperial architect. I refer to that dedicated by Hadrian, its founder, to Venus and Rome, and the ruins of which occupy the high terrace ground between the Forum and the Colosseum. All the splendour and refined taste which distinguished the public works of Hadrian, appear to have been concentrated in this magnificent fane.

Yet there is a well-known story of severe criticism pronounced on the design for this edifice by Apollodorus, the

famous architect of Damascus, whom that Emperor consulted, and of the cruel reprisals of Hadrian, who ordered that artist to be put to death in punishment for his bold frankness—an atrocity little in accord with what is known respecting that Emperor's character, and not even mentioned in the life of him by Spartianus, a better authority than the mere abridgment by Ziphilinus of the sixty-ninth book of Dion Cassius.*

The double temple occupied the site of the vestibule of the Neronian "Domus aurea," and was probably founded in the year 121—certainly on the 21st April, the day observed as that of the origin of Rome (*anno natali urbis*). On the same occasion were struck medals with the effigy of Hadrian and the proud legend, *Urbs Roma Æterna S. C.*

The whole exterior of this temple was encrusted with Proconnesian marble. In front of each cella rose a peristyle of ten Corinthian columns, and forty columns

* "He (Hadrian) sent to him (Apollodorus) the plan of the temple of Venus, which he had raised, to let him see that great works could be made without his assistance; and he desired to know if he could find any fault with the design. In reply Apollodorus sent him word that the temple was neither lofty enough nor long enough; that, for want of sufficient height, it did not appear sufficiently conspicuous from the Via Sacra; and that it ought to be provided with places in which to deposit the machines (*μηχανήματα*) which might be there put together in secret and produced on the theatre (i.e. the Flavian amphitheatre); that, as to the statues, they were too large, and not proportioned to the height of the temple, so that if the Goddesses should have a mind to stand up and go away, they would be prevented." (Dion, lxix. 4.) Hadrian seems to have acted on one part at least of this suggestion. On the side of the terrace which faces the amphitheatre, the slope of the hill is propped up with buttress walls, where perhaps were formed entrances into vaults below the high ground on which the temple and its sacred enclosure stand. Such vaults may have served to contain those machines for the spectacular pomps of the arena; and it is to be hoped they will one day be re-opened.

of the same white marble flanked the lateral walls on each side. The inner walls were covered with the most precious veined and tinted marbles; the vaults were a gleaming surface of gilt stucco, which covered the ornamentation, in sunken coffers, still preserved in ruin. Around the interior of the two cellæ rose columns of porphyry, between which were recesses (still seen), whence statues (probably Greek) looked down upon the worshippers; the colossal images of Venus and Rome being seated in tribunes or apses at the extremity of the respective cellæ, one for each goddess. Silver statues of Marcus Aurelius and his consort Faustina were placed here by the grateful Senate during the reign of that Emperor. At the same time was erected within these walls an altar (probably dedicated to Venus) at which betrothed lovers used to offer sacrifice before their nuptials (Dion. l. lxxi. 31.) The majestic edifice stood on an elevated basement with steps leading to each front, and in the midst of a peribolus (sacred enclosure), which occupied the entire area of a terrace 150 yards long and 110 broad; this wide space being enclosed within a quadrangular portico, 400 feet long and 200 broad, with double files of granite columns, several broken shafts of which, immense in scale, now lie strewn on the ground. The richly adorned architecture was greatly damaged by fire, about A.D. 307, and was restored by Maxentius, (as Aurelius Victor states) before many years had elapsed.* Even after this we find it classed among the noblest public edifices in Rome during the reign of the young Constantius (A.D. 356,)—see Ammianus Marcellinus, who calls it “the temple of the city.” (*Hist.* l. xvi.) It appears that till

* “Adhuc cuncta opera, quæ magnificè construxerat, Urbis fanum atque Basilicam Flavii (Constantini) meritis Patres sacravere.”—*De Cæsaribus*, c. xl.

near the end of the IV. century it continued to resound with the hymns and witness the sacrifices of heathen worship, as we learn from Prudentius in his poem against Symmachus (l. ii. 218)—probably written A.D. 384. The subsequent history of this edifice affords signal proof of the contemptuous disregard for the monuments of classic antiquity on the part of the Roman Pontiffs throughout the middle ages. In 625, Pope Honorius I, with permission from the Greek Emperor Heraclius, stript the entire roof of the gilt bronze which covered it, over both the cellæ, in order to use that material for the S. Peter's church.

About the same year that Pope founded a small church or oratory, dedicated to the Virgin, among these buildings of Hadrian.

About 760, Pope Paul I. raised another oratory among, or near to, the now roofless ruins of the temple ; this latter church being dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, and containing the supposed impression of the knees of S. Peter on the pavement of the Via Sacra, where that Apostle had knelt while he discomfited by his prayers the magical arts of Simon Magus, who attempted to fly in presence of Nero.* Pope Paul II. carried away much of the antique material from these ruins for his new palace, 1455-68. In the next century, Flaminio Vacca saw the great marble slabs, which paved the sacred enclosure of the temple, carried off for use in other buildings.

Nibby attests what he saw during *scavi* superintended by him on the same spot—dense masses, stratifications in fact, formed of broken marble, remnants of statuary and

* This strange relic, with pretensions still admitted, is now to be seen in the church of *S. Maria Nuova* (alias, *S. Francesca Romana*) which has been raised among the temple ruins, with a monastery, in the garden of which is enclosed the least decayed part ; the apsidal extremities of the two cellæ being placed back to back.

architectonic decoration, many shewing the action of fire on their surface; also, among these debris, a limekiln for burning marbles amidst piles of porphyry, the broken masses of which had been thus utilized on account of the incombustible nature of that stone. The best preserved of the two cellæ, with the apsidal tribunes placed back to back, is enclosed within the garden of an Olivetan monastery. On the other side, where these ruins overlook the Colosseum, violence and spoliation have left more apparent traces. Sometimes the area on this, the southern, side, is chosen for moonlight concerts in the Spring or Autumn season. I have heard strains of music from that sanctuary of fallen gods on a delicious night—(it was in the Spring ensuing after the late change of government,)—with harmonies alternately mournful and triumphal, which seemed in accordance with the scene, the memories and visible things assembled in the region amidst which this temple stands, a centre so distinguished by the monumental vestiges of powers and grandeurs successively raised up and cast down!

There are usages and ideas that deserve to be noticed while we linger among these ruins, and call to mind the rites here performed in honour of the Paphian goddess.

Venus was worshipped in Rome under various titles: in the Forum as “Cluacina,” *i.e.* the Purifier; in the Circus Maximus as “Murtea,” from the myrtle, her dedicated tree. The festivals called “Vinalia” (23rd April and 19th August) were celebrated in her honour and that of Jupiter alike. There is reason to assume that in the religious ideas of the ancient Latins the true Venus (as the Latin designation implies) was regarded as a masculine, not feminine deity. If in the popular belief, and to the poetic mind of antiquity, the “laughter-loving dame,”

Quam jocus circumvolat et Cupido,—

she was, no doubt, considered also as a being invested with higher attributes, a creative power, a beneficent and mighty Mother—in the sense in which, though but as a pure abstraction, she is invoked—"Æneidum Genetrix"—in a magnificent passage by Lucretius. Plutarch (*Quæst. Rom.* xlv.) mentions the usage, at the "Vinalia," of pouring out great quantities of wine in the goddess's temple. "Is this (he says) an emblematic manner of teaching that festivals should be celebrated after (or with?) a fast, and with careful avoidance of intoxication, because the gods prefer those who pour out in torrents ever so much of pure wine, to those who drink it?"

A learned Roman archæologist (often named above) Marangoni, particularizes thirty-five churches in Rome as all raised on the ruins of antique temples,—a fact not easily to be verified; but we may well admit the correctness with which he enumerates, among the relics of Heathen fanes transferred to sacred ground within this city, 688 columns of marble, granite, porphyry, and other precious stone. In some instances the local Catholicism has raised her sanctuaries not amidst ruined temples, but amidst other works of classic architecture, with singularly defiant disregard for their claims, characteristic indeed of the temper of pontific government during many ages past. One eminent example is before us in the Portico of Octavia, for ages occupied and half-concealed by an insignificant church, *S. Angelo in Pescaria*. Among several such graceful structures—the public porticoes, adorned with statues, busts, and other works of art, in the Imperial city,—that built by Augustus, and named after his sister Octavia, was the most celebrated. Priceless sculptures—works of Greek art—by the first masters, Phidias, Praxiteles and their earliest pupils—the celebrated Cupid of Praxiteles, equestrian statues by Lysippus, &c. stood under its marble

colonnades (Pliny, H. N. l. xxxv. 10, 11.) It occupied the site of another portico, raised B.C. 146 by Quintus Metellus surnamed Macedonicus from his victories in Macedonia. In plan an oblong parallelogram, with double files of Corinthian columns—the supposable length 750 feet, the total number of columns 270—it enclosed within its majestic area two temples dedicated to Jupiter and Juno, built from the designs of the Greek architects, Saurus and Batracus.

Among precious works of art said to have been placed in this portico, was the noble statue of Mars reposing, now in the Ludovisi Villa—though some writers affirm that it was found under the ruins of another similar structure, built by Cneius Octavius, B.C. 167, and restored by Augustus. One antiquarian authority, Sante Bartoli, states that the Venus de'Medici also was found in the Octavian portico; but (strange to say!) the discovery of that famous statue is so uncertainly recorded, that it is still questionable whether its place was here or in the Villa of Hadrian near Tivoli! Among the fine details in the extant ruins of the Octavian colonnade, we notice eagles with thunderbolts, in reference to the worship of Jove in his adjacent temple, on the Corinthian capitals. On the western front was a propylæum or porch, flanked by eight columns on each side, and projecting from a rectilinear structure. The building was greatly damaged by a conflagration in the reign of Titus, and restored by Septimius Severus, about A.D. 203. We now see but a small remnant, in which the part restored is easily recognisable—a heavy brick arch raised to supply the place of what had been overthrown by fire, and an inscription on an architrave, where the plural verb (*incendio consumptum restituerunt*), refers to the work of the last named Emperor and his son Antoninus. Dion Cassius mentions the destruction of the libraries, Greek

and Latin, connected with this Portico, in the same conflagration. The two temples in the midst of the quadrangle have alike perished without leaving a trace.

The church of S. Angelo in Pescaria, so named from the adjacent fish market, was founded under these classic colonnades, A.D. 755, and is mentioned in the history of Cola di Rienzo. In this edifice did that leader summon the people by sound of trumpet on the Vigil of Pentecost, 1347.* The S. Angelo church was built so as deplorably to dis-

* He caused to be painted on an inner wall of this church an allegoric picture designed to represent the Divine chastisement against the lawless Roman nobles, and the deliverance of the Catholic cause ; the scene taking place before a church, near the entrance to which sat a lamb wearing some kind of armour. On the summit of a campanile appeared SS. Peter and Paul, uttering the words, " Lamb, Lamb, come to the succour of our hostess ! " From the skies descended several falcons (the nobles), who flew right into a fire ; while, highest of all, hovered a Dove extending a myrtle-crown, held in its beak, to another bird, like a sparrow—the Church ? On the same day a schedule was affixed on the portal of *S. Giorgio in Velabro* with the words : " In a short time the Roman People shall return to their ancient good estate ; " both displays excited much attention, curiosity, ridicule. But affairs took a more serious aspect, when, on the Vigil of Pentecost, the people were summoned, by sound of trumpet, to meet Rienzo at night in the church within the Octavian Portico. Here, before and after midnight, the leader of the movement heard *thirty* Masses—Catholic discipline then allowing celebration at such hours for that festival. In the morning he marshalled a procession to accompany him hence to the Capitol, for the proclamation of the " good estate." In the van were borne four embroidered banners presenting the figures of Rome seated on two lions, holding a globe and palm ; S. Paul with sword and crown ; S. Peter with his Keys ; S. George in knightly accoutrements. 100 armed followers attended ; and the Vicar of the absent Pope did not refuse to grace the extraordinary pageant by his presence, walking beside Rienzo, who was on that day proclaimed Tribune of Rome on the Capitol.—See *Vita di Cola di Rienzo*, by a writer of the XIV. century, edited by Zeffferino Re.

figure and conceal the few Corinthian columns and pilasters of the portico still erect. It is difficult to account for the disappearance of all but the remnant of the beautiful work of the Augustan Age, here before us. Probably (as antiquarians infer), the rest was thrown down by a most disastrous earthquake, A.D. 442, fatal to many antique edifices in Rome.* Not forgotten in the middle ages, it was called sometimes "Porticus Severini," sometimes "*templum Severianum*." I have mentioned the works ordered by Pius IX. (1866) for isolating what remains of the antique structure, and throwing back the front of the church, so as to allow the marble shafts and long buried basements to be seen. In the course of those works on this site remains of the ancient civic fortifications were discovered at the rear of the church, and a dark narrow crypt, probably the original oratory of the VIII. century, was made accessible.

The narrow and obscure streets, the fish market, and the purlieus of the neighbouring Ghetto (Jews' quarter), extending around this wreck, still fair and stately, of the Augustine age, typifies the contrast between the Rome of the Cæsars and that of the mediæval Pontificate. Augustus and Cola di Rienzo here meet in shadowy representation of social circumstances, of moral, political, and religious interests the most opposite that can be imagined!

In the gardens of the Colonna Palace, on the high ground of the Quirinal, we see a few remnants of a Temple of the Sun founded by Aurelian on a site already dedicated to that God, and where sacrifices used to be offered to him in August. Near this a great permanent camp (*Castra*) was established by the same Emperor. Aurelianus, having risen

* Muratori cites a mediæval chronicler for this event, and its disastrous results in Rome. It is, however, obvious that the demolition of the Octavian Portico must, in the greater part, have been caused by deliberate Vandalism,—the columns, &c. been removed for use in other buildings.

from the military ranks by merit and services, was elected successor to Claudius II. A.D. 270. His reign is distinguished by many brilliant exploits : the defeat of the Goths and Vandals, victories over Germanic tribes in Umbria, and, above all, the conquest of Palmyra (the Tadmor of Solomon), A.D. 273, and capture of its famous Queen, Zenobia, whom the conqueror treated with honour due, after she had been compelled to walk, in gold chains, in the procession for his gorgeous triumph.* Aurelian was assassinated by his own soldiers, when on the march in a campaign against the Persians, A.D. 273. The fate of the illustrious Longinus, called a “ living cyclopedia,” who resided at Zenobia’s court, and was put to death by the Emperor’s order after that Queen had become his captive, is about the greatest stain on the memory of Aurelian. In the splendid temple of the Sun, its founder placed the rich and abundant spoils from Palmyra—among other sculptures a statue of Belus, also the amount of 15,000 lbs. weight in gold.†

A great staircase for ascending the Quirinal from the Campus Martius, was raised either by Aurelian or Constantine, in the rear of that temple. The drawings by Serlio, Palladio, and Sangallo, shew how stately were the ruins of that fane of the Sun-god, even as extant till the XVI century. It appears that they were in great part demolished in the time (if not by order of) Sixtus V. The noble statues of Castor and Pollux, with their steeds, stood originally in front of Aurelian’s temple. They were event-

* In this place I may mention with praise the fine statue of the Palmyran Queen, regal and beautiful in bondage, executed at Rome by Miss Hosmer—that lady’s master-piece, as it seems to me.

† Vopiscus, *Vita Aurel. Victor, De Cæsar.* c. 35, Eutropius, *Hist.* ix. 9, Zosimus, l. 61. The biographer Vopiscus mentions the sale of wines, permitted by Aurelian, in the portico of this temple.

ually removed to the terrace before the Quirinal palace by the same Pope Sixtus.*

In the pleasant gardens of the palace built for the Colonna family by Pope Martin V. nothing now serves to remind us of Aurelian and his Temple—of Zenobia or Palmyra—save the enormous remnant of a finely chiselled Corinthian pediment and frieze. On the steep declivity of the hill we find the outer shell of the great staircase—a quadrangular structure with many windows—which suddenly opens before us, like an abyss lined with ancient brickwork. An extent of massive substructions, supposed to belong to the temple, were laid open by works for lowering the slope of the principal ascent to the Quirinal palace, a few years ago. Scarcely could be found an example of the wilful disfigurement of classic architecture with results more detrimental to its beauty than in the instance of the peristyle of eleven, originally fifteen, Corinthian columns, lofty and massive ($42\frac{1}{2}$ feet high), of the Luni marble first brought to Rome by Julius Cæsar, which have been built up so as to form a front to the outer court of a Custom-house (Piazza di Pietra), by order of Pope Innocent XII. (1691-1700.) Long supposed to be a temple of Neptune, these noble and much abused ruins were determined, first by German archæologists, to belong to a temple raised by Antoninus Pius either to Marciana, the sister, or to Matidia (her daughter,) the niece of Trajan, both princesses having had the honours of apotheosis. In order to observe

* Roman antiquarians agree in the statement that those sculptures were originally placed in the thermæ of Constantine on the Quirinal hill. It is certain that the site from whence they were finally removed was that, in the Colonna gardens, where are seen the few remnants of Aurelian's buildings. Hence the conjecture, recently hazarded, that those ruins belong not to the temple, but to the later founded thermæ. The colossal statues may have been transferred by Constantine from the former to the latter edifice.

the enormous remains of the coffered vaulting, we should enter the court, over the inner side of which these ruins hang like a beetling rock of marble.

A considerable chronologic, but a much wider moral, interval divides the above-mentioned edifices from another, most different in character, recently discovered in connexion with a Christian church—namely, the now subterranean “Mithræum” for the worship of the Persian Sun-god, Mithras, re-opened a few years ago among other ancient buildings below the basilica of S. Clement on the Cœlian hill, which church itself had become subterranean, and been left underground, long unknown, till re-discovered through the exertions of the estimable Prior of the Irish Dominicans inhabiting the contiguous cloister, Father Mullooly. The heathen temples above-mentioned represent the ancient religious system of Rome at its zenith; the Mithræum reminds us of its decline, of the transitionary state of feverish excitement, morbid craving for novelties, dissatisfaction at old errors without any clear apprehension of newly announced or heavenly truths, which preceded the great revolution in belief and worship—a not unnatural temper of mind in the revolt against superstition, during which, painfully and feebly—

The intellectual power through words and things
Went sounding on, a dim and perilous way !*

The Mithraic religion had its spiritual and noble as well as its darker aspect; also such analogies with Christianity as alarmed the ancient Fathers of the Church, who considered it a masterpiece of Satan, a diabolic opposition to the progress of the true faith. Plutarch (“Isis and Osiris,” c. 47) cites Zoroaster in testimony of the doctrine that Mithras held a mediatorial place between

* Wordsworth’s “Excursion,” b. iii.

Ormuzd, or Oromase, and Ahriman, the Powers of good and evil, of light and darkness; and that the Persians gave him a name corresponding to the Greek *Μεσιτης*, "Mediator." The same writer mentions the first introduction of this worship in western Europe and at Rome in the time of Pompeius: the pirates, he says, who were subdued by that great leader at Olympus (a city of Lycia), "celebrated secret mysteries, among others those of Mithras, which are retained to the present day, and which were first made known to the Romans through them."* Although thus early admitted in the West, that oriental worship does not appear to have become prevalent in Rome or its vicinity till the second century of our era, when it was especially patronized by Commodus.† The mention of it by Statius proves, however, that it was to a certain degree popular in the time of Domitian and Trajan. True to the old Roman instinct of identifying foreign deities with those of the recognized Latin mythology, that poet sees in Mithras nothing else than an oriental manifestation of Apollo, whom he thus invokes in the concluding lines of the first book of his *Thebaid*:

Whether the name of Titan please thee most,
A name revered on the Achæmenian coast,
Or great Osiris, whom the Pharian swain
Decks with the first-fruits of the ripened grain;
Or Mithras more, to whose prolific rays
The grateful Persian adoration pays,
Who grasps the horns of the reluctant steer,
While on his head encircling lights appear.‡

(Lewis's "*Statius*," *Thebaid*, l. i. 714.)

* Life of Pompeius Magnus.

† Justin states (*adv. Tryph.*) that Commodus offered human victims in sacrifice to Mithras with his own hands.

‡ Concluding in the original:

— Sen Persii snb rupibus antri
Indignata sequi torquentem cornea Mitram.

The candidate for admission into Mithraic mysteries had to pass through severe ordeals, lasting (as is supposed) for eighty days—to fast in some desert solitude, to submit to be beaten with clubs, to lie in snow during many days, to throw himself into fire (or what seemed to be such) after a bath. Finally, certain mystic signs were made on his forehead; he was admitted to a sacramental participation of bread and water, together with a beverage made of flour; a crown, held at the point of a sword, was placed on his head, and he was declared a “soldier of Mithras.”

That oriental God, in his sublime character comprehensible to the initiated, was regarded as the bestower of immortality on his faithful followers, the Lord and giver of life, the Creator of the world, and animating Spirit of the universe. By him was the earth made pregnant and fruitful in due season. By him were ransomed souls led through the signs of the Zodiac into the elysian realm. Accepting the doctrine of pre-existence, that —

(Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting—

the Mithraic worshipper believed that the soul had descended to earth through the tropic of Cancer, and would, when duly purified, return through that of Capricorn to the state of blessedness.

The symbols of this worship, and especially those associated in monumental art with the leading Mithraic subject, the sacrifice of a steer by the God himself, were strikingly significant.* Mithras, a noble-looking youth,

* Many examples of this subject, mostly of very inferior art, in sculpture, have been exhumed, some within recent years, at Rome. The finest beyond comparison is that, life size, now in the “Hall of Animals” at the Vatican. The roofless Mithræum at Ostia, with altar still *in situ*, and a dedicatory inscription on its mosaic pavement, yielded several fragmentary (but no entire) sculptures, and must be referred to the time of Commodus, with whose Ostian palace it was connected.

in oriental costume, with tunic and Phrygian cap, stabs the bull with a golden dagger; that animal being emblematic of the earth, and this act of the God not an inflicting of death but bestowal of life—the quickening of the powers of Nature, as through the vivifying beams of the Sun directed to her maternal bosom. It is the cosmogonic sacrifice offered annually by the Divine Mediator to the eternal Ormuzd; and in such act the initiated saw still deeper meanings—the triumph of Good over Evil, of light and love over infernal darkness! The usual accompanying symbols are: a youth holding up a kindled torch, also a blossoming tree, emblematic of the Spring; a man of mature age, with a reversed torch, also a fruit-bearing tree, for the Autumn season; a serpent and a scorpion, introduced probably with astronomic sense; a dog, attacking the bull while it is being wounded, emblematic of the good Genius, also of the star Sirius; an eagle and a hawk, birds dedicated to Ormuzd; a lion, implying an advanced stage of initiation; a cypress and a palm, trees sacred to Mithras. When, as sometimes seen in reliefs, a ray of light is darting to the head of Mithras, this signifies the perpetual and immediate intelligence between the Supreme and the Mediatorial Deity.

S. Jerome and Prudentius mention this worship as practised in their times. Surviving the first onset against Heathenism by Christian rulers, it was revived by Julian at Constantinople; nor finally suppressed till A.D. 378, when, under the reign of Valentinian II. and Gratianus, the Prefect of Italy (named Gracchus) ordered the Mithraic temples to be destroyed, the sacred caverns (for in such dark places were its rites, probably all those of initiation, celebrated) to be thrown open and despoiled.

The Mithræum under the old (itself below the comparatively new) church of S. Clement, is like a spacious hall

with a waggon-vault roof, formerly lit by eleven skylight windows, all which are now blocked up. We observe at one end the recess for an altar, with a deep cavity for the blood of the victims in its rear. Along two sides extends an elevated platform, slanting towards the lateral walls, with ascent by steps, and semicircular recesses, lined with marble, opening at intervals along its front.

On the vault there are vestiges of a frieze adorned with figures, now but dimly traceable in outlines, once filled probably with mosaic or stucco reliefs. We may infer that the platform served for fraternal banquets (like the Christian *Agapai*), which are known to have formed part of the more cheerful celebrations at Mithraic festivals. In the midst of this hall has been placed a large marble basement, perhaps for supporting a candelabrum, with a rude relief of Mithras slaying the bull, and on the other side a serpent—this having been found in another interior excavated below the same church. It is conjectured (*v. de Rossi, Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*) that this fane for Mithraic worship is the very chamber in the mansion of the holy Roman Bishop, S. Clement, which was the first oratory for Christian use therein consecrated—the nucleus (so to say) of the Basilica eventually raised above it; also that, some time after the death of the same saint—probably during a period of persecution—the Christian was superseded by the Mithraic worship through means of heathen authorities who desired to obliterate all local memories of a proscribed faith in that mansion.

Another curious Mithraic monument, found near this site (though not in the temple itself), is a statuette representing the birth of the God, as a naked child issuing from a rock, with obvious allusion to the production of fire from the flint.

Lights were, in fact, a conspicuous detail in Temples of

Mithras, where seven conical stone basements (all supporting lamps), called *pyræi*, were placed along the walls—as in some instances found—figuring, to the gaze of the devout, the seven planets, assumed to be so many stages of the soul's purification.

Numerous edicts for the suppression of Heathen worship were issued before such object was finally attained. The law of Arcadius and Honorius (A.D. 395) was sufficiently stringent: *statuimus nullum ad Fanum vel quodlibet Templum habere quempiam licentiam adeundi, vel abominanda sacrificia celebrandi quolibet loco vel tempore*. Next was issued, in 399, an edict aimed against the iconoclast zeal of the new Christians: *De ornamentis publicorum operum non evertendis:—Sicuti sacrificia prohibemus ita volumus publicorum operum ornamenta servari, etc.*, the penalty for transgressors being 2 lbs. fine in gold. In the same year those two Emperors issued an edict against the maintenance of temples in rural districts: *Si qua in agris templa sunt, sine turba ac tumultu diruantur, etc.*; another forbidding unauthorized acts of violence against such buildings: *Aedes illicitis rebus vacuas nostrarum beneficio sanctionum nè quis conetur evertere.—Si quis vero sacrificio fuerit deprehensus ad eum legibus vindicetur*. A.D. 404 Arcadius ordered the demolition of eight temples, one renowned for magnificence, at Gaza. In 408 followed the important edict of Honorius withdrawing the *annonae* (revenues) from all Heathen fances: *Templorum detrahentur Annonae*; also requiring that all images, if still objects of superstitious regard, should be removed, *suis sedibus evellantur*; and all Pagan altars destroyed; but that the edifices containing them, whether in town or country, should be preserved *ad usum publicum*. In 415 the temple-revenues were declared to have devolved to the imperial treasury. The popular games and feasts, con-

ected with the ancient worship, were for a time tolerated, apart from the rites now proscribed; but in the year 408 those festivities also were prohibited by a decree of Honorius, to the effect: *Non liceat ammino in honorem sacrilegi ritus funestioribus locis exercere convivia, vel quidquam solemnitatis agitare.* In 423 Theodosius II. ordered all the still extant temples of Heathenism to be destroyed; but two years afterwards, another edict issued by the same Emperor at Constantinople, seems to provide for the consecration to Christian worship of such antique fanes as had yet been spared. (*"Cunctaque eorum fana, templa, delubra, si qua etiam nunc restant integra, præcepto magistratum destrui conlocationeque venerandæ Christianæ Religionis signi expiare præcipimus."*) In some instances the Christian Emperors endeavoured to check the fanatic zeal of those eager to destroy all the classic monuments of Heathenism; and an edict of Constans, the son of the great Constantine, prohibited under a heavy fine, (15 lbs. weight of gold) the demolition of the suburban temples near Rome, which were to be preserved entire and intact—*intactæ incorruptæque.* Most decided, and contributing most directly (as is obvious) to the final suppression of the ancient system, its rites and idolatries, was the edict of Theodosius, promulgated soon after his accession to the throne (A.D. 378): "It is our will and pleasure that none of our subjects, whether magistrates or private citizens, however exalted, or however humble may be their rank and condition, shall presume in any city or in any place to worship an inanimate idol by the sacrifice of a guiltless victim."

From the date of that Emperor's decrees, the use of the illegal ceremonies subjected the offender to the forfeiture of the house or estate where they had been performed; and if the property of another had been chosen

for the scene of such ceremonies, the offender had to discharge a fine of 25 lbs. of gold, or more than 1000 pounds sterling. (Gibbon, "Decline and Fall.")

Pope Leo I. (440-61), deservedly styled the Great, laments that the Romans ascribed their deliverance from Vandal invasion rather to Heathen deities than to the protection of Apostles!—A crisis of the struggle, towards the end of the IV. century, is illustrated by an anecdote quite dramatic, which the historian Zosimus supplies (l. v. c. 38): Serena, niece of Theodosius and wife of Stilicho, being in Rome, A.D. 394, one morning directed her walk to the temple on the Palatine where was still revered the miraculous image of the *Mater Idea* (a conical black stone, probably an aerolite, placed in the mouth of a silver statue,) brought from the Phrygian Pessinus in the year of the city 518. Observing on that idol a precious necklace, she stretched out her hand to transfer it to her own person, an act not accomplished without being seen by an aged priestess, whose duty it was to guard the sacred place, and who upbraided Serena for her sacrilege. That princess, without pity for the feeble defender of a feeble cause, retorted first with sharp reprisals of the tongue, and finally by ordering her attendants to eject the poor Vestal* from the fane thenceforth left desolate.

* "One of the Vestal Virgins still left," is the expression of Zosimus, who previously tells us that the priests and priestesses had been expelled from their temples, subsequently to the withdrawal of means for their support. We may therefore conclude that the priestess in question had been, so to say, pensioned off by an appointment in lieu of what she had lost. Her imprecations against Serena are considered by the Heathen historian to have been fulfilled in the violent death to which that Princess was, soon afterwards, unjustly condemned under suspicion of correspondence with Alaric for the betrayal of Rome, during the first siege by the Gothic King. Zosimus mentions the sacrifice on the Capitol which the Senate was advised to order for propitiating the offended gods.

Till at least as late as the first years of Theodosius the system of Heathen worship at Rome was preserved on its olden foundation. The aggregate priesthood was divided into colleges. There were fifteen Pontiffs, who presided over all persons and things consecrated to the Gods ; five of these, including the Pontifex Maximus, having been (according to tradition) appointed by Numa ; the total number not more than nine till the time of Sulla. The office of Pontifex Maximus was conferred by the Senate, and, under the Empire, bestowed, as a matter of course, on each Ruler successively. There were sixteen Augurs ; two (as supposed) having been appointed by Romulus, three by Numa ; five, of the plebeian class, being added to this college, B.C. 300 ; and the total number raised by Sulla to fifteen, by Julius Cæsar to sixteen. Being the keeper of religious secrets, the Augur could never be deprived of his dignity,—even though convicted of crimes. This College was finally suppressed by Theodosius. The college of Flamens consisted of fifteen members, three among whom ranked as major, always chosen from the patrician class ; the rest as minor, eligible from the plebeian class. The three “ majores,” traditionally deriving office from Numa, were the Flamen Dialis (priest of Jupiter), the Flamen Martialis (of Mars), and the Flamen Quirinalis, of Romulus (invoked as Quirinus), or rather of two gods blended together into a union symbolic, probably, of the perpetual military league between the Romans and Sabines. The Flamen Dialis was assisted in certain rites by his lawfully wedded wife ; was entitled to a curule chair, and to a seat in the Senate. If this Flamen lost his wife he was

at that emergency ; but adds the significant fact that *not one* of the citizens proved ready to assist at such idolatrous rites which, it seems, were only proposed, never actually offered up during that Gothic siege, the final result of which was probably the death blow to lingering idolatry, as well as an all but immediately mortal shock to the diseased body of the Western Empire.

obliged to abdicate. He was not allowed the privilege of divorce, or second marriage, till that ancient prescription was set aside, when a priest of Jupiter was permitted to divorce a lawful wife by the authority of Domitian. On religious grounds it was prohibited to this Flamen ever to depose on, or otherwise take, an oath, whatever the occasion. The costume of the several Flamens was a purple woollen robe (*laena*) with a peculiarly formed cap (*apex, galerum*), not unlike the mitre. The Pontifices wore a loose white woollen robe with broad purple border, and a sugar-loaf cap with a tassel on its summit. The Augurs wore a mantle and cap similar to those of the Pontiffs, and the crooked *lituus* (like a crozier) was a badge of their office.

The “Quindecemviri Sacrorum,” keepers of the Sibylline books, were originally two, raised afterwards to ten, and finally, by Sulla, to a college of fifteen. The “Epulones,” charged to provide for the banquets (*lectisterna*) given to the gods in, or on the premises of, their respective temples, were a college originally of five, raised by Julius Cæsar to ten members. The twelve “Fratres Arvales” had the office of celebrating (15th of May) the festival of the Gods presiding over agriculture, and on whom depended the fertility of the soil.

High in rank among other ministers was the “Rex Sacrorum,” or “Sacrificus,” created after the expulsion of the last of the Kings—always a patrician, and assisted on certain occasions by his wife, who had the title of Regina. He was jealously prohibited from holding any magistracy, nor could he harangue the people. Plutarch mentions the significant ceremonial of the sacrifice performed by him on the Forum in front of the enclosed Comitium, immediately after which this “Rex” had to fly, quitting the scene like a guilty man—an antique observance in which the hatred against the tyranny of kings declared itself in a dramatic manner.

The Haruspices, charged with the task of inspecting the entrails of animals, also the victims brought to sacrifice, and the flour, frankincense, &c. used at sacrificial rites, were originally three in number—later becoming more numerous, perhaps without limitation; for we learn that the Senate sent, every year, six (or, as some writers state) twelve noble youths to Etruria, there to learn the art of such divination as the Haruspices practised. The Luperci were priests of Pan, their origin being ascribed to Numa, who had to sacrifice dogs and goats to their special deity. The Vestal Virgins were originally four, but finally raised to six in number; chosen among patrician maidens of the tender age of between six and ten, and consecrated by the Pontifex Maximus. They had to devote themselves to the service of the Goddess, the maintenance of the sacred fire and care of the Palladium, during thirty years—ten for learning, ten for practising their duties, and the remainder for teaching them to novices. After that period the Vestal might quit her retreat, and even contract marriage. Her privileges were numerous—the most exalted, that of granting life to any criminal whom she might meet on his way to execution—a prerogative of mercy which the Church confers, in Rome, on all members of the College of Cardinals. The well-known punishment of the Vestal for the most heinous violation of her vows, took place near the Porta Collina, and not far from the existing churches of *S. Susanna* and *S. Maria della Vittoria* on the Quirinal hill. Plutarch reports (*Quest. Rom.* 96) that “the priests, up to this day, proceed to accomplish expiations on that site,”—namely, above the subterranean chamber in which the Vestal was left to perish with a burning lamp, a loaf of bread, and some milk and water for her temporary sustenance. The costume of these priestesses was a long white robe bordered with purple, and a fillet round the

head, without any sort of ornament, not even that of long hair. No doubt, the worship of their Goddess recedes back into higher antiquity than the origin of Rome, and was common to the Latins and Sabines alike.*

Besides these priests and priestesses there were the "Sodales Titii," appointed either by Romulus (?) for rendering honour to the memory of the Sabine King, eventually his colleague, Titus Tatius; or by that king himself, for the purpose of maintaining intact the Sabine ritual; also the "Sodales Augustales," twenty-five in number, first appointed, A.D. 14, for the worship of the deified Augustus; after which example either similar colleges were created, or a single priest was appointed, to perpetuate the honours of all those successively enrolled among the "divi" or "divæ." Among the members of this numerous ministry, the Pontifex Maximus ranked first in real power as in precedence; after him, the Rex Sacrificus, the Flamen Dialis, and Flamen Quirinalis.

A remarkable testimony to the aspects of Heathenism at Rome in the latter half of the IV. century is given by Prudentius, and with reference to the above-described temple of Venus and Rome. He supposes a youth, brought up in the ancient religion, to leave his home for a walk along the Forum and Via Sacra on a feast-day: "Now, proceeding from his house with intent of admiring the public festivals and games on the sacred day, he beholds the lofty Capitol and the priests, crowned with laurel, administering at the temples of the gods. He hears how the sacred way resounds with the bellowing of oxen before the fane (*delubrum*) of Roma; for she also is worshipped, like a goddess, with bloody sacrifice. Even the name of

* "Er gehört zu den ursprünglichsten und verbreitetsten Culten der ganzen hellenisch-italischen Volksfamilie."—Schwegler, *Röm. Geschichte*, xi. 9.

the City is deemed divine (or a Deity); and we see the temples of this City and of Venus rising together under the same vaulted roof, where incense is burnt at the same time to the two sister-goddesses.”* (*Contra Symmachum*, l. i. 215-223.)

Among the many causes which contributed to the decline of this system was the manifest superiority in the religious ideas conceived by elevated minds over all that was embodied in ceremonial, or brought within the apprehension of the multitude. “The Romans (says S. Augustine) forbade the poets to bring the magistrates into contempt, but imposed no restraint on their ridiculing the Gods.” Yet it is in the pages of poets, as also in those of the master spirits,

Who dwelt on earth, yet breathed etherial air —

Cicero, Seneca, Marcus Aurelius, Epictetus, that we find the evidence of that higher ideal as to the Divine attributes and human duties, which prepared for revolt against a long established and pompous idolatry.

Persius (Sat. 11.) thus defines the true piety towards the Gods :

——— Bring a mind

Where legal and where moral sense are joined
With the pure essence; holy thoughts that dwell
In the soul's most refined and sacred cell ;
A bosom dyed in honour's noblest grain—
Deep dyed ; with these let me approach the fane.†

And the same poet thus estimates the Divine purposes in providential laws for the punishment of guilt :

* The peculiar construction of that temple, with its double *cella*, and apsidal recesses placed back to back, one looking towards the Capitol, the other towards the Colosseum, is well indicated, conformably with the extant ruins, in these lines by the Christian Poet.

† Browne, “History of Roman Classical Literature.”

Dread Sire of Gods ! when lust's envenomed stings
Stir the fierce nature of tyrannic kings,
When storms of rage within their bosoms roll,
And call in thunder for thy just control,
O then relax the bolt, suspend the blow,
And thus, and thus alone thy vengeance show !
In all her charms, set Virtue in their eye,
And let them see their loss—despair and die.

(*Sat. III.* translated by Gifford.)

Sacrifice for sin is rarely alluded to, nor does it seem to have been uppermost among intentions for which the victim was made to bleed at Roman altars. Poets, indeed, seem to look back to the period when no bloody sacrifice was offered, as that of the primitive purity from which the national religion had degenerated. Ovid says in the *Fasti*, (l. v.) : “ After by his sin some mortal has made the Gods enraged, the victim has been a soothing sacrifice for his crimes;” but elsewhere asserts, (l. l. 338-43): “ In days of old it was plain spelt and unadulterated salt that had efficacy to render the Gods propitious to man. The altar used to send forth its smokes, contented with the Sabine herbs. The knife of the present day, which opens the entrails of the stricken bull, had, in those times, no employment in sacred rites. Ceres was the first who took pleasure in the blood of an animal, the ravenous sow—avenging the injury done to her property.” In the *Fasti* (lv. 622) is also described the curious ceremonial of throwing images, those of old men, from the Sublician bridge, instead of the human victims so sacrificed in the barbaric worship of a remote antiquity.*

* Censorinus (*De Die Natali*, l. iii. c. 6.) dwells approvingly on the purer worship in which no blood was shed, at the altars of Apollo, in Delos: “ Deli, ad Apollinis Genitoris aram—nemo hostiam coedit.” The atrocities of human sacrifice had not been totally abolished at Rome even in the IV. century. Prudentius and Lactantius mention them as

The Heathenism of Rome could perceive the deep-seated disease of sin, could symbolize the terrors of guilt in the Furies with serpent-locks, with tossing torch and brandished scourge, but could not provide a remedy, or teach expiation through faith, love, and purifying repentance.*

The primitive Christians denounced this religion as a worship of evil demons and seducing spirits. Such theory we may reject—for, amidst all its corruptions and follies, it held to certain primordial truths, the justice of the Gods, the retribution against guilt; it inculcated practical duties, loyal deference to authority, moral courage, consistent patriotism. It enforced (ceremonially at least) the conditions of purity for the worshipper in the temple. Before the sacrifice a minister, with a wand, passed through the sacred place to expel those uninitiated or excommunicate, the last comprising all guilty of enormous crimes; after this was heard a warning voice, “*Nocentes, profani, abscedite*,” from the altar.

Yet signs and portents are said to have preceded at no long intervals the catastrophe of final ruin to the Roman Heathenism; and, as ancient writers narrate these things, they impress us like spirit-mysteries that baffle conjecture, suggesting unanswerable questions, and sending our minds

occurring in their own time, in the homicidal worship of Jupiter Latialis on the Alban Mount, where now stands the solitary convent of mendicant Passionists: “*Funditur humanus Latiali in munere sanguis*,” says the poet. See also Lactantius, *de Falso Relig.* (l. i. c. 24.)

* “When they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man—and changed the truth of God into a lie; worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator. Wherefore God also gave them up to uncleanness and vile affections.” S. Paul, Epistle to the Romans, c. i. v. 21—26.

to wander in the regions of the invisible, the unexplainable and unearthly. One such phenomenon is mentioned by Plutarch in his life of Sulla (c. vii.) : “ While the horizon was clear and cloudless, there was heard suddenly the sound of a trumpet, shrill, prolonged, and as it were, wailing, so that all men were startled and awed by its loudness. The Etruscan soothsayers declared that it foreboded the coming of a new generation, and the revolution of the world. For that there were eight generations of man in all, differing from each other in habits and ways of life ; and each had its allotted space of time, when Heaven brought round again the recurrence of the Great Year ; and that when the end of one and the rise of another was at hand, some wondrous sign appeared in earth or heaven.” Another anecdote of the supernatural is given by the same writer in his very interesting essay, in form of dialogue, on the Cessation of Oracles. Philippus, an interlocutor, after prefacing “ in regard to the deaths of Genii, I have heard the words of a man neither frivolous nor presumptuous,” proceeds to narrate what had occurred to his compatriot Epitherses, a grammarian : “ He had embarked for Italy in a vessel laden with cargo for commerce and many passengers. When evening arrived, and they had sighted the Echinades islands, the wind fell, and the ship was presently borne by the waves near the isle of Paxos.* Most of the crew were awake, many at table drinking after they had finished their supper, when suddenly was heard a voice proceeding from the Paxos isle, and calling in loud tones for a certain Thamus. All were seized with amazement. This Thamus was an Egyptian pilot ; but there were few among the passengers who knew him, or had ever heard his name. Thrice did he (Thamus) hear himself thus called, but still

* A small island between Ithaca and the five Echinades, or Echinæ islands.

kept silent. At last the invisible speaker, giving more force to his accents, exclaimed : ‘ When thou shalt be at the height of Palodes, announce that *the great Pan is dead.*’ After having heard these words (continued Epitherses), we were all struck with terror, and consulted whether it were better that Thamus should obey this command, or rather set at nought and neglect it. Finally it was agreed that if the wind were blowing at the time, Thamus should be silent, but that if we should be detained by a dead calm he ought to repeat the words he had heard. When the vessel arrived near the Palodes, as there was no breath of wind and the waves were quite calm, Thamus, at the height of the poop and directing his gaze towards the land, repeated the words he had heard uttered (from the Paxos isle) : ‘ *The great Pan is dead.*’ He had hardly finished when loud wailings and groans, mingled with cries of astonishment, burst forth, and not as from the voice of a single person, but from many voices unitedly. Because the witnesses to this event had been numerous, the rumour of it soon spread through Rome, and Thamus was there summoned to the court of Tiberius Cæsar, who placed such confidence in his narration that he ordered enquiries and research to be made with regard to the being named Pan.”*

* It is a conjecture, but perhaps cannot be determined, that this mysterious incident coincided in date with the Crucifixion—both certainly occurring in the time of the same Emperor. On this story, and with such assumed chronology, is founded the magnificent poem by Elizabeth Browning, “ Pan is dead.”

CHAPTER XV.

MONUMENTS OF THE ROME OF THE POPES.

WE have considered the institutions and public buildings, &c., that sprung up during the period with which the events of Roman history were synchronous from the origin of this city till the reigns of Constantine and his three sons—namely, from B.C. 753 to A.D. 360, during which time this State was governed by seven Kings, four hundred and eighty-three pairs of Consuls, besides occasionally appointed Dictators, and nearly the final number of sixty-three Emperors. Let us now turn to the monuments, in artistic, architectural and other forms, of succeeding ages from the Constantinian period to the reign of Charlemagne. It is Christianity which henceforth dominates over the moral scene*. A most extraordinary change took place within the interval from A.D. 360 to 800, in the conditions of the Church and the relations of the episcopal office at Rome. The lowly and self-devoting successors of S. Peter (as the bishops of this see, perhaps without solid historic foundation, were regarded and addressed,) had been followed by Pontiffs possessing immense wealth, seated on a throne and wielding a sceptre of sovereignty, commanding armies, and treating all the monarchs of Christendom as responsible, and in certain

* Gibbon concludes that, about the middle of the III. century, the number of Christians in Rome amounted to about 50,000 ; but that the total number throughout the Empire, before the officially implied conversion of Constantine, did not exceed one-twentieth of the entire population (?)

sense subject to them! Personal merits, apostolic virtues displayed on that sacred throne, the perfection of discipline, and the superior organisation (an inheritance from the Genius of ancient Rome,) maintained through the efforts of those who sat thereon, were among the main causes which led to a pacific revolution so important. But had no moral change overclouded the sunshine of righteousness and purity so radiant in the life of the primitive Church, during the ages ensuing after the State had recognised and endowed her? Heathen testimony is unfavourable—nor to be rejected, if received with reserve. Ammianus Marcellinus tells us that Julian, before he openly apostatized from the faith, “had found by experience that no wild beasts were so hostile to men as Christian sects, in general, one to another.” (Hist. l. xxii. 5.) And the same historian, speaking of the Emperor Constantius, affirms that he had “confused the Christian religion, which is plain and simple, with old women’s superstitions—had excited and encouraged dissensions by diffuse wordy explanations,”—*i.e.* in theology. Did the ostentatious protection of crowned converts in no way sully the celestial beauty of that Catholic Church, mystically proclaimed the Bride of the Divine Lord? An edict of Theodosius, passed soon after his late deferred baptism in February 380, seems a very alarming sign of the intrusion of Cæsarism within the sphere of spiritual interests. It is important that we should estimate its effects on the subsequent constitution and claims of the Catholic Clergy. The Emperor declares: “It is our pleasure that all the nations which are governed by our clemency and moderation should adhere to the religion which was taught by S. Peter to the Romans, which faithful tradition has preserved, and which is now professed by the Pontiff Damasus, and by Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic holiness. According to the discipline

of the Apostles and the doctrine of the Gospel, let us believe in the sole Deity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, under an equal majesty and a pious Trinity. We authorize the followers of this doctrine to assume the title of Catholic Christians; and as we judge that all others are extravagant madmen, we brand them with the infamous name of Heretics. Besides the condemnation of Divine justice, they must expect to suffer the severe penalties which our authority, guided by heavenly wisdom, shall think proper to inflict upon them.”*

Would that the records, now before us in Rome, of that eventful period here in question, were more numerous and more easily to be colligated in their significant character with historic events! Such as they are, they should be studied together with, and estimated in the light reflected from, Ecclesiastical History. I may briefly notice them in their chronologic order, beginning at the point of time where I quitted the subject, “Christian Antiquities,” in a previous chapter.

The octagonal Baptistery of the Lateran, erroneously said to have been founded by Constantine, is an almost unaltered example of the architecture of the V. century; for though the frescoes and decorations of its interior are of modern date, the architectonic plan, the graceful colonnade of porphyry and white marble, the cupola and font for Baptism by immersion, remain in their original completeness. The foundation of this edifice may be ascribed to Celestine I. (Bishop of Rome from A.D. 422 to 432), its completion to Sixtus III. (432-440). Anastasius tells us

* In the November of the following year Theodosius restored the churches at Constantinople (long possessed by Arians) to the Catholics. In the next May he convoked in that city the Second General Council, “which issued in the overthrow of the great heresy.”—Newman, “Church of the Fathers.”

that the porphyry columns were among donations from the latter Pope to this building. The two lateral chapels, dedicated to the two SS. John, the Evangelist and Baptist, are additions made by Pope Hilary (461-7). An epigraph over the entrance to one of them preserves the words inscribed by his desire: "Liberatori suo B. Joanni Evangelistæ Hilarius Episcopus famulus Christi," allusive to his escape, whilst he was acting as legate of Leo I. ("the Great") at the second Council of Ephesus, from serious bodily danger, owing to the fury of fanatic monks which violently burst forth during the debates of the fathers there assembled!

The chapel dedicated to the Baptist contains a beautiful mosaic decoration on gold ground, occupying the entire vault; the Divine Lamb with radiated nimbus in the centre; birds beside vases full of fruit, emblematic of the enjoyment of Paradise by the ransomed soul, in the compartments around—an example of sacred art still partaking of the character, modest in symbolism, which distinguishes it in its primitive form as seen in the subterranean cemeteries.* When this chapel was repaired in the last century, the rich inlaid pavement and the marble incrustation of the walls were tastelessly removed; but the spirally fluted columns of serpentine over the altar are among antique details still preserved. In this Lateran Baptistery Pope Hilary placed two libraries, the first collected by the Roman bishops of which we are informed.

The finest example of mosaic art applied to Christian subjects is of still earlier date than the above-mentioned, though not associated with architecture so little altered as that of the Baptistery founded by Celestine I. To Pope

* "That doves and birds of every species symbolize the souls of the faithful, pure and simple (*columbæ sine felle*), which, freed from corporeal chains, have flown to the bosom of God, is a point certain and elementary."
—De Rossi, *Bullettino*, anno 4, No. IV.

Sixtus III. we owe the most elaborate and valuable works within the range of early Christian art in this form, namely, the mosaic. A beautiful legend accounts for the origin of S. Maria Maggiore, or the Liberian Basilica. The Virgin Mary is said to have appeared in night-dreams to Joannes, a wealthy patrician, and also to Pope Liberius (352-55), desiring that a church, dedicated in her name, should be built on the Esquiline Hill, and on ground to be signalised the next morning (5th August) by a preternatural fall of snow—which actually fell, covering the highest summit of that hill, to the amazement of the citizens!

At the expense of that pious patrician, who had already intended so to apply his fortune, Liberius (between A.D. 352-355) founded this Basilica, one of the five ranking as patriarchal; the Pope himself tracing the outlines of its ground-plan on the snow-covered area.

The ancient church did not last long, and was completely rebuilt by Sixtus III. So also did the later edifice, in its turn, disappear; but, fortunately, the mosaics above the chancel arch and along the attics round the nave still remain, a precious relic of Christian art in the V. century.

Besides several subjects from the New Testament, here represented, these mosaics present the earliest known illustration in chronological order of the Old Testament history from the annals of the Patriarchs to the Exodus and the Book of Joshua. Many novelties are here introduced for the first time in sacred art; and the whole composition serves to display the progress both of religious ideas and artistic treatment.

The Deity, or God the Father, is represented in the scenes from the Old Testament as hovering in clouds over the earthly groups. Angels, majestic white-robed figures with large wings, are conspicuous, here first appearing in artistic treatment as ministers who intervene for extending

divine protection over humanity. Above and at the sides of the chancel arch, we see the Annunciation and the vision of the Angel to Zacharias, both subjects treated most originally. Not only does a white-robed angel descend, floating downwards together with the heavenly Dove, towards the place where Mary, in rich attire, is seated, but two other angelic ministers are introduced standing near her; these, as well as all other angels in the mosaics before us, having nimbus-crowned heads—an attribute *not* here given to Mary. Three angels, instead of the one alone mentioned in the evangelic book, appear to Zacharias while he stands before the curtained doorway of the Temple.

Below those groups is represented the offering of gifts by the three wise men (or Magi), the Divine Child being here seated alone on an ample throne, while another personage is seated on a lower chair beside Him—for whom intended? may we ask. In the original composition that personage was an elderly male figure, no doubt intended for one of the Magi, only two of whom are seen in the mosaic now before us, whereas, in another of the groups, we see *three* Magi. A most unjustifiable alteration of this group was ordered when the church was restored by Benedict XIV. Instead of the male figure seated beside the Child was substituted that of Mary with a nimbus-crowned head and purple vestments. Among other innovations then made, one of the Magi was omitted, and the Mother's figure, originally standing behind the throne of the Child, was changed into that of an Angel, adding a third to the group of celestial ministers in the back ground. This is not to restore, but to falsify Art! On the right of the chancel arch the subjects in the same series are: the Presentation in the Temple, the Holy Family being accompanied on their way by three angels, and several other figures here

introduced, the Temple being seen in the distance ; next to this, the Flight into Egypt, a subject singularly treated—the Child being on foot, escorted by three angels ; Joseph and Mary being quite subordinate figures, with several others (some in military garb) grouped together, as for a solemn leave-taking before the departure. Below this are seen the Magi (in fantastic Oriental costume) before Herod, whose head has the nimbus, here an attribute of sovereign power—but almost faded away in the actual state of the mosaic.

In the smaller compositions along the attic, the Patriarchal History is illustrated down to the meeting of Abraham and Melchisedec. From the Exodus and Joshua are taken several subjects, here (I believe) for the first time seen in art. The miracle of the Sun and Moon standing still at the behest of Joshua, displays curiously the astronomic notions of the time. We have to regret that, for the formation of two lateral arches, opposite the entrances to modern chapels, six of these mosaic-pieces on the attics were destroyed ; also that seven others have been replaced by modern works of the same description.

Above the chancel arch is an early example of the mystic subjects which henceforth become traditional: the divine Lamb on the Apocalyptic throne, S. Peter and S. Paul, and the four emblems of the Evangelists: an angel for S. Matthew, a winged lion for S. Mark, a winged ox for S. Luke, an eagle for S. John.* Such attributes

* In order to observe by suitable light these most interesting mosaics, we should visit S. Maria Maggiore in the early hours of a sunny day. With such light as then streams through the long pillared nave and splendid aisles, kindling the superb high altar and its porphyry canopy, the interior of this ancient church makes an impression never to be forgotten. It seems to rise like an embodied voice from

were probably suggested by the description of the four mysterious creatures attending the Almighty in the vision of Ezekiel;—but they are interpreted also with ulterior reference to the Incarnation, the Passion, the Resurrection, and Ascension. These henceforth familiar emblems are here before us in the earliest example at Rome. They appear, in the second known instance, among the mosaics at the St. Paul's basilica on the Ostian Way. That basilica, of patriarchal rank and high antiquity, was restored, or rather rebuilt, by Theodosius in place of a primitive church founded by Constantine above the tomb of the great Apostle. The Theodosian church (as we may call it) received new embellishments, and was repaired by Leo I., after injuries caused by lightning (A.D. 440). At the same time were executed a series of mosaics over the chancel-arch, by desire of Galla Placidia, the daughter of Theodosius and sister of Honorius.* In this larger composition the principal figure is that of Christ, a colossal half-length, with a wand of authority in one hand, the other being raised to bless. The four evangelic emblems, the four-and-twenty Elders offering crowns in adoration, two Angels with wands, and SS. Peter and Paul appear in the same composition—the latter figures, as restored, having also wands in their hands, though without such attributes in the original—injudiciously altered by modern touches. That half-length figure of the Saviour is the earliest example, in Roman art, of aspect neither youthful Christian Antiquity—answering to our ideal of—

“A mighty minster, dim, and proud, and vast,”

with far more spirituality of effect than any other among the Romanesque basilicas.

* These and the other mosaics (of the XIV. century) in and beside the apse were fortunately saved, though not without damage, from the fire in 1823. See Cardinal Wiseman's description of this church in ruin, as he saw it after that disaster.

nor beautiful, but elderly, stern, and sombre, given to His imaged form, which here arrests the attention before any other object, dominating, as it does, above the splendid interior of the great basilica with effect repulsive, even startling. We cannot but see, in this art-work, an evidence of deterioration in the religious ideal, even more than of decline in technical treatment: it is the Son of God withdrawn from human sympathies, invested with attributes that only excite terror—the Judge effacing the Redeemer.

The sombre and sullen character of this head calls to mind the change in the Christian ideal as to the personality of the Incarnate Logos.

In extreme reaction against the sensualism and worship of form in Paganism, several early writers, "Fathers" of the Church, maintained that His outward form must have been plain, even insignificant. The later Christian genius, after religious art had begun more boldly to strike into a new career, returned to classical types, founding thereon its treatment of the Divine subject, before ascetic principles and subtle theologic distinctions had cast a different hue over religious thought. Justin, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria support that sombre idea of the Saviour's person. "The body of Jesus," (says Origen,) "was without comeliness" (*adv. Cels.*). During the IV. century, however, ascendancy was obtained (fortunately for art) by the more poetic conception, which Saints Chrysostom and Jerome support.* It is not till late in the XIII. century

* "Certe fulgor iste et majestas divinitatis occultæ, quæ etiam in humanâ facie relucebat, ex primo ad se videntes trahere poterat aspectus"—says S. Jerome, admitting the idea finely expressed in one of Wordsworth's "Ecclesiastical Sketches :"

Glory to God, and to the Power who came
In filial duty clothed with Love Divine,
That made His human tabernacle shine
Like ocean burning with purpureal flame !

that we find this worthier ideal again asserting itself in art-treatment. Over the chancel-arch of S. Paul's we see the sole contemporary epigraph extant with the name of that Pontiff whose efforts effected the object of averting from Rome the "scourge of God"—the invader Attila and his Huns : *Placidie pia mens operis decus homine (sic) paterni gaudet pontificis studio splendere Leonis*. In the mosaic here before us the mystic animals, as well as the Apostles, have the nimbus; and among the twenty-four Elders, twelve were originally distinguished by the veiled and twelve by the unveiled head—as representatives, the former of saints under the Law, the latter of those under the Gospel.

Another art-work erected by St. Leo I. is that sternly characterized bronze statue of S. Peter, in the Apostle's great Basilica, which is an object of so much popular reverence, expressed by the kisses on its foot. It is a tradition that this statue was cast from the bronze of an antique of Jupiter, and that it was erected by the Pope in S. Peter's Church to commemorate the deliverance of Rome from Attila. Such association invests it, indeed, with high interest. Some critics infer, however, that it is a work of Byzantine art, assuming so from the fact that on the ancient basement there was a Greek inscription allusive to some representation of the Saviour in gilt metal (probably a bronze relievo), perhaps with the figure of S. Peter walking on the sea : "Behold here God the Word (represented) in gold, the divinely hewn rock, treading upon which I do not totter." The actual basement, on which the marble chair rests, is more modern. The countenance preserves the traditionary type of S. Peter in art, but the composition on the whole is stiff and unpleasing.

In the round church, *S. Stefano Rotondo*, long noted by archæologists as a Pagan temple, but actually built for

Christian use between A.D. 467 and 483, we see the imitation of classic models in such manner as to assimilate and adapt; also (unlike in this respect to the falsely conceived Italian renaissance) to infuse a new purpose and meaning into the elements supplied by antiquity. This edifice is, in fact, an anomalous but beautiful specimen of architecture, exhibiting an arbitrary assortment of classical details—the antique *christianized*, as we might describe it. It has suffered much from alterations made in the XV. century. Probably closed and deserted whilst the Popes were at Avignon, it is known to have been reduced to roofless ruin before the year 1440. Nicholas V. ordered repairs, which were, unfortunately, so carried out as to sacrifice an entire nave, or outer circuit of the whole rotunda; the columns and arcades which divided the outer from the inner part being then walled up, as we see them at this day. The sole entrance was closed, and another formed, together with a portico and vestibule. Instead of the ancient cupola, the interior was roofed over with a flat wooden ceiling. Fifty-eight columns (Ionic), of granite and marble, form a fine perspective; two very lofty shafts and pilasters crossing the central compartment under an attic, the windows of which exhibit rude species of tracery, with remnants of glass-painting; altered as it is, this interior has still an impressive character of sacred solemnity.

Finest among specimens of the mosaic art of the VI. century is that in the church of *SS. Cosmo e Damiano* on the Forum, built by Pope Felix IV. (526-530), who, in this instance, had only to adapt and enlarge an antique heathen temple, raised by the Emperor Maxentius in honour of his deified son Romulus, for Christian worship. Modern changes (ordered by Urban VIII.) have greatly altered the interior of this church, and reduced its height through the raising of the pavement so as to form a crypt out of

the lower portion. Still, however, are left complete, though not without modern touches, the finely conceived mosaics in the apse: the Saviour between two groups, consisting of the martyr physicians to whom this church is dedicated, also SS. Peter and Paul, S. Theodore, and Pope Felix the founder. The Saviour's figure in this composition is one of the last examples, before a total decline in sacred Art, of a truly noble and poetic ideal, neither sternly ascetic nor repulsive, in the presentment of the sublime subject. Majestically standing on bright clouds, clad in long garments, the Roman pallium and toga, all of gold tissue, He holds the Gospel book (a volumen, or wrapt scroll) in the left hand, whilst extending the right arm in action that seems both to command and to bless—the countenance distinguished by solemnity and benign graciousness; the long hair, of dark auburn, falling in massive curls down the face and neck.

SS. Cosmas and Damian are offering crowns (the Martyr's symbol and trophy) of laurel leaves set with large gems in the front; SS. Peter and Paul have aspects conformable to the long-prevailing traditional types of those two Apostles; Pope Felix, who carries a model of this church, wears the pontifical vestments by which prelates were now distinguished among their clergy—though neither mitre nor crozier had yet been adopted; but his figure is entirely modern, an intended portrait of S. Gregory I., as this mosaic was renewed in the XVII. century. The costume of all the other figures is Classico-Roman, without any novel detail. Various symbols are introduced in this fine mosaic: the Star, the Phenix, the Palm; also the mystic cities, Jerusalem and Bethlehem, with the Jordan flowing across the foreground. Along a frieze, below the principal group, are twelve sheep emblematic of the Apostles, all turning towards a Lamb erect in the centre, the victim “slain

from the foundation of the world"—whose head has a radiant nimbus, and whose feet rest on a mount whence are gushing the four rivers of Paradise. Again do we see, on the chancel arch, the Divine Lamb as described in the Apocalyptic vision, seated on a throne, with a seven-sealed book, amidst seven candelabra. The four emblems of the Evangelists had originally their place in the composition, but two of those mystic figures were destroyed in the unscrupulous modernization of the church. Four white-robed Angels with large wings, and two figures offering crowns alone remain from a group of the four-and-twenty Elders alike sacrificed by that wretched taste so offensively displayed in works of pseudo-restoration at Rome, where the apparent object has been to obliterate or disguise mediæval art even in its finest and most characteristic creations—a self-betrayal of that spirit which distinguishes, indeed severs, the comparatively modern Papacy from the primitive Patriarchate of the Roman See.

Pope Pelagius II. (572-90) seems to have availed himself of sundry spoils in wrought marble from antique edifices for constructing the extramural basilica founded by him over the tomb of St. Laurence, above which an oratory had been erected by Constantine; afterwards enlarged and embellished by Theodosius; later, restored by Sixtus III. and Leo I. The ancient basilica eventually became the choir only of a much ampler church, when the S. Lorenzo now before us was completed, and its plan essentially altered by Honorius III. about 1216. The mosaics ordered by Pelagius adorn what, in consequence of those changes, has become the inner instead of the outer side of the chancel arch—no longer visible from the nave, but from the tribune, the orientation of which has been reversed. These artworks have suffered through restoration in painting instead of the material originally used. At the centre of the

group appears the Saviour, youthful but severe in aspect—seated on a globe, with a long cross (*crux hastata*) in one hand, the other being raised to bless; beside Him stand SS. Peter and Paul, the former holding the wand symbolic of authority. The other figures are SS. Stephen, Laurence, Hippolytus, and Pope Pelagius (in white vestments) presenting the model of this church. The attributes here given to St. Laurence are a long wand, and the book of the Gospels, as proper to a deacon; while Hippolytus, a martyr, offers a leafy crown set with gems. St. Paul is without any symbol, but distinguished by the philosophic type of his head. At the sides the usual cities are seen, Jerusalem and Bethlehem. Here also we perceive the same classic characteristics as in other mosaics of the same period.

The art of the VII. century reflects the increasing splendour of worship and majesty of form in the now dominant Church at Rome. Pope S. Gregory I. (590-604) developed the liturgy and ritual into completeness which still bears the impress of his master-hand. That liturgy which, in an earlier phase, had been modelled by Pope Gelasius (492-496), now comprised such observances for solemn days, Christmas, Holy Week, and Easter, as approximate to those actually carried out, with whatever augmentation of outward pomp, in the Latin Church.* To the great S. Gregory may be ascribed the introduction of almost all that distinguishes the rites at the Paschal season: the blessing of the sacred oils and general communion of the clergy from the hands of the Bishop on Holy Thursday; the reservation of the Eucharist, for the “Mass of the Pre-

* The most ancient Sacramentary is attributed to S. Gelasius; but many ceremonies were ordered by his predecessors. Pope Simplicius (467-482) appointed hebdomadary priests to administer the sacraments at all hours of the day in the three basilicas of S. Peter, S. Paul, and S. Laurence.

sanctified," which, as well as the "adoration of the Cross," was appointed for Good Friday; also the blessing of the font and public baptisms on Holy Saturday, and, for Easter, the first "Mass of the Resurrection," celebrated at midnight after the Saturday's vigil. The beautiful formula of the blessing of the Paschal candle (on that vigil) is said to have been not first introduced, but restored, by Pope Theodore I. (642-649) from more ancient liturgic usage. Now also did the vestments of the Clergy become, in richness and fashion, almost identical with those in actual use,* though we do not yet see the episcopal mitre or the tiara of the Pope. The vocal music during worship received, as is well known, its distinguishing character, solemnly harmonious, through the efforts and skill of S. Gregory. In architecture the finest example of this period, and perfect development of the Romanesque basilica-style, is before us in the ancient features, preserved amidst much modern work and profuse adornment, of the extramural *S. Agnese*—on the site of that Saint's martyrdom in her own house on the Nomentan Way, where a church (or oratory) is said to have been built, about A.D. 324, by a pious lady, Constantina, supposed, though without any proof, to have been a daughter of the Emperor Constantine. That primitive church over her

* In a note (supra p. 348), I have mentioned that on one of the ancient Christian glasses in the valuable collection belonging to a learned archæologist, Mr. Wilshire, there is a figure supposed to be a presbyter in sacerdotal vestments like those now in use. I had not yet seen, as I subsequently have, the gilt glass in question, which is on view, with the whole collection, at the South Kensington Museum. I may now state my conviction that neither is the figure that of a priest nor the costume ecclesiastical; but that a laic personage, perhaps some saint, is here intended, clad in rich costume which indicates rather the feminine than the masculine sex. No proof can be found, that I am aware, of the adoption of sacerdotal vestments like those now issued in the Latin Church, earlier than the VII. century.

tomb, or rather communicating with the underground cemetery where her body lay, was restored by Pope Symmachus early in the VI. century, and again renewed, probably rebuilt, by Honorius I., about 626. It has, like the more ancient part of the S. Laurence basilica, a double order of classic colonnades with a gallery for female worshippers. The *S. Lorenzo* is more majestic, the *S. Agnese* basilica more graceful ; and if such types of the genuine Romanesque fail to express the devout aspirings, the sense of the Infinite manifested in the mediæval architecture of later growth, they have, nevertheless, a charm of solemn repose, of purity blent with grandeur. The mosaic in the vault of the *S. Agnese* apse is of the time of Pope Honorius (625-640) representing three figures only : the Martyr Agnes, in splendid dress, with a diadem on her head, holding a scroll (the Gospels), and standing on a platform surrounded by flames, allusive to the fire from which she is said to have been miraculously rescued, but only for the suffering of death otherwise inflicted. Beside her stand the pontiffs Symmachus and Honorius, the former with a jewelled book (bound like those in modern use), the latter with a model of this church in his hand.* Above the figure of Agnes we see the symbol of the Divine presence, a hand

* Late controversies have revived the recollection of ecclesiastical measures against Honorius I., which it is difficult to reconcile with recently defined theories respecting the Roman Pontificate. He was condemned for accepting, or favouring, the monotholite heresy by five Popes (S. Leo among them), by the General Councils of Constantinople (680), Nicæa (787), and another at Constantinople, 870. In the profession of faith read by all Popes on the day of their election from the VII. till the end of the IX. century, the sixth General Council, which condemned Honorius with several other teachers deemed heretical, was explicitly adhered to, and with particularizing by name of all those theologians, the Pope included, whose teaching was thus reprobated.—See Père Gratry's "Lettres" to the Archbishop of Malines.

extended as it were from heaven, with a jewelled crown, the reward of her martyrdom. No attempt at representing otherwise the Eternal Father was tolerated by the religious feeling of the Church in those times—hardly, indeed, in any known instance, by Western art, till the XIV. century.* The mosaic before us betrays the decline of the art here presented; the countenance of S. Agnes is insipid and doll-like, though the other heads have more truthfulness. Theologically considered, this work attests the increasing veneration for Saints; the Virgin Martyr being, in fact, the heroine of the scene, beside whom the Pontiffs of an illustrious See appear but subordinate. It is possible that much of the building of Pope Symmachus may be still before us—so early in date, therefore, as the beginning of the VI. century. The level of the Campagna around this church has been so much raised in the lapse of ages, that it became necessary to construct a broad internal staircase, restored, as we see it, about 1528, for descending into the nave and aisles. Along the walls above the stairs are placed many ancient Christian epigraphs, mostly from the underground cemetery called after S. Agnes, one extensive branch of which passes immediately under this church and the adjacent S. Costanza. The interior of *S. Agnese* has been overladen with costly ornaments and works of art, few above the mediocre class. Pius IX., after being rescued from a dangerous accident in the adjoining monastery (1856), caused the whole of this interior to be decorated anew, and rebuilt the long-deserted cloister for Lateran Canons. The high altar, with a ponderous baldacchino resting on porphyry columns, is of the date 1620—that canopy being so ill contrived as to

* I have noticed above (p. 346) the few extant examples of the injudicious attempt, soon repressed, to introduce the Three Persons of the Trinity, alike in human form, within the range of art, so early as the IV. century.

conceal the interesting mosaics from view as one stands before it. While attending the magnificent worship—with pontifical high Mass—on S. Agnes' day in this church, it has seemed to me that such a ritual is the perfect expression of what the solemn yet graceful architecture in silence announces—groups, symbols, forms being all in finest harmony. Another example of the mosaic of the same century, superior both in design and execution, is seen in a chapel founded in conjunction with the Lateran Baptistery by Pope John IV. (640-42) and finished by his successor, Theodore I. (640-49.) The saint to whom it is dedicated, Venantius, was a bishop of Dalmatia, the native land of John IV., who transported his relics hither, together with those of Domnus, another Dalmatian prelate, and of six soldier martyrs, all natives of Slavonia. Little of the original building of this chapel is left unaltered, the modernization being in the worst style; and a ponderous reredos obstructs the view of the valuable mosaics which cover the apsidal vault and the entire space above the chancel arch. These works evince the prevalence of classic traditions; are distinguished by a noble simplicity and religious earnestness. In the apse is represented the Saviour, a half-length figure in act of blessing, apparently of mature age, with long dark hair, and a somewhat stern majesty of aspect. At each side is seen a colossal Angel with fair florid countenance and party-coloured wings, hovering amidst bright clouds; below, with arms extended in prayer, stands the Virgin Mother, depicted as an aged personage with white hair; laterally to her are two groups of several figures: S. Peter, and S. John the Baptist (each holding a cross-headed wand), S. Paul with a richly bound volume in his hand, S. John the Evangelist, SS. Venantius and Domnus, both in episcopal vestments—all with names inscribed above. The one figure without any name, holding the model of a church

(or rather of this chapel) is, no doubt, intended for Pope John IV.

At the sides of the archway, external to the apse, are the figures of other saints, all with names inscribed—Palmianus, Julius, Asterius, Anastasius, Maurus, Septimius, Antiochianus, Cajanus; five of these being in long white purple-bordered vestments, each holding a foliate crown—one only (Anastasius) clad in a classic mantle of gold tissue. Above are introduced the four emblems of the Evangelists, and at the extremities Jerusalem and Bethlehem. This mosaic presents the first example, in any extant form of art at Rome, of the introduction of the Virgin as the principal personage amidst a group of Apostles and Saints—not that she is here the crowned Queen of Heaven, or herself the object of devotional regard, but the motherly intercessor, or ideal personification of the Church—such having been, I believe, the primitive idea of her, so exaggerated and widely departed from in later ages.

The discovery and transfer of the bodies of two brother martyrs, Primus and Felicianus, of patrician birth, who suffered and were buried together, their original resting place being the cemetery under the Nomentan Way, induced the above-named Pope Theodore to adorn the small low apse of S. Stefano Rotondo, in which church he enshrined those martyrs' relics, with the mosaics still extant. This composition has a dignified simplicity. In the centre rises a large cross studded with gems, over which hovers the celestial Dove; beside it stand Primus and Felicianus in antique Roman costume, the toga with broad purple *lati-clam*, each holding a book—the classical type being still retained in this art-work.

But few monuments remain extant in Rome to remind us of the VIII. century—an epoch most eventful in the history of the local Church and Pontificate.

A revolt was excited in Italy by the violent measures which the Greek Emperor, Leo III. (718-41) called "the Isaurian," adopted for carrying out his proposed iconoclastic reform and uprooting the devotional use of images, as well in the Western as in the Eastern Church. The strong movement of resistance led to the *de facto* overthrow of the Byzantine government in this peninsula, and the suppression of the Roman Duchy, after the last of the few who successively represented the Greek autocrat as Dukes of Rome, had been driven away, A.D. 726.* In the sequel, and through free act of the citizens, a magisterian authority (not, however, approaching to sovereign power) was conferred by free act of the Roman citizens on their Pontiff, Gregory II. (715-31). The opposition of that Pope to the Byzantine autocrat expressed and confirmed the national resistance, on the part of the Italians, against the interference with their devotional practices. "Abandon your rash and fatal enterprise; reflect, tremble, and repent," were the words of Gregory in writing to Leo III. against his iconoclast projects. At the court of Constantinople both the second and third Gregory were denounced as the instigators of treason, and leaders of rebellion. A Greek fleet and army were sent to invade the Exarchate; landing at Ravenna, those forces were routed by the Italians with great slaughter, and this victory proved fatal to the cause of the eastern Empire in the peninsula. The Pope summoned a Synod of 93 bishops, and amidst their assemblage pronounced anathema against all "who should attack the traditions of the fathers and the images of the Saints." For some years the magisterial character of the Pontificate was exercised

* The Duchy of Rome extended from Viterbo and Terracina, and from Narni to the mouth of the Tiber—all which territory became afterwards the so-called "Patrimony of S. Peter."

wisely and well, without any apparent aim or desire to secure greater temporal prerogatives for the Roman See. But a complete metamorphosis of the primitive episcopal character now raised (or should we say lowered ?) it to that of secular sovereignty, with all attendant cares and honours, splendours and perils, as finally brought about by the famous donation of Pepin, the Frankish king, to Pope Stephen II. (A.D. 755), confirmed and augmented by Charlemagne to Adrian I. in 774. Through this donation all the cities and territories wrested by the Frankish princes from the Longobard kingdom in northern Italy and along the Adriatic coast, were handed over and made subject to the Popes. Thus did the Roman Pontificate pass through the momentous change which converted it from a purely spiritual to a temporal supremacy, the former, the apostolic, character being indeed retained, however in danger of being subordinated to the latter. No declaration, however, of the final severance of Rome from the Greek Empire was formally made ; and so late as A.D. 767 Pope Stephen IV. required the citizens, soon after his election, to take the usual oaths of fidelity to the reigning autocrat, Constantine IV.

Many antecedent steps and favouring tendencies had prepared for this transition so memorable in the history, so pregnant with results affecting the interests, of the Church. Pope Gregory III. (751-41) sent an embassy to Charles Martel, now sovereign of the Franks in all but name, entreating his armed intervention for protection of the Roman See against its most dreaded foes, the Longobards ; the Pope offering, in return, to renounce his allegiance to the Greek Emperor, and bestow on Charles the rank of Consul, or Patrician, of Rome. That prince responded with fair promises alone to the pontific envoys. Pope Zacharias (741-52) made terms with the Longobard

king Liutprand, and in a friendly meeting at Terni (742) obtained from him more than restitution of certain rights—even the recognized dominion over four cities in the Beneventan province, which the Longobards had occupied for two years. During the pontificate of Stephen III. (752-57) the Longobard king, Astolphus, invaded the Exarchate, overthrew the feeble Greek government which had ruled over those northern Italian states for nearly 200 years till the last Exarch was dispossessed in 751. Astolphus soon showed hostile purposes against the Pontificate, but was induced, through gifts and entreaties, to promise a truce of forty years. As, however, his intentions of breaking all such engagements became evident, Stephen appealed, but without success, to the Greek Emperor, Constantine IV., and next applied to a stronger protector, Pepin, recently proclaimed king of France. For the first time did a Roman Pontiff cross the Alps, and as a suppliant to secular power for secular interests. At the first meeting between Stephen and Pepin, the king paid him all the honours now usually rendered to Popes, knelt, acted as his groom, led, and walked beside, the horse he rode on. But on the next day, Stephen and his attendant clergy knelt in sackcloth and ashes before Pepin, imploring him by all that was sacred in the eyes of both to rescue the Holy See from imminent dangers.

After Pepin and his two sons had been crowned at Paris by the Pope, the king invaded Italy, laid siege to Pavia, the Longobard capital, and compelled Astolphus, who was there reduced to helplessness, to promise cession to the Pontificate of all the cities he had wrested from the Greek government. But at the beginning of the next year (755) the perfidious Longobard king invaded the Roman states, and laid siege to the ancient city during three months. Stephen III., now in sore distress, appealed

again to Pepin, addressing him and the Frankish nation in an extraordinary letter, where he speaks in the name, and identifies himself with the person, of S. Peter. This expedient had effect. Pepin again crossed the Alps with an army, defeated the Longobards at the pass of Chiuse, and again besieged Pavia. Astolphus, still encamped before Rome, raised the siege of that city, submitted to a heavy tribute and to the conditions imposed by the Frankish king of ceding twenty-two cities, which he had won from the Exarchate by conquest, to the Pope. Within the walls of Pavia was drawn up the famous act by which Pepin made donation to the Holy See and S. Peter of twenty-two (or twenty-one) cities, including Ravenna, Rimini, Fano, Urbino, Gubbio. The keys of all those places, together with the document (of which no copy is extant) were laid on the high altar of S. Peter's by the Abbot of S. Denis, sent as envoy by the Frankish king.

I know of no historic parallel to the combined circumstances and interpositions which brought about the establishment of temporal power for the Roman Pontiffs, except one: the marvellous combination of adverse events and influences which, in our day, have led to the overthrow of that Sovereignty.

It may surprise us to find how soon and utterly was disregarded by the Roman Pontiffs the principle implied in the words of Christ at the last solemn supper, whereby He enjoined on the minds of the Twelve, His chosen auditors, the acceptance of a standard for the duties and sanctities of the apostolic office so different from any that has ever been consistently followed by temporal princes.* It may be admitted, nevertheless, that the attainment of sovereignty

* "The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and they that exercise dominion over them are called benefactors. But ye shall not be so, &c."—S. Luke xxii. 25, 26.

by the Popes was a result of convictions, no doubt resting on a just basis, that the action of the Church should be essentially free, that her Hierarchy should enjoy complete independence of the secular power.

Towards the end of this century coins of Popes, as sovereigns, were issued from a pontific Roman mint, which is first mentioned in the acts of a Synod at Ravenna, A.D. 877. The coins of Adrian I. and Leo III. with the title "Dominus," given to them on the obverse, are the earliest extant. Aware of the magic in a name, the Roman Pontiffs gradually assumed to themselves *alone* the titles and epithets long shared by all eminent prelates of the East and West. Thus had "Papa," been the title commonly given to bishops before Gregory VII. claimed the exclusive right to it for himself and his successors. In the IX. century Benedict III. (857-58) first assumed that of "Vicar of S. Peter." The much more sublime title of "Vicar of Christ," is of comparatively late origin—certainly not one which the Roman Bishops arrogated to themselves, or generally received, as exclusively their own in times we can call ancient. One example of it occurs, which may be so early as the first years of the V. century, if the inference drawn by Ciampini ("De sacris Œdificiis,") be correct, that an inscription formerly on the pontific throne in the apse of the Lateran church restored by Constantius (the military leader who married Galla Placidia, sister of Honorius, and thus obtained imperial rank), was indeed of the same period with that restoration in the basilica.

Hæc est Papalis sedes, et pontificalis
Præsidit et Christi de jure Vicarius isti.

Another mediæval inscription (perhaps of the VIII. century) in the crypt church of S. Peter's, gives to Gregory III. the designations "sanctissimus ac beatissimus Apostolicus Papa."

Among Popes who *reigned* (for such term now becomes suitable) during the VIII. century, some were liberal patrons of art and promoters of public works, who loved the magnificence henceforth so easily within their reach. With few exceptions they were estimable men, zealous in the discharge of their duties, nor unworthy to fill the extraordinarily high rank to which circumstances had raised them. Conspicuous for energies and munificence were the two whose pontificates lasted longest, Adrian I. (772-95), the favoured friend of Charles the Great, and Leo III. (795-815), who crowned that monarch as Emperor of the West.

Only one of the several art-works ordered by Adrian I. is extant—the mosaics on the dim-lit apse of the church of S. Theodore, a rotunda, below the northern slopes of the Palatine hill, formerly supposed to have been a Heathen temple, but now recognized as, from its origin, built for Christian worship, at what exact date cannot be determined—certainly restored by the above-named Pope in 774.* Roman mothers still follow the old custom of bringing sick children to this church on S. Theodore's day, with the hope of their being cured through the touch of a relic of that saint—substituted for a recorded Heathen usage of dedicating children, during the Lupercal fetes, to Romulus. The mosaics alluded to represent the Saviour seated on a globe, while the hand of the invisible Deity, extending from clouds, holds a diadem over His head; beside Him, SS. Peter and Paul, who respectively present

* After being long left ruinous, it was repaired and reclaimed for public worship by Nicholas V., 1450. Unfortunately, another restoration, by Clement XI. in 1700, deprived this church of much of its antique character. It seems not improbable that it may stand on the foundations of some Heathen temple.

two saints, Theodore, and another whose relics, we may conclude, were laid in this church.

An interesting work of similar art ascribed to Pope Leo III. is in a building dedicated to the martyred servants of Domitilla, who have left their names to one of the most extensive catacombs. At the small church with features of basilica-architecture, *SS. Nereo ed Achilleo* on the Appian Way, we see a mosaic, ordered, it is believed, by that Pope, but now unfortunately in great part restored by being painted over. Groups on small scale are ranged over the arch of the tribune: in the centre the Transfiguration; laterally, the Annunciation, and the Madonna and Child attended by angels. In the first named composition Christ appears within a radiated elliptical nimbus; the three Apostles kneeling awe-struck below Him. Moses and Elias, as here represented, are figures utterly unlike the types assigned to those personages in later art; the angels are majestic beings in white robes; the Blessed Virgin (twice represented) is in each instance seated on a throne, matronly, even severe, in aspect. The general treatment and costumes are of classic character; and it is noticeable that the principal subject, the Transfiguration, now appears for the first time in Roman art. The architectural details in this church, preserved from the VIII. century, are beautiful: a high altar with rich intarsio ornamentation, a quaint but graceful baldacchino supported by columns; in front of that altar, a transenna (marble screen) through which we look down upon the tomb of the Saints beneath; also richly inlaid ambones for the Gospel and Epistle, and similarly decorated chancel screens. The interior of this little frequented but remarkable building was restored,—no doubt more or less altered at the same time, when the relics of SS. Nereus and Achilleus were brought hither with extraordinary pomp, by desire of the celebrated historian,

Baronius, titular Cardinal of the church dedicated to those saints.*

I have alluded to the coronation of Charles the Great by Pope Leo III. at St. Peter's, which took place on Christmas-day, 799, after the mass celebrated by his Holiness in the Frankish king's presence.† While Charles was kneeling before the high altar (unprepared, as at the time supposed, for what was to ensue) the Pontiff placed a precious crown on his head, and the Clergy, with voices in which those of the people united, thrice cried out, in the thenceforth usual formula at such occasions: "Life and victory to Charles the August, crowned by the hand of God, great and pacific Emperor!" We have before us a work of art which serves to record this event and the consequent relations of the Imperial and Pontific power—placed on the site of the Lateran palace, residence of the Popes for nearly a thousand years. I refer to the mosaic, only preserved in the copy from a drawing of the lost original—actually placed in a modern tribune built to represent that of the ancient banquet-hall (triclinium) of the Pontific

* Anastasius mentions a complete renewal of the church of SS. Nereus and Achilleus by Leo III, after the ancient one had become ruinous, and been filled with inundating waters. Lately has been discovered a long-buried church in ruin, recognised as the primitive basilica of S. Petronilla, below the ground of the Campagna near an entrance to the "catacomb" named after those martyrs, the servants of Domitilla. There is reason to believe that this disinterred church was raised by Leo III. in proximity to the primitive oratory in which those two martyrs were buried. The evidence as to the restorations of the actual church on the Appian Way, and to the fact that mosaic decorations were placed in it, through means of the same Pope, is thus weakened. The mosaics in question have, however, such character as allows us to assign them to about the period of Adrian I. or Leo III. (v. De Rossi, *Bullettini di Archæol. Crist. anno 5, No. I.*)

† The chronology then in use made the year begin with Christmas—hence is this event mentioned by many writers under date 800.

palace. The original of this very curious composition was placed in the apsidal recess of a hall built by Leo III. on the palatial premises, in the latter years of the VIII. century.

That banquet-hall is described as a scene in which used to be centred all the magnificence of the Papal court. Painting, mosaic, porphyry columns and marble incrustations adorned it; in the midst gushed a fountain, and around the walls were twelve tribunes, or arched niches, one containing the marble throne of the Pope. Here at Christmas and Easter were held state banquets enlivened (if we may use the term) by the singing of the pontific choristers to the organ. Here at Easter was the Paschal lamb served, and partaken of, after certain mystic ceremonies by his Holiness and eleven Cardinals, his guests.

In the mosaics adorning this triclinium, Pope Leo, it is said, desired to commemorate both the coronation of Charlemagne, and his own restoration to his throne, in peaceful independence, after having been obliged to fly from the fierce violence of a lawless faction, and take refuge as the guest of that monarch, then at Paderborn.* Within an apsidal vault is represented the risen Saviour amidst the Apostles, holding an open book on which is inscribed "Pax vobis." Round the archivolt above are inscribed the words of the angelic hymn "Gloria in excelsis," &c., the very utterance with which the fugitive Pontiff greeted the Frankish king on his arrival at Paderborn, 799.

* In 799, while leading the procession of the Roman Clergy on S. Mark's day, the venerable Pontiff was seized by an armed troop, whose leaders were two ecclesiastics; was thrown on the ground, stript of his vestments, beaten with clubs, and left bleeding and speechless, after the attempt had been made to tear out his eyes and tongue. He thus lay for some hours at *S. Silvestro in Capite*, and was thence taken by the conspirators to a monastery, *S. Erasmus*, adjacent to the *S. Stefano Rotondo* church.

Laterally to the apse are placed two groups: on one side, Christ enthroned between two kneeling figures, S. Peter, and an Emperor designated by name as R(ex) Constantinus, and distinguished by the square nimbus given to the living only, round his head—the latter being, we may conclude, intended for the Greek autocrat, contemporaneous with Leo III., Constantine V. (780-97). In this group S. Peter is receiving three keys, while Constantine receives a banner, sign of dominion, from the Saviour. On the other side is S. Peter, enthroned between an Emperor and a Pope, who both kneel, the former (Charlemagne) receiving a banner, the latter (Leo. III.) a pallium from the Apostle thus exalted to highest dignity. Over both the kneeling figures the names are given with the prefix D. N. (*dominus noster*) to each; and beneath is inscribed the invocation to S. Peter on their behalf: *Beate Petre dona vitam* (sic) *Leoni P.P. et victoriam* (sic) *Caruli Regi dona*. The Frankish king is depicted in the national costume, such as he is said to have worn on his coronation-day in Rome. The mystic emblem of the *three* keys, given in the other group to S. Peter, is explained as implying the power to bind and loose, with the superadded authority of the Popes over secular as well as spiritual interests. The pallium has been considered the symbol of the supremacy vested in S. Peter, and which he here confers on his earthly representative. In the original mosaic the entire group of the Saviour with the two kneeling figures had been destroyed by fire, or gradual decay, long before the rest perished, as unfortunately was the case, in 1743, when an attempt was made to remove the whole vault with the mosaic covering it, before the demolition, deemed necessary, of the sole extant remnant of the Papal palace adjoining the Lateran church. The mosaic composition fell into pieces during this process, though

every care had been taken for accomplishing the transfer in safety. A coloured drawing, preserved in the Vatican library, was at hand; and the reproduction of the work, now before us, was placed in a building designed to represent one end of the banquet hall with its artistic decoration—in fact an open loggia, raised against one side of the portico which contains the “Scala Santa,” and fronting the Porta S. Giovanni. A few remnants of the original mosaic are now in the Christian Museum at the Vatican.*

There is a profound yet mournful interest in the history of the Church at Rome, where the Spirit of the World so soon entered into conflict with the Spirit of Christ, and creature-worship, clad in shreds of Pagan pomp, so soon intruded into the sanctuary.† Yet, on the other hand, the contrasted pictures of this metropolis and its state under Heathenism and under Christianity cannot be contemplated without instruction to the intellect, consolation to the feelings, and a renewed sense of the “soul of goodness” in the complexity of human affairs. The polity which reigned at Rome had doubtless a great part in the education of the human race and the civilizing of nations. It fell, after prolonged and miserable decay, because its system revolved around no sublime truth universally taught and intelligible, its power maintained no generally accepted precepts of eternal morality. The faith whose symbol is the Cross introduced a new principle of progress, placed

* Hallam refers to this composition as affording proof, in the detail of the banners conferred alike on both potentates, that the Greek sovereignty was not effectually abrogated at Rome till some time after the donations of Pepin and Charlemagne. Both Adrian I. and Leo III. sent a banner, the symbol of sway, to the latter monarch.

† Well do the lines of Keble estimate the life of the Church at this city:

“By monarchs clad in gems and gold,
She goes a mourner still.”

society on a new basis. Wherever that faith prevails, though its pure character, its beneficent action and enlightened influences may be checked or perverted—as, to some degree, they unfortunately were at the great centre of the Latin Church—it is at least impossible that national life should be absolutely retrogressive. In this, a fact confirmed by historic evidence from many ages, we see convincing proof of the divine origin of that Religion.

CHAPTER XVI.

WALKS AMONG RUINS ; RECENT DISCOVERIES ; THE
WALLS OF ROME ; CONCLUSION.

MUCH progress has been made in works for the discovery of antiquities, under the new Government at Rome, since the first pages of this volume were written. In some cases the task has been a continuation of undertakings commenced before the late political change which led to the overthrow of an ancient system in the Italian Capital.

Among the sites where excavations began at a period prior to, and have been resumed since, 1870, is one on the cultivated ground below the southern walls of the Antonine Thermæ, where, at considerable depth, have been discovered the ruins of an extensive mansion, which must have been buried under earth for the levelling of a sufficiently spacious area on which to raise the vast halls and courts of those imperial Baths. The received tradition is that these long interred structures pertain to the palace of Asinius Pollio, the distinguished friend of Augustus and man of letters, the founder of the first public library in Rome, to whom Virgil addressed the well-known eclogue on the birth of his son—the Poet's fire being kindled by, and many of his lines almost translated from, the Hebrew Prophets who rapturously looked forward to the glorious advent of the Messiah.* In these buildings—very pro-

* Under these auspices, the child shall purge
Our guilt stains out, and free the land from dread ;
He with the Gods and Heroes like the Gods
Shall hold familiar converse, and shall rule
With his great Father's spirit the peaceful world.

See, in Collins's "Virgil," (from which I cite this translation of a

bably at one time the residence of Pollio, perhaps subsequently that of different families in succession, we see the best example extant of an antique Roman interior with all its comfortless luxuries and provisions for a life nearly all the pursuits and engagements of which passed in the open air. Two hypaethral courts, the *cavœdium* and *peristyle*, communicate with passages and chambers. On the floor of the *cavœdium* we see such decoration in mosaic, black and white, as was not introduced in Roman mansions till the time of Sulla, here representing the fantastic forms of *Hippocampi*, *Tritons*, and other imaginary creatures of the deep, some blowing wreathed horns as they float on pictured waves. More interesting are the wall-paintings in a *Lararium*, a small domestic chapel, with vaulted roof still entire, and its altar still *in situ*, with a kind of *reredos* for the little images of Household Gods.* Here we see pictured on the walls numerous figures, some graceful and of spirited

remarkable passage) the argument for the theory that this eclogue may refer to the expected birth of a son of Augustus by his first wife, *Scrubonia*; or to that of his nephew, the lamented *Marcellus*. If really addressed to Pollio, the poem must have been written B.C. 30, when the latter was Consul, and about the time that a son, who died in infancy, was born to him. It is supposed that Virgil derived his knowledge of the Hebrew Prophets from the Sibylline books. S. Augustine quotes twenty-seven verses, more or less clearly prophetic of the great Advent. from the reputed utterances of the Erythræan Sibyl. Justin Martyr asserts that "through the energy of evil demons death was decreed against those who should read the Sibyls or the Prophets." *Apol.* l. 1, c. 44.

* Small waxen images of the *Lares*, clad in dog-skins, were placed around the hearth, or beside the outer door, of every private house; and sometimes the figure of a dog, emblematic of their fidelity, was placed underneath. At their festivals, in May, garlands of flowers were appended to those images, and offerings of fruit made to them. The *Penates* were distinct deities, worshipped in the innermost part (*penetralia*) of the mansion; but the *Lares* were revered as ancestral gods—the

design, fruit and flowers, musical instruments, &c. apparently executed at different periods and on several layers of stucco, one superimposed over the other. Among the best executed are : a group which seems meant for Ceres before the throne where Pluto and Proserpina are seated, the Dioscuri (only one figure, on a prancing steed, being left), Harpocrates placing a finger on his lip to enjoin silence, and the dog-headed Anubis*—this last reminding us of the fashionably prevalent Oriental superstitions and idolatries in Rome, which Juvenal denounces with eloquent sarcasm.† It is probable that these wall-paintings are not more ancient than the time of the Antonine Emperors. Other chambers, corridors, conduits, deep below the same cultivated grounds, have been opened through labours directed by Mr. J. H. Parker. Large store of wrought marbles, fragments of decoration, inscribed tablets, &c. have been found on these purlieus of the great Thermæ ; and we may infer that a superb palace, perhaps at one time occupied by

beneficent spirits of forefathers who watched over the descendants still loved by them.

At mihi contingat patrios celebrare Penates,
Reddere antiquo menstrua thura Lari.

Tibullus, *El.* iii. l. 1.

* Plangentis populi currit derisor Anubis.

Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 534.

† To such Oriental influences does he ascribe the superstitious practice of women who used to plunge into the Tiber before sunrise, even whilst the turbid stream was frozen over !

But, lo ! another tribe, at whose command
See her, in Winter, near the Tiber stand,
Break the thick ice, and, ere the sun appears,
Plunge in the crushing eddy to the ears,
Once, twice, and thrice ; then, shivering at the breeze,
Crawl round the field on bare and bleeding knees.

Gifford's " Juvenal," *Sat.* vi. 523.

some Emperor, extended over this region before it was comprised within the buildings named after Antoninus, or "Caracalla." The station of the "Vigiles" (fire-brigade), exhumed in Trastevere, is another curiosity rescued from interment and oblivion through works carried on by the late Government. There existed under the Republic a "Nocturnal Triumvirate" charged to protect Rome against the dangers of fire, and the *Ædiles* were also responsible for precautions with the same object. But the more efficient "Vigiles" were developed by Augustus into a force of twelve Cohorts, each 700 strong, and in which were enrolled freedmen emancipated, it seems, expressly to allow of their entering that service. They patrolled all night (*v.* Seneca, Ep. lxvi.); and their Prefect, chief over the whole corps, had magisterial jurisdiction in cases of petty theft, &c., and over run-away slaves, whom he was required to send back to their masters. In the third century free citizens began to enlist in those ranks of the Fire Brigade, which was retained under the Greek Empire, receiving the new name of "Matricarii." In the transtiberine station the lodgings open around a hypaethral court paved with black and white mosaics, on which are figures of hippocampi and other nondescripts, fantastic creatures, some holding tridents and musical horns. On the stucco-covered walls are several *graffiti* (the amusement of the Firemen in idle hours), some being *quasi* historic, with allusion to Emperors or "Cæsars," and to the illuminations with tallow candles* got up in the barracks for celebrating the decennial or vicennial *vota* on the tenth and twentieth anniversaries of reigning Princes. In one such inscription the name of Heliogabalus has evidently been introduced

* "Subaciaria"—a word here used, hitherto unknown—hence an addition to our known vocabulary of the Latin language.

and finally erased—a noticeable record of hatred against notorious vice.* Here also we find a Lararium, entered from the open court, with a graceful architectonic decoration in terra-cotta adorning the ingress; in the interior, some wall-paintings, among which a floating figure of Mercury is the best designed. Other stations of the useful Vigiles have been brought to light after being long forgotten, one on the Coelian, one on the Aventine hill; another (recently found) below the Quirinal, near the Piazza SS. Apostoli—all, unfortunately, demolished or again consigned to the interment from which they had been rescued.

Recent labour† have added to the range of visible antiquities in the so-called “Gardens of Sallust,” occupying a valley between the Quirinal and Pincian hills. In ancient time these gardens were called “*Horti pretiosissimi*,” for here stood a palace, a circus, baths, &c., built in a beautiful demesne by the original owner, no other than the historian Crispus Sallustius, who died, aged 51, B.C. 35. He was expelled from the Senate for notorious immoralities, but afterwards re-admitted, and appointed to the high office of Governor of Numidia. It was after his return, enriched by extortion from the African subjects of the Republic, that he purchased the gardens in which he built a splendid residence, and also the circus, &c., the ruins of which still bear his name. During a period of exile, while under disgrace, he employed his leisure in writing the histories, still famous, of the Jugurthine War and Catiline Conspiracy, more favoured than his other work, a history of Rome, of which but few fragments are left.

* On an inscribed tablet recently found in the Forum, the name of Messalina has been in like manner obliterated—creditable to the moral feeling against, at least, the notorious vices of those in eminent rank.

† Undertaken by the proprietor of the estate, Mr. Spithöver, bookseller and publisher.

His administration of the African province was such as might justify comparison to the infamous Verres in the government of Sicily; and the ruins in the "Gardens of Sallust" may be considered a monument of that pitiless disregard for humanity which characterized the procedure of Rome's delegated representatives in foreign lands. The historian himself bears witness against the Power he served, with evil result to others, with unjust profit to himself.*

After his death, and that of his nephew and heir, the estate was purchased for the Emperors, and became a favourite residence of Nerva, Vespasian, and especially of Aurelian, who spent most of his time here, and used to take exercise on horseback under a superb portico, called from its thousand columns "Milliarensis," upon these premises. Procopius tells us that the buildings were fired (we may suppose them left in consequence desolate) by the Gothic soldiers of Alaric; and seeing that those invaders entered Rome by the proximate gate, the Salarian, we may conclude that the fury of barbarian conquest first vented itself on the palace and pleasure-grounds here situated. Ruin and landscape are now before us in this lovely scene. Not a vestige of the stately portico remains; nothing of the circus, except a few low courses of brickwork on the north side of the valley; the obelisk, which stood on the spina, being now erect before the church of *Trinita de' Monti*, on the Pincian; the ruinous "carceres" inclosed within the gardens of a villa (the Rignano Massimo) which occupies the western extremity of the grounds shared, in the south-eastern part, by another proprietor. Other ruins on the spot are still noteworthy: along the Quirinal declivities, a suite of high

* "Imperium ex justissimo et optimo, crudele intollerandumque factum."

vaulted chambers, probably the ground-floor storey above which rose the chief structures of the imperial palace ; these desolate halls being now partly filled with earth, or cavernous and gaping open, but adorned with ivy and trailing plants so profusely that their dark interiors are almost concealed by the leafy draperies which hang in front. Also, in the midst of the low ground, remains another better-preserved edifice, called (but quite erroneously) the "temple of Venus Erycina"—the exterior octagonal ; a domed roof still covering the interior, which is divided into halls, one very spacious, the others smaller, and also a vestibule communicating with the central apartment. The inner and outer halls, as well as the vestibule, have arched recesses, no doubt for sculpture, opening at intervals in the ancient masonry. We may identify this building as one of those delightful retreats, for delicious repose, called "Nymphæa," where fountains gushed into marble basins under painted or gilded roofs, and amidst statues of naiads, river-gods, or sea-nymphs. Such places were among the outworks or dependencies of patrician villas, and are mentioned (though not under the name above given) by Horace. Among extant specimens we see the so-called "Grotto of Egeria" in the valley of the Almo, and two half-natural, half-artificial caverns, in most romantic solitude on the shores of the Alban lake.* The edifice in the Sallustian gardens is the most completely preserved and architectonic among all the "Nymphæa" left to testify to Roman luxuries or antique refinement. Reconstructing, on the basis of such vestiges and descriptions as are at hand, a splendid summer-house like this in the valley under the Quirinal, we may imagine a reality answering to the

* The Emperor Charles V. gave a banquet, splendid no doubt, but still more picturesque, as we may imagine, in that Nymphæum misnamed after Egeria, before his state ingress into Rome after his victory at Tunis. Kircher, "Latium, vet. et nov. Descriptio."

ideal of an enchanted palace. Here might the luxurious Roman, after following through existence the maxim of "carpe diem," have learnt how the most elaborately adorned path leads to satiety ; here might have been held those "banquets of despair," at which the life-weary or self-devoting wrought themselves up, amidst the intoxication of pleasure—

The sound of lyres, the flower-crowned goblet's flow—
to the hopeless courage of death.

In the rear of this building stands an edifice in several storeys, lofty though in part laid low by decay ; the masonry, partly of *opus reticulatum*, indicating a good period in Roman construction. A few courses of massive stonework, discoverable in these gardens, are supposed to be remnants of the Servian walls. Other vaguely distinguishable ruins of different periods, some mediæval, are strewn among the thickets and plantations of these grounds. The scene is picturesque in a high degree, with such blending of Nature's wild loveliness and the wrecks of what man has created in his days of power and splendour, as possesses a peculiar charm.

More important for archæological interests are the results of recent works ordered by the new Government.

I have mentioned (*supra* p. 315) the discovery by the French, when directing similar works in Rome, of several chambers and corridors opened in 1813 under the arena of the Colosseum ; but which the pontific authorities, soon after the return of Pius VII., ordered to be closed on account of the stagnant water which in part filled them. These underground structures have been again opened and made accessible. As to their use different suppositions are advanced, but it may be concluded that all ancient amphitheatres had such a ground-floor storey—the most complete and well preserved example of which is in the amphitheatre of Capua. The masonry of those long buried

structures below the Flavian edifice seems not older than the IV. century—in part mediæval. The ancient arena is found to be 21 feet lower than the modern level. At some depth under the ground on which the stations of the “*Via Crucis*” were erected in 1749, has been discovered a series of immense stone brackets, for support (as apparent) of a boarded and moveable stage. Three great arched tunnels are now seen, opening at the southern side of the major axis, the central one probably for the entrance of gladiators and victims condemned to die ; the two others for the wild beasts, and communicating with a “*vivarium*” in which they were kept. The middle tunnel is crossed, at intervals, by flat arches in massive travertine stonework. Lower down is seen the mouth of a cloaca, still fenced with metal grating, through which the arena might have been flooded for the *naumachia* entertainment. Another welcome discovery is that of a rotunda of massive stonework, lithoid tufa, which, though reduced to a pile of vaguely traceable ruin, is recognised as the temple of Vesta, often destroyed and rebuilt since the primæval origin (whether historic or legendary) of that fane where Numa is said to have first placed the sacred fire, consigning it to the care of the dedicated sisterhood. The site of these ruins confirms the conclusion of the later archæologists, who showed that the Vesta temple must have stood on the limits of the Forum below the north-eastern declivities of the Palatine, and consequently near the small church of *S. Maria Liberatrice*, in the vicinity of which some sepulchral epitaphs of Vestal Virgins were long ago exhumed. Most interesting are the memories that attach themselves to those now all but formless ruins—the traditions of a primæval and mysterious worship, of idealized descent from Troy and Æneas claimed for Rome and for her Cæsars. Tacitus informs us that Nero, when about to start on his journey for a theatrical progress through Greece, “offered

up prayers for the success of his voyage in the Capitol, and thence proceeded to the temple of Vesta. Being there seized with a sudden tremor in every joint, arising either from superstitious fear of the Goddess, or from a troubled conscience, which never ceased to goad and persecute him, he renounced his enterprise altogether." (*Annals*, l. xv. 36.)

Some idea of the fruitfulness of the Roman soil in antiquities, as well as of the energies directed to suitable research by the new Government, may be formed from the following reported list of objects found, through works undertaken by the present Archæological Commission, during 1873: 17 statues, 24 busts, 6 basso-rilievi, 7 sarcophagi, 2700 fragmentary sculptures, 125 epigraphs on marble, 14,900 coins, 700 stamped bricks, 2050 stamps on amphoræ, 217 terra cotta lamps, 8 rings and 2 collars of gold—besides a great variety of objects in bronze, estimated at the value of about £8000. sterling. Among the sculptures the most highly prized are a statue of Hercules, and another (in Pentelic marble) of Apollo, life-size, wanting the head, but still magnificently beautiful in its mutilated state. A provisional museum of these sculptures and bronzes has been formed in the Conservators' palace on the Capitol; and among its contents, may be particularized three life-size statues of athletes combating, a graceful little Venus, a fine torso like the Faun of Praxiteles, and a head of another Faun with a wreath of pine-cones and vestiges of red colouring,—wildly and strangely beautiful. The Hercules as a child, or Amor as Hercules, and the "Mater Terra," seated within a species of ædícula, now in the Capitoline Museum, may also be signalized. Vigour and originality, rather than any other qualities, mark these works of Roman, or Greco-roman art, to some of which we might apply the lines of Shelley:

— the sculptor sure
Was a strong spirit, and the hue
Of his own mind did there endure.

After the touch, whose power had braided
Such grace, was in some sad change faded.

Great indeed is the difference between the procedure of the present and that of the former Government in Rome with respect to archæological undertakings and public works in general. The first Pope who prohibited the wilful destruction of antique art-works, but with little effect in his time, was Eugenius IV. (1431-47). Later in the same century Lorenzo de' Medici sent an emissary to collect antique inscriptions at Rome for his new palace at Florence ; and the commissioner of the " magnificent " Lorenzo has left us a gloomy picture of the devastation and neglect he found still prevailing in the Papal metropolis. He tells of Roman citizens who *boasted* that the foundations of their houses consisted entirely of fragments—the *disjecta membra*—of antique sculptures !* In 1462 the estimable and learned Pius II. published a brief ordering that all classical monuments in Rome should be protected and preserved.† During his pontificate the Roman magistrates put forth an edict (*De antiquis ædificiis non diruendis*) for the same purpose ; but neither of these prohibitory acts withheld Sixtus IV. (1471-84) from the deliberate demolishing of a circular temple of Hercules in order to make cannon balls out of its travertine stonework !

The valley named after the old church of S. Vitale,

* Fabroni, " Vita di Lorenzo de' Medici."

† Mabillon edited from a MS. in the library of the ex-queen Christina of Sweden an epigram by the brilliant Æneas Piccolomini, who became Pope as Pius II. It may be thus translated :

A charm is thine, O Rome ! with joy I trace
The classic records of thine ancient time,
But see indignant a degenerate race
Thy walls o'erthrow, thy marbles burn to lime.
If yet three hundred years such outrage last,
What wreck shall here remain to tell of grandeur past?

between the Quirinal and Viminal hills, has lately undergone changes that have deprived it of its singularly picturesque aspects, though no Vandalic injuries have been inflicted on the local antiques. Here, before a general breaking up of the soil and laying down of foundations for new streets, was a quiet and pleasant spot, the low ground being overlooked by unenclosed grassy slopes where dimly distinguishable ruins, the inheritance of different ages, invite the archæologist to study and compare. On the Viminal declivity are strewn the vaguely distinguishable ruins of periods probably remote as that when the infant "Urbs" was ruled over by kings,—fortifications, mutilated towers, buttress-walls; lower down are the roofless chambers, with faded painting on their walls and remnants of mosaic on their floors, belonging to the *lavacrum* (baths founded for her own sex) of the Empress Agrippina. A dark cavern excavated on the hill-side, and lately re-opened, with a few remains of marble ornamentation in its narrow interior, is supposed to be one of the sanctuaries for Mithraic worship, probably for the rites of oriental initiation.*

The walls and towers which surround Rome,—monumental, because bearing on their time-worn surface many marks of the vicissitudes of ages, from Aurelian to Pius IX.—form an aggregate which I may recommend to the study of all who desire to receive and to feel those impressions which the spectacle of this City, with its unitedly classic and Christian aspects, must create in every thoughtful mind—that impression which is conveyed in such epithets as are applied in verse by Byron to "the Niobe of Nations," and

* Among recently discovered monuments of Mithraic worship are two rilievi now in the Conservators' palace, one found in a cave, no doubt used for secret rites, excavated on the Capitoline hill; another removed from an old house, where it had served as pavement, in Trastevere; neither of any good artistic qualities.

in diplomatic prose by an Emperor, Charles V., who mentions Rome as "*Communis omnium patria*." A complete and learned history of the Roman fortifications is given in the first volume (lately published) of Mr. J. H. Parker's valuable illustrated work, "*The Archæology of Rome*." That well-known author maintains with able arguments, as I believe no other writer had done before him, the theory that the ancient city had not only those walls of the kings which became useless long before the Augustan age, but another system of defences, *moenia*, consisting more of earthworks than masonry, which Aurelian availed himself of for a much wider cincture, restored (perhaps amplified) by Honorius, and which (now commonly called the "Honorian walls") formed subsequently the widest circuit of defences ever raised around Rome. A difficult and disputed passage in Vopiscus (*in Aureliano*, c. xxxix.), usually read: "He so enlarged the walls of the city of Rome that their circumference contained nearly fifty miles (*quingenta prope millia murorum*"), may be strictly reconciled with realities by reading, after "*murorum*," *pedum*, *i.e.* "50,000 feet." Mr. Parker shows that the measurement of Aurelian's walls, including those totally destroyed, which extended along the eastern bank of the Tiber, is exactly 50,300 feet. He also proves—and we must be grateful to him for the satisfactory solution of a problem in this instance—the correctness of Pliny's statement (*H. N.* l. iii. c. 5) as to the sum of distances from the "*milliarium aureum*" on the Forum to the several gates, 37, in the cincture of those walls, open during the first century of our era. Pliny makes the amount 30,765 *passus* (the pace of 4 feet 10½ inches, English); and this approximately corresponds to the aggregate of distances from the same centre to the gates still erect, as Mr. Parker has taken pains accurately to ascertain—*i.e.* 30,140 *passus*.

Poggio Bracciolini was the first writer to give almost correctly the circuit of the so-called Honorian walls—ten miles ; ascertained, according to official report in the time of Benedict XIV., to be, in fact, $10\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The immediate purpose for which Aurelian surrounded the city with new walls, was to protect against incursions of the Goths, who had overrun Italy under the feeble reign of his predecessor, Gallienus.

The works were commenced A.D. 274, but not completed till about ten years later, under the reign of Probus (276-82). A restoration (or renovation) of these walls was ordered by Honorius A.D. 403, as advised by his general and minister Stilicho ; and these later works, carried out under superintendence of the Urban Prefect Longinianus, were brought to completion in 404. They are extolled in the courtly verse of Claudian—an eye-witness whose poetic testimony is valuable.* These new walls were made to include the “*Collis Hortorum*” (Pincian Hill), the Prætorian Camp, and many other edifices, several conduits of aqueducts, and even the now disregarded monuments of the dead. The varieties of material and masonry form a curious comment on historic vicissitudes. All symmetry and coherence in method seem to have been set aside ; fragments of sculptured cornices, friezes, &c., are mixed up with the rudest stone and brickwork ; several turreted wall-curtains, between lofty square towers, are in a kind of rubble work ; blocks of basalt-lava, tiles, travertine, and marble are heaped together without attempt at regularity ; and we are often reminded of the circumstances amidst

* *Addebunt pulchrum nova moenia vultum,
Audito perfecta recens rumore Getarum.*

Septem continuo montes juvenescere muro.

De. VI. Consul. Honor. Aug. 531-6.

which such repairs were made, with the confused and careless execution of a task hurried on by fear of surprise from foes—precisely, in fact, the realities amidst which the restorations by Belisarius were effected during the Gothic war. In the XIII. century these walls become curiously associated with ecclesiastical procedure, among the severities exercised by the Church against heresy. An edict of date 1231, Gregory IX. then reigning, imposes on all accomplices, protectors and abettors of heretics in Rome punishment by fines amounting to one third of their property, and orders that such moneys should be applied to the requisite repairs of the civic fortifications.

The first general restoration of these walls after the time of Honorius was ordered by the Ostrogothic King, Theodoric, and superintended by the Senate, about the beginning of the VI. century. The first similar works undertaken by any Popes were those of Gregory II. and Adrian I. in the VIII. century.

In 1451, Nicholas V., eager to promote public improvements, ordered a repair of these fortifications, in the accomplishment of which they were, for about a mile's extent on the southern side, entirely rebuilt.

Paul III. commissioned Antonio Sangallo to restore and provide with bastions those parts that were weakest; also to surround the "Leonine City" with completely new defences; that Pontiff being naturally anxious to guard against such terrible disasters as he himself had witnessed when Rome was captured and sacked by the mercenaries of the Constable Bourbon. The works were never completed according to Sangallo's design; and the useless *Porta S. Spirito*, near the colonnades before S. Peter's, is one of the few structures still left as that architect raised it. Urban VIII., adopting precautionary measures during a diplomatic conflict between the Vatican and the Duke of

Parma, caused the transtiberine quarter, hitherto (the Leonine City alone excepted) without any mural cincture, to be surrounded by walls and towers built according to the system of modern fortification. The most picturesque of the gateways are those restored by Belisarius or Narses during, or after, the Gothic war. Note-worthy, among the rest, are the following: the *Porta Pinciana*, with a Greek cross on its keystone, rebuilt by Belisarius, and now closed; the *Porta Tiburtina* (or “di San Lorenzo”) of the time of Honorius; the *P. Maggiore*, not originally a gateway, but a grand monumental arch of the Claudian aqueduct; the *P. Asinaria* (also closed), one of the gates that may be attributed, as it now stands, to Aurelian (called “Porta Lateranensis” in the middle ages), and which was walled up by the invader Ladislaus, King of Naples, in 1408. For this is now substituted the modern *Porta S. Giovanni*.

It was through that ancient gateway that Totila entered as conqueror, being admitted by the treachery of the Isaurian guards. Beyond it, westward, extend the still conspicuous ruins, incorporated with the eastern walls, of the Palace of Plautius Lateranus, a patrician who was put to death for his share in a conspiracy against Nero, and whose immense mansion passed successively into imperial and papal hands. Presented by Constantine (according to tradition) to Pope S. Sylvester, it became the residence of the Roman Bishops for nearly a thousand years; and hence was a patrician name transmitted from an extinct Roman “gens,” to be for ever associated with the acts and annals of Latin Catholicism, of Œcumenical Councils and the Holy See. This pontific palace was left ruinous after the troubled reign of Gregory VII. till that of Callixtus II. (1086 to 1119); was restored by the latter Pope; was much damaged by the fire fatal to the Lateran Church in 1308; and was for the last time inhabited by a

Pope when Leo X. took up his abode here for a few days on occasion of his magnificently celebrated "possession" (installation) in that basilica, A.D. 1513. The Lateran palace of the Popes probably comprised but a remnant of the original mansion built by the family whose name it bore. In one of its porticos stood the still revered and devoutly ascended "Scala santa," brought by S. Helena from Jerusalem. Not far from its ruins we reach the *P. Metronia* (closed), an epigraph set into the walls near which (inner side) records, in curious Latinity, some repairs ordered by the Senate, 1157: next to this, the *P. Latina* (closed since 1808), rebuilt by Belisarius—the holy monogram, between A and Ω, on the keystone, announcing its Greek origin.

The neighbouring *Porta Appia* (or "di S. Sebastiano") was rebuilt, either by Narses or one of the Greek Exarchs, in the VI. century: it is a double gateway, flanked by lofty towers with battlements, and (like others of these old gates) formerly provided with a portcullis; the lower part, or basement storey, being of marble in massive blocks, said to be spoils from the temple of Mars on a height (*clivus Martis*) above the Appian Way. Over the arch, on the side towards the city, we see the Greek cross and the devotional formula Θεου χαρις, with the names in Greek of two Saints, Canon and George, each preceded by the vocative ἀγιε. On the left (entering) we see a curious record, in rude artistic form, of a conflict which took place at this gateway on S. Michael's day (29th September) 1327, when the Romans repulsed an invading Neapolitan force sent by King Robert under command of his son, the titular Prince of Morea, against the Emperor Louis, with design to prevent his coronation at Rome—Pope John XXII., at Avignon, having refused to recognise the Bavarian claimant as Kaiser, and prohibited him from receiving the imperial crown, which, notwithstanding, was placed on Louis's head

at S. Peter's. A life-size *graffito* figure on the stonework of the Appian gateway represents the Archangel Michael, with regal sceptre and ball, trampling on a prostrate dragon.* The Porta Appia is strikingly picturesque, and as seen on the approach from the ancient road, a stern feudal grandeur distinguishes its dusky walls and sullen towers. Lastly we reach the Ostiensian, now "S. Paolo" gate, also a picturesque object as it stands grouped with the Cestian pyramid, the turreted walls, and the cypresses of the adjacent cemetery assigned to Protestants.† It is a double structure in two distinct parts, the inner being the oldest, the outer a restoration by Belisarius or Narses. Through this gateway did Totila make his victorious entry for the second time; and another conqueror of Rome, Ladislaus of Naples, also entered here with his forces, after a bombardment, A.D. 1410. Over the inner arch we see a picture (I believe of the XV. century) representing S. Peter under a canopy with colonnettes, and the invocation below: "Sancte Petre, ora pro nobis." Between these two last-named gates (nearest the Appian) is another devotional picture, the Blessed Virgin and Child, painted on the wall over an arch of one of the inner corridors, built for the soldiers engaged in defence. Such corridors extend for considerable length along these walls on the side towards the city; they are probably of the time of Aurelian, and add much to the picturesque effect of these fortifications in their now almost ruinous state. That Madonna-picture was probably

* The inscription below: *Indictione XI. mense Septembris, die penultimo in festo Sci. Michaelis intravit gens foresteria muria et fuit debellata a populo Romano.*

† A portico with colonnades, built by Theodosius, connected this gate with the S. Paul's basilica, but has totally disappeared—perhaps destroyed by German soldiers in the wars of Henry IV. against Gregory VII.

intended for the devotions of the Greek troops, and enclosed within an oratory fitted up for their use between the projecting partition walls of the corridor—if so, a work of the VI. century—though, probably, retouched since that time.*

Perhaps the most ancient structure incorporated with, not certainly belonging to, these fortifications, is the overhanging mass of antique masonry, still firm and compact, which leans outwards at a considerable angle out of the perpendicular, below the steep declivity of the Pincian hill near the modern *Porta del Popolo*. This is described by Procopius as in the same condition in which we now see it during the Gothic siege, when Belisarius defended Rome for Justinian, A.D. 537 :—"rent into two parts, not from the base to the summit, but only from about the middle, and still in a state not very ruinous, though so much leaning (outwards) that both sides, the inner and outer, alike can be seen—the Romans calling this the broken wall." Belisarius, deeming such a structure useless, proposed to demolish it and throw up bastions in its place, but the devout citizens entreated him to leave it intact, because persuaded that it was under the special protection of S. Peter. The prudent General complied; and the event confirmed popular superstition, for neither was any attack directed against this point by the enemy, or even any alarm given here during the siege that ensued. Consequently does the "muro torto" (crooked wall) remain to this day as it stood during the reign of Justinian!

I have walked for miles along the quiet road that follows the outer circuit of Rome's ancient walls—often during the evening hours of Spring and Autumn—in those hours, namely, when the citizens are usually out of doors, seeking pleasure in one way or another; yet in such solitary

* Mr. J. H. Parker was the first to make known this noticeable relic of Byzantine Art - as, with probability, the picture may be considered.

wanderings have I not met with a human being except, perhaps, some labourer returning from his work, or herdsman driving the milk-white cattle of the Campagna, while the song of birds alone broke on the silence, and the beautiful landscape spread to view eastward and south-eastward of the City lay steeped in the light and colouring of the day's most delicious period under Italian skies.

Between the modernized *Porta Pia* (ruined by the siege, 20th September, 1870) and the closed *P. Pinciana*, we reach the *P. Salaria*, or rather the site of that demolished gateway, recently rebuilt in modern Italian style, and to be named after the King of Italy. I have above (p. 80) expressed regret at the destruction of the former historic gate—as it truly was, for through this did Alaric and his force enter Rome on that terrible night when the sound of the Gothic trumpet awoke the citizens to the dread certainty that the spell of long-preserved invincibility, the tradition of inviolate dominion, was for ever broken for the now mournful Queen of Empire! On the shattered front of that Salarian gate were visible traces of the catastrophe; the archivolt of both the inner and outer travertine arches being broken, and repaired in brickwork instead of the original stone masonry. In the course of the recent demolition a complete necropolis of sepulchres was discovered embedded in, or surmounted by, the round towers and bastions here raised (as we must conclude) in the time of Honorius. Most interesting, among discoveries thus made, was the sculptured monument of the young Poet, the successful competitor for the prize of Greek verses at the Capitol, which has been removed to the museum on that hill. (Supr. p. 395.)

The extant remains of the old walls which may in every part be attributed to Aurelian, on the left bank of the Tiber, are highly picturesque. All now abandoned to

natural decay, they rise, overgrown with ivy or other wild plants, along the slopes of the Janiculan hill ; the portion of greatest extent being enclosed within the pleasant grounds of the Barberini Sciarra villa, a “*rus in urbe*” on the higher ridges of that hill. Many remnants of massive stone-work, which stand in our path amidst gardens or in the little frequented places of Rome, are supposed to be the walls of the kings—if indeed they should not, in some instances, be referred to higher antiquity than the times of Servius Tullius or even Romulus. Distinguished, among these relics, for their imposing character are two elevations of massive stone-work, rising to considerable height, yet long completely buried under earth, in a large garden of the Jesuits (now Prince Torlonia’s) on the Aventine hill, near the solitary S. Prisca church. These imposing structures were accidentally brought to light in the course of garden-works undertaken in 1851. A fine example of antique fortifications, they are built of immense quadrilateral blocks of lithoid tufa ; and high on the front of one—the loftiest of the two extant curtain-walls—opens an ample arch of fine travertine masonry, no doubt a later adjunct, and supposed by archæologists to be attributable to Camillus during the period of his dictatorship after the destruction of Rome by the Gauls. Such an arched orifice may have served for military engines, catapults, set up for defence of the city, and from which missiles would have been hurled against assailants.

Other remains of antiquity that may be supposed about equal to that of the Aventine walls, have been found below the chancel of the lower (the more ancient) church of S. Clemente on the Coelian hill. Here we may inspect by taper-light a rectilinear elevation, the lower part of immense courses of lithoid tufa, the upper of travertine blocks, which overlap the wall beneath it. Those structures are at

the same level with the mansion of the saintly Clement and the Mithraeum, alike discovered by excavations (ordered by Father Mullooly) below the same church. In 1848 was discovered, through the removal of soil on the north-western declivity of the Palatine, a considerable extent of fortifications, built up against the steep, and, no doubt, of at least as remote an origin as the Romulean period—whatever the date at which the small pre-historic city was so enlarged as to cover the entire area of this hill. With this antique construction we may compare another seen in the vicinity—the famous Cloaca Maxima, at one end of its great tunnel visible from an obscure spot near the S. Giorgio church; at the other end, where its huge mouth opens into the Tiber, best seen from the suspension bridge, or *ponte rotto*. The tunnel is built of blocks of reddish lithoid tufa, many being more than 5 feet long and 3 feet broad; the archway opening on the river, composed of three concentric courses of *lapis Gabinus*. Archæologists differ respecting the supposable antiquity of this extraordinary work. Fergusson (“Progress of the Roman Republic”) is, I believe, the first English writer who maintains that such a tunnel, for the purposes of sewage, is beyond the means and requirements of a city like that governed by Tarquinius Superbus, to whom, and to date 534 B.C., it is traditionally attributed. May it not be the work of some ancient people, aborigines, Pelasgic, or Etruscan, who founded a pre-historic city, on and around the Palatine and Capitoline hills, long anterior to the supposed period of Romulus? The arched channel extends for 800 feet underground; and the grim voyage along its sluggish stream to the river has been made by adventurous explorers. Another portion was discovered, at the depth of 40 palms, and with the channel under similar stone vaulting, in 1742.* It appears that the rest of this great

* Ficoroni, “Vestigie di Roma.”

"cloaca" was originally open, but finally arched over either with stone or brickwork. The gloomy vault, along which the sight penetrates till lost in darkness, is illuminated by a ray from Christian tradition, from the records of noble self-sacrifice; for into yon foul stream were thrown the bodies of several martyrs; and legends state that two victims, Irenæus and Abondius, were cast into it alive, because they had dared to draw out from the same sewer the body of another martyr, Concordia, nurse of S. Hippolytus. It is on record that S. Sebastian, after suffering on the Palatine hill, was also thrown into the "cloaca," and that his corpse was recovered through directions given by himself in a vision to some faithful friend; his remains being thus rescued for burial on the spot where the basilica dedicated to that martyr now stands.

Several antique fragments—architecture and sculpture—have recently been dug up on the high ground near the western side of the uncultured and long uninhabited level once occupied by the Prætorian Camp, and in recent years pertaining to an adjacent villa (within the ancient walls, though quite rural,) of the Jesuits. The *later* Prætorian Guards were instituted by Augustus for his personal protection, and originally consisted of ten cohorts, each of 1000 men—raised by Vitellius to an aggregate of 16,000 men, nor ever afterwards reduced to a much lower number. They all received double pay, and retiring pensions. Constantine suppressed this formidable force, and caused most of its members to be dispersed over the legions in the regular army, A.D. 313. Within their "castra" took place the stormy intrigues of military despotism, after Claudius had given the first fatal precedent of receiving the Empire from their hands. Here were raised the shouts for Galba and curses against Nero, which the latter heard as he fled, on the last miserable night of his existence, to the villa

where he killed himself. Here, on the night of the murder of Pertinax (A.D. 192), was the Empire set up for sale to the highest bidder, when the richest competitor, Didius Julianus, after ascending the camp walls, and thence addressing the Prætorians, raised his offers to 6250 drachmas (upwards of £200 sterling) for each soldier. He won the prize which he enjoyed for only two months, being put to death by the same military force which had raised him up, leaving the blood-stained throne to an abler occupant, Septimius Severus. Long after the disbanding of the Prætorians the walls of the Camp, on the side of its vast quadrangle towards the city, were thrown down, A.D. 408, and the area apparently left uninhabited; the remaining walls being abandoned to decay till they were finally incorporated with the fortifying cincture built in the V. century. Between the Porta Pia and Porta S. Lorenzo we distinguish the extensive and still imposing structures of the Camp where they are well preserved, in the firm compact brickwork of the time of Tiberius, under whose reign these "castra" were founded by his minister, the notorious Sejanus, A.D. 23. Two of the four towered gates remain, now walled up, but still exhibiting characteristics of antique military architecture. The principal one was called "Porta Decumana;" and the extent of the three sides of this quadrangular fortress, still erect, is 5400 feet—a monument of violence and fierce conspiracy, now mantled with the draperies of wild plants or ivy garlands, and beautiful in decay. (c. Herodian, l. vii. c. xi.)

At the centre of the wide Camp stood a "sacellum," where the standards of the legions were kept and treated with divine honours—anointed (as were the images of gods), and hence called "Signa uncta;" by Tacitus mentioned as "*propria legionum numina*." To that oratory the fratricide Antoninus repaired, passing wildly through the streets, after the murder of Geta; and there did he

spend the whole night before the sacred standards, affecting to thank the gods for rescue from death at his brother's hands. A Christian chapel was built on the same spot—for worship how different!—at what date I know not; but it certainly stood there till the XVI. century, when Piero Ligorio described the “castra” as seen by himself, tenantless, but overspread with orchards and vineyards. A few years before the late change of Government a large barrack was built at the southern side of the great level area (purchased expressly for such use from the Jesuits); and here were lodged the foreign soldiery of Pius IX, who, on the day of inauguration, gave from a gorgeous throne under a pavilion, near the centre of the quadrangular space, his benediction to those troops, all marshalled in array,—a scene of strangely blent military and ecclesiastical pomps—apt emblem of the vain reliance of the Papacy on the “arm of flesh!” Some lodgings of the Prætorians are still recognisable in a series of small vaulted chambers under the old walls along the northern side. By the military class alone is the desolate and long abandoned Camp now inhabited. It was more mournfully impressive as I first saw it, a silent and solitary waste.

Valuable results have been secured by late research in the sphere of Christian Antiquities, which is most suitably left to the superintendence of the Commissioners appointed by, and solely responsible to, the Supreme Pontiff. Between the Appian and Ardeatine ways, and near the entrance into the cemetery called after SS. Nereus and Achilleus, have been opened, at a depth correspondent to the first storey in those subterranean “catacombs,” the roofless ruins of a basilica supposed to have been built by Leo III, about A.D. 800, in place of a primitive church, much frequented by pilgrims, which had fallen into decay, and in which lay the bodies of those two martyrs above-named;

also that of Petronilla, the reputed daughter (or disciple?) of S. Peter, whose remains were removed to the Vatican basilica by Paul I. about A.D. 756. (De Rossi, "Bullettino di Archeol. Crist." 2^o serie, an. 5^o No. I.) Another very ancient church, still, as from its origin, subterranean, has been discovered in a hypogeum extending far below the Nomentan way, which was explored by Bosio, and is supposed to be the primitive cemetery named "Ostrianus," where legends tell that S. Peter used to administer baptism. This crypt-church, now again made accessible, is entered from one of the underground corridors. It contains an arcosolium (or altar-tomb), on one side of which stands an episcopal chair cut out of the solid rock.

I can recommend no more suitable point of view at which to begin our studies of History and monuments in Rome, Heathen and Christian, classic and mediæval, than that obtained from the summit of the tower of the municipal palace on the Capitol. In the panorama here spread before us are comprised not only all the monuments on the Seven Hills and within the city-walls, but a wide sweep of undulating Campagna, its boundaries of majestic mountains, Apennine and Latian, and the heights that rise in territories of extinct races, Etruscan, Æquian, Volscian, Sabine, Hernician—the entire theatre of Rome's history during about 400 years—for almost all the salient facts, the steps on the way to supreme dominion, in the annals of the Kingdom and Republic prior to the first Samnite war, B.C. 343, took place within the area comprised in that bird's-eye view from the Capitol—the conquest of Antemnæ (B.C., 748), of Fidenæ (738); the first wars against, and final subjection of the Veii, on the capture of their city by Camillus, B.C. 405; the Volscian victories of Marcius, surnamed, from another conquered city, Coriolanus, B.C. 471; the taking of Antium and destruction

of its fleet, B.C. 338. In the middle distance of the picture here spread before us lies the Sabine region, the gracefully accentuated mountains of which rise northward of those where Tivoli and Palestrina may be hence discerned. Beyond the neighbouring Campagna region, due north of Rome, stands the boldly conspicuous and isolated Soracte, "like a long swept wave about to break;" and in far distance, north-eastward (within the Abruzzo province), soars majestically the monarch of the Apennines, whose fortress-like summit is never without a snow-wreath, and whose name, "Gran Sasso d'Italia," vindicates its dignity among other eternal guardians over the land—

il bel paese

Ch' Appenin parte, e'l mar circonda e l'Alpe.* (Petrarch.)

God is in History. And while gazing on this glorious scene, in the midst of which Man has left enduring foot-

* The view from the terrace on the Janiculan height, before *S. Pietro in Montorio*, is still finer, indeed the picture to be preferred to all others for the beautiful alike with the monumental—Rome and the sweep of its environs combined in a grand panorama. But it is from the Capitoline tower that we enjoy the most widely embracing and historically complete prospect. That other never-to-be-forgotten view displays much analogy with what is described, in lyric rapture, by Martial, "*De Hortis Julii Martialis*," (l. iv. *Ep.* 64) :

Hinc septem dominos videre montes,
Et totam licet aestimare Romam, &c.—

referring to the scene enjoyed from the villa of his friend on a height which may be identified with the Monte Mario, a continuance of the Janiculan, where that range reaches its greatest altitude, north of the City. Strange it is that the impression received, as modern writers have often eloquently borne witness, from the sites and surroundings of Rome, should be so rarely indicated, the sentiment so seldom implied in the utterances of classic poetry! Few are the lines that express any emotional admiration for these scenes in Latin verse. Besides those of Martial above quoted, I may particularize some others: Virgil, *Æneid*, l. viii 347;

prints, we may question, and receive silent answers in the soul, as to the Almighty purpose for which so great a task was assigned to Republican and Imperial Rome, while her eagles were winged for victory over the known world. Let us linger on that tower-summit, till, on some brightly serene evening after the rich draperies of colour have melted from the purple hills, twilight begins to solemnize the aspects of City, Campagna, and fading distance—even till night lowers her curtain over the eventful stage—a moment in Nature's unvarying processes that seems emblematic of the obscurity which overclouds the far-off Past; of the darkness that has overtaken the dominion and triumphs of mightiest nations—all things, indeed, for which man toils and struggles, rejoices and mourns, leaving only the conquests of Faith and Intellect, the powers of Truth and Virtue to endure!

Tibullus, *El.* v. l. 11; Propertius, *El.* i. l. 4; the "Itinerarium" of Rutilius the Gaul, and in Claudian, the poem on the Sixth Consulate of Honorius, 42-51, also *De Bello Getico*, 51-4. The generally manifested contrast between the ancient and modern sentiment is mainly attributable, I believe, to the very marked difference in the contemplation of Nature, also in that of monumental works, by the Heathen and the Christian mind.

APPENDIX.

The mystic names of Rome. (p. 548.)

“Flora” is supposed to have been the sacerdotal, “Saturnia” another alike secret, perhaps the most carefully concealed name of the ancient City. (Rosa, “Origini della Civiltà.”)

The Tabularium. (p. 256.)

The mention of the *Ærarium*, within the above-named building, by Cicero, occurs in his Oration for M. Fonteius—not (as I supposed) in any of his letters—as follows: “What is this accusation? Was it more easy to climb the Alps, than the few steps of the *Ærarium*?”—*facilius possit Alpes, quam paucos Ærarii gradus ascendere?*

The Temple of Æsculapius. (p. 622.)

The humane law of Claudius bestowed liberty on those slaves who were left abandoned on the Tiber island, whether for life or death, after being sent for the cure of maladies to this temple; and if their masters should rid themselves of such unfortunate ones by killing them, made the former amenable to the common law—*coedis crimine teneri.* (Sueton. *Claud.* 25.)

Porticos. (p. 638.)

Much may be said to support the inference that the stately colonnade with monolith shafts of Luni marble, now built up in the front of an unsightly “dogana,” does not belong to any temple, but to the Portico of Agrippa, dedicated to Neptune, the inner walls of which were adorned with paintings illustrating the entire story of the Argonautic Expedition. This edifice stood on the Campus

Martius, and certainly not far from the spot (Piazza di Pietra) where those maltreated ruins are seen. We may imagine it as one of the grandest public works due to the magnificence and good taste of Vipsanius Agrippa. Another beautiful Portico was built by Augustus, and dedicated to Livia; but on what site we cannot be certain. Several writers identify it with the ruins of an edifice, no doubt classical in character, consisting of two storeys of much mutilated arcades (brickwork), with pilasters in travertine, built into the long front of a convent, *S. Lucia in Selce*, on the ascent of the Esquiline hill by a street called after that convent's church. The Portico of Livia is represented on a fragment of the marble map of Rome, found, a few years ago, behind the church of SS. Cosmo and Damiano on the Forum, and thence transferred to the Capitoline Museum, where the other extant remains, in twenty-six compartments, of the same antique were placed by Benedict XIV.

The Heathen Priesthood and Human Sacrifices. (p. 647.)

The privileges bestowed and prohibitions imposed on the priest of Jupiter, were significant. He was forbidden to touch ivy, flour, leaven, the goat or the dog, and even to name either of those animals. "The dog (says Plutarch), being a combative animal, is kept away from sacred and inviolable places, in order that supplicants may there find a sure refuge. It is natural that the priest of Jupiter, like a living and sacred image, should himself offer an altar of refuge to all who implore and supplicate him, without anything that could terrify or repel them. Whoever knelt at his feet was, on that day, exempt from all fear of being chastised or punished; and if any person loaded with chains could reach his presence, his bonds would be taken off and thrown away, not through the portal of the house, but over the roof. It would have been of no avail

for this priest to manifest so much benignity if a dog had kept watch beside him, terrifying and driving away those who had need of seeking refuge in his bosom." (*Quæst. Rom.* 109-111.)

Pliny states (*H. N.* xxx. c. 1), that "in the year 657 after the founding of Rome, C. Cornelius Lentulus and P. Licinius Crassus being Consuls, a decree was published by the Senate that no human being should be sacrificed." Yet elsewhere, (*H. N.* xxviii. c. 2), Pliny mentions human sacrifices as of contemporary practice in Rome. "Our age (he says) has seen a Greek man and a Greek woman buried alive in the Forum Boarium; and also" (so sacrificed) "men of other nations with whom we were in intercourse." Plutarch, in his life of Marcellus, the conqueror of Syracuse, gives the following account of what took place in Rome shortly before the war against the Gauls and Insubrians (B.C. 225): "The preparations they made for this war showed evidently how great were the apprehensions with which they (the Romans) undertook it—proof of which was apparent in the novelties then adopted in their mode of sacrifice; for, although they had never previously been used to practise strange rites, but had carefully observed in their religious worship such humane ceremonies as accorded with the practice of the Greeks, no sooner had this war broken out than they were under the necessity of complying with certain prophetic utterances in the Sibylline books, which required that two Greeks, a man and a woman, and also two Gauls, should be in like manner buried alive in the Forum Boarium." Under the dictatorship of Julius Cæsar two men were put to death, apparently as a sacrifice to the gods, in the Campus Martius.* Porphyry asserts that such immolations were

* "Two men were put to death in a certain kind of sacrifice, the reason for which I am unable to state. They were slain in the Campus

not finally abolished at Rome till the time of Hadrian, who passed a decree against them ; but, still later, were human victims slaughtered by Commodus in the Mithraic rites he himself celebrated—(“ *Sacra Mithraica homicidio vero polluit,*” says his biographer Lampridius.)—See also, for another instance of human sacrifice, Plutarch in *Publicola*, iv.

Oriental Superstitions at Rome. (p. 689.)

“ In the age of Juvenal, it was from the Nile and from the Orontes, above all other places, that issued forth the superstitions most fatal to purity in manners and to faith in religion. Along with these came troops of fortune-tellers from Armenia or from Comagene, of Chaldean astrologers and of Syrian seers, who, at one fell swoop, took a firm hold on the whole Roman people, but especially on the women. The wife would roam the streets by night, in open contempt of common decency and of her husband’s orders :”

“ Should milk-white Io bid, from Meroë’s isle
 She’d fetch the sunburnt waters of the Nile
 To sprinkle in her fane ; for she, it seems
 Has heavenly visitations in her dreams.
 Mark the pure soul with whom the gods delight
 To hold high converse in the dead of night !
 For this she cherishes above the rest
 Her Io’s favourite priest, a knave professed,
 A holy hypocrite, who strolls abroad
 With his Anubis, his dog-headed god.”

Walford’s “ Juvenal” in Collins’s “ *Ancient Classics.*”

Martius, in presence of the Pontiff and the priest of Mars ; and their heads were afterwards set up before the Regia (τό βασιλειον.)”

Dion. Cass. xliii. 24.

Temples of Hercules and Matuta. (p. 610.)

The ruins of an Ionic peristyle with fluted columns, built up in the walls of a convent, and partly strewn over a garden contiguous to *S. Nicolo de' Cesarini*, a small church near the site of the Flaminian Circus, are recognised as one of the many temples, a rotunda, dedicated to Hercules in Rome—this having, probably, been founded in the time of Sulla, or about a century before our era. The interlocutor Cotta, in Cicero's "*De Naturâ Deorum*," is made to say: "I should be glad to know which Hercules we should chiefly worship; for they who have searched into those histories which are little known, tell us of several. The most ancient is he who fought with Apollo about the Tripod of Delphi, and is son of Jupiter and Lysito; the second is the Egyptian Hercules; the fifth, called Belus, is worshipped in India; the sixth is the son of Alcmena by Jupiter—but by the third Jupiter, for there are many Jupiters," &c. (l. iii. xvi.)

The singular rites at the festival of Matuta, observed by Roman matrons, are mentioned by Plutarch in his life of Camillus, during whose dictatorship, and by whose advice a temple to that goddess of the Greek mythology—Leucothea, invoked as Matuta at Rome—was dedicated in this city.

The Lupercal Cavern.

Some subterranean chambers with walls of ancient brickwork, and through which flows a clear spring, near the northern declivities of the Palatine, were reopened a few years ago, and for the first time critically described by Mr. Parker. These are assumed to be the primitive cavern of the Lupercal, metamorphosed by structures of the Imperial period; also the site where the underground altar to Consus was erected from earliest time. The depth under

the level, not only of the declivities, but even of the basement of the Palatine, on the slope of which hill that cavern opened, and the absence of all characteristics likely to distinguish a place appropriated to sacred festivities in those dark and narrow, though lofty, interiors, seem to me irreconcilable with such notions respecting their origin.

Lupercus, from whose name derives that of the Lupercal festivals held in honour of Pan, was an ancient Latian deity worshipped by shepherds as the Protector of flocks, and identified by the Romans with that Arcadian God. Consus, the God of secret deliberations, was, though not till a comparatively late period, identified with Neptune—the “Neptunus Equestris,” as Livius calls him.

Antiquities on the Tiber-banks.

Among late discoveries should be mentioned three lions' heads, or rather gigantic corbels of travertine carved into such forms, and in character reminding of early Etruscan art, which were found, and first described, by Mr. J. H. Parker, after they had been for ages forgotten, being concealed under thick brushwood on a steep bank above the Tiber, opposite to the western slope of the Aventine hill, and near the site of the Sublician bridge. A third similarly carved corbel, but now only a mutilated remnant, is seen on a line with these, all projecting from a surface of ancient brickwork. From the cavities bored through two of these curious heads, it appears that they must have served for attaching horizontal poles to which vessels at anchor in the Tiber might be fastened with chains or cables—or else for extending chains across the river as a defence at the point where its winding stream enters within the civic circuit. Nearly opposite to these corbels, on the river's left bank, are others which served, no doubt, for similar uses, but are not alike sculptured, extant among the con-

structions of the ancient wharf, called, in modern phrase, "La Marmorata," brought to light, after being long entirely concealed under soil, in 1866. This wharf served for the unshipping of marbles, wines, &c. to be deposited in the neighbouring "Emporium," or Custom-house and magazines. On the level ground, now planted with orchards and vineyards, between the artificial "Monte Testaccio" (or hill of potsherds) and the Tiber's left bank, stand the dusky ruins of the Emporium, now like a palace in grim decay, built in the irregular masonry (*opus incertum*) of small polygonal stones with large tiles and a great deal of mortar, common at Rome during the period from B.C. 200 to B.C. 50—to a date within which interval that gloomy but picturesque building may be referred. Some ruins strewn along the base of the Aventine, above the Tiber-bank, probably belong to the "horrea" or magazines, and, amidst gardens and thickets on the steep hill-side, add a suitable feature to a memorable scene—the historic City, with the Aventine and Capitoline heights, and irregularly piled up buildings, above the sinuous bed of the tawny-hued river, strikingly displayed as we approach from the S. Paolo gateway.

Nymphæa, (p. 693.)

The magnificence of the Nymphæa, pleasure-houses on the estates or in the gardens of patrician mansions, is noticed by Ammianus, Aurelius Victor, and Capitolinus. An inscription records the restoration of one such delicious retreat, by a Prefect of the City, *ad cultum pristinum*. It seems that the Nymphæum was identical with the "antrum" mentioned by Horace—"Grato, Pyrrha, sub antro," (*Carm.* v. l. 1.) Such artificial "antra," or decorated and architectonic "caverns," are described by Lord Lytton as "grottoes attached to the houses of the luxurious, and in

which was placed a statue of Venus." The same illustrious translator of Horace supposes that the "ædes" mentioned by that poet (*Carm.* xxx. l. 1) was, "a pretty fane to Venus "in the grotto, or Nymphæum, of the lady, Glycera, for whom he wrote the complimentary ode invoking that goddess on her votary's behalf:

Oh ! leave thine own loved isle,
Bright Queen of Cyprus and the Paphian shores !
And here on Glycera's fair temple smile,
Where vows and incense lavishly she pours, &c.

Many instances of "banquets of despair" (p. 694), given and shared by persons resolved on death, are mentioned in Roman history ; memorable among others, that of Vibius Virrius, who, having opposed the surrender of Capua, with twenty-seven Senators of that city drank poison, all, after feasting and embracing each other, dying rather than witness an inevitable defeat, B.C. 231. (*Liv.* l. xxvi. 13, 14.)

The Colosseum.

Among interesting discoveries on the lowest storey of this building are several marble slabs, probably for wall-panelling, with *graffiti* deeply incised on their surfaces, representing combats of gladiators among themselves and with wild beasts. On one panel are sketched the figures of a rhinocerus and a hare, intended (no doubt) to illustrate those exhibitions of wild and tame animals, taught to go through certain feats, which are mentioned by Martial, *de Spectaculis*, 9, 17, 23, 52. The works directed by Signor Rosa have secured most valuable results, laying open the long-buried structures and underground passages of the amphitheatre. Preparatory to what has been last undertaken the cross and shrines of the "Via Crucis" had necessarily to be removed from the modern, which proves to be at much higher level than the *ancient* arena.

The Basilica of Constantine.

The Basilica built by Maxentius, about A.D. 306, does not pertain to any of the classes in which I have considered ancient monuments in the above pages; but its ruins are too important to be left unnoticed in any work descriptive of Roman antiquities. They were long theoretically confounded with Vespasian's Temple of Peace, and probably stand on the site either of that fane or the "Forum Pacis." The error as to their origin was first refuted by Piranesi; and Nibby was the first writer to prove, convincingly, that these vast remains can be no other than the Basilica of Maxentius, dedicated by the Senate, after that tyrant's death, to Constantine—see Aurelius Victor, who, after enumerating the public works of the former, adds: "*Basilicam Flavii meritis patres sacravere.*" We cannot suppose this edifice to have been in its completeness either graceful or grand, though its ruins are most imposing. In length 320, in width 240 feet, it was covered with a vaulted roof resting on three arches, each of about 80 feet span, these being supported by eight immense pilasters of brick, in front of which stood as many Corinthian columns of Greek marble, 65 feet high (capitals and bases included), one of which remained erect till 1613, when Paul V. ordered its transfer to the piazza before S. Maria Maggiore, where it now supports a bronze statue of the Blessed Virgin. The actual ruins consist mainly of three great apsidal tribunes, with vaults ornamented by sunken octagonal panels (or coffered work), most strikingly conspicuous on the level ground between the Forum and the Temple of Venus and Rome. This interior was lighted by large lunette orifices and thirty-nine smaller windows. Another window, opposite to a lateral door of the portico (which was on the narrow south-

eastern side), was converted into an apse adorned with sculpture, conformably to a change in the general plan adopted, it seems, soon after this basilica had been founded. Of thirteen recesses in the great tribunes, some appear to have been destined for statuary. In the central apse, among the ruins still erect, stands a massive brick basement for the throne of the Prætor (or Emperor when administering justice here); around this, a semicircular platform, with ascent by steps, for the assessors; and in the rear walls are two rows of "plutei," or recesses for the scroll-columns which may have formed the archives of the Basilica. Between these we see remains of marble brackets, adorned with rilievi of "Victoriæ," for supporting colonettes, above which rose an entablature. A new entrance was opened, after the early-adopted change of the general plan, on the side near the Forum, this being flanked by porphyry columns, two remnants of which were dug up (1818), and placed where we now see them, in the court of the Conservator's palace on the Capitol. It is probable that this Basilica stood entire, still serving for its original uses, till the end of the V. century, after which we find no mention of it till the XV. century. It probably suffered much damage from the earthquake, disastrously violent at Rome, in 1349. In the XVI. century the ruins were reduced to serve as a stall for cattle; and thus were they left, neglected and defiled, till 1812, when efforts to rescue and disencumber them were made by French authorities. Other works were carried out on this site in 1818, also (under Nibby's direction) in 1828. That archæologist describes the disgraceful state in which these ruins were left from 1819 to 1828; and informs us of his attempt at a certain restoration of the ground-plan by re-erecting, though not to their full height, the brick pilasters on the side where the buildings were totally levelled to the ground. He mentions the discovery,

amidst a mass of brickwork fallen from the vault, of a silver coin with the effigy and name of Maxentius on the obverse, and on the reverse the temple of Rome, with the legend: *Conserv. Urb. Suæ*. The principal apse, opposite the chief entrance, which was on the south-eastern side, is still degraded to the purposes of a granary. Above one of the immense tribunes extends a terrace once covered with the soil of a garden, removed through Nibby's care. That garden, which belongs to a "Conservatorio" (asylum for orphan girls), being accessible, we may reach the roof above the enormous vault, and thence enjoy a memorable view of the classical region around. In its historic aspect this edifice is noticeable as the last imperial Court of Justice raised by the Heathen Power, the last founded before the fall of the Western Empire, at Rome.

Christian Mosaics.

The valuable Mosaic on the apse of *S. Pudenziana* is referred by some critics to the IV. century; by others, and I believe on better grounds, to the VIII.—the period, namely, of the restoration of this building by Adrian I. In its actual state the composition displays marks of retouching conformably with the canons of more modern art—probably at the time, 1597, when this church was again restored (or rather modernized) by a Cardinal Gaetani. The mosaic represents the Saviour seated on a rich throne between the sister saints, Praxedis and Pudentiana; more in front of these, SS. Peter and Paul, with eight other male figures, all in classic costume; in the background, an architectural perspective comprising a Christian basilica and a circular baptistery—interesting as authentic delineations of such edifices in their primitive form.

The Walls of Rome and the Castrense Amphitheatre.

Following the outer circuit of these old walls, we reach on the southern side, near the Porta Maggiore, a point where they adjoin, and where a part of their cincture is formed by, the arcades of an amphitheatre in masonry of fine brickwork with large tiles, which indicates a period not later than the time of Tiberius or Nero. This is recognisable as the Castrense Amphitheatre, so called from the "ludi Castrenses," or games celebrated by the soldiery; and the edifice was probably destined expressly for the entertainment of the Prætorian Guards, whose camp is not far distant. No ancient writers, but only the "Regionaries" of the IV. century, mention it. Its elliptic arena, 100 feet long in the major axis, was surrounded by a double-storeyed arcade, with (on each storey) 48 arches divided by Corinthian half-columns on the lower, by pilasters on the upper order. The least ruinous segment is that absorbed into the civic fortifications—little more than one-third of the whole, with 18 arches, which are walled up on this outer side. The inner part, more defaced, has long served for a kitchen garden of the S. Croce monks, whose monastery is contiguous. In the last century the ancient level of the arena was laid open, and below it was found a cavity filled with the bones of wild animals—this perhaps belonging to such a hypogeum as recent works have brought to light under the great amphitheatre.

INDEX.

	PAGE		PAGE.
Actors	496	Arches of Antoninus Pius	277
Adrian I, Pope	680	— Augustus	239
Æneas	162	— Constantine	149, 220, 318, 474
Ærarium	210, 266, 715	— Diocletian	94
Agrippa Vipsanius	527, 581, 716	— Dolabella and Silanus	587
Agrippina	412	— Drusus	445
Alaric	198	— Fabius Allobrox	224
Alberti Leandro	14	— Gallienus	450
Alexander Severus	195, 326, 532	— Janus Quadrifrons	137, 449
Altar of Ajus Locutius	174	— Marcus Aurelius	93, 239
— of Saturn	210	— Septimius Severus on the	
— of Victory	244	Forum	234
Ambrose, Saint	307	— Septimius Severus on the	
Amphitheatre—the Castrense	726	Velabrum	447
— the Flavian	132, 137, 285, 694, 722	— Tiberius	146, 230
— of Statilius Taurus	289	— Titus	434
Anastasius	6, 682	— Trajan	318, 475
Ancilia	169	Argive Chapels	172
Antiquities on the Tiber Banks	720	Atellan Fables	495
Antoninus, M. Aurelius	235, 448, 531	Auguratorium	168
Antoninus Pius	191, 487	Augurs	647
Anthemius	534	Augustine, S.	5
Anubis, worship of	689, 718	Augustus	177, 204, 690, 709
Apollonius of Tyana	197	Aurelian	636, 706
Apotheosis	488, 490	Baptism	366
Appius Claudius	579	Baronius, Cardinal	15, 692
Aqueducts	577	Basilicas : Æmilian	223
— Alexandrina	583	— Fulvian	223
— Alsietina	581	— Jovis	192
— Anio Novus	582	— Julian	139, 227
— Anio Vetus	582, 586	— of Maxentius (dedicated to	
— Antoniana	446	Constantine)	9, 723
— Claudian	582, 589	— Porcian	222
— Felice	115	— Sempronian	223
— Julian	590	— Ulpian	462, 473
— Marcian	109, 580	Basilicas, Christian	140, 224, 243, 711
— Neronian	583	Baths, private	158
— Severiana	583	— of Agrippina	698
— Tepulan	580	— of Heliogabalus	195
— Trajana	583	— of Sura	545
— Virginiana	109, 590		

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Baths below the Palatine Hall	156	Charities, ancient	622
— public (v. Thermæ)		Charles the Great	676, 680, 682
Battle of Lepanto	279	Charles Martel	676
— of Regillus	216	Churches : S. Adriano	224, 243
— of Saxa Rubra	319	— S. Agnes	368, 670
Belisarius	466, 581, 702, 705	— S. Alessandro	358
Benedict VI.	419	— S. Anastasia	627
Boniface IX.	422	— S. Angelo in Pescaria	635
Bosio	342, 712	— S. Bartolommeo	619
Bracciolini Poggio	12, 251, 700	— S. Bernardo	574
Brancaleone, Senator	311	— S. Clemente	325, 707
Bridges, Ælian (or S. Angelo)	415, 418	— SS. Cosmo and Damiano	242, 666
— Cestian	618	— S. Costanza	361
— Fabrician	618	— Il Crocifisso	151
		— S. Giorgio	447
Caius Cæsar	182, 412	— SS. Giovanni and Paolo	624
Caligula (v. Caius)		— S. Guiseppe dei Falegnami	151
Camillus	221	— S. Lorenzo (extramural)	352, 567, 668
Capitol	98, 251, 280, 712	— S. Lorenzo in Miranda	228
Caracalla (v. Antoninus)		— S. Maria degli Angeli	573
Catacombs (v. Cemeteries)		— S. Maria in Aracoeli	261, 264, 272
Castles : S. Angelo	418	— S. Maria in Cosmedin	617
— of the Conti	452	— S. Maria Egiziaca	609
— of the Corsi	262	— S. Maria di Loreto	472
— of the Frangipani	128, 157, 311, 440	— S. Maria Maggiore	660
Castor and Pollux	217	— S. Maria ad Martyres (Pantheon)	600
Cellini Benvenuto	15	— S. Maria Nuova	631
Cemeteries, Christian :		— S. Maria in Palladio	201
— S. Agnes	335, 340, 353	— S. Maria del Popolo	410
— S. Alexander	358	— S. Maria Scala Coeli	358
— S. Balbina	358	— S. Maria del Sole	612
— S. Callixtus	330, 342, 366	— S. Maria in Trastevere	297, 326
— S. Cyriaca	352	— S. Maria in Via Lata	94, 322
— Domitilla	332	— S. Martina (or S. Luca)	303
— Generosa	359	— S. Martino ai Monti	363
— Gnostic and Mithraic worshippers	338	— SS. Nereo ad Achilleo	681, 682
— S. Helena	354	— S. Niccola in Carcere	613
— S. Hermes	355	— S. Paul's, Ostian Basilica	37, 129, 224, 339, 663
— S. Lucina	339, 352	— S. Paolo alle Tre Fontane	358
— SS. Nereus and Achilleus	332, 344, 711	— S. Peter's, Vatican Basilica	96, 97, 115
— Praetextatus	331	— S. Pudenziana	322, 725
— S. Priscilla	339, 342, 352	— S. Sebastiano	357
— S. Pontianus	330, 348, 356		
— Thrason and Saturninus	334		
— Vatican	338		
— S. Zeno	359		
Ceres, worship of	175, 495		

PAGE.	PAGE.
Writings of 479	Obelisk of, the Lateran 119
on the Tiber 130, 721	— the Vatican 116
see 173	— on Monte Citorio 121
303	— on Piazza of S. Maria Maggiore 118
Ported in Art 374	— on Piazza Navona 120
in theatre 285, 298	— on Piazza del Popolo 118
295, 297	— on the Pincian Hill 122
339, 373	— on the Quirinal Hill 122
Paint, in Art 339, 373	— on the Tiber Island 620
350, 661, 704	— in Villa Mattei 121
610, 719	Octavia, sister of Augustus 408, 623
tus 407	— wife of Nero 187
389	Orosius, Historian 438, 443, 487
413, 415	Ostia 137
2, 554, 723	Otho III. 419
641, 698	Pantomime, Dramatic 496
639	Paganism, decline and suppression of 614
and 393	Palaces, ancient: of Asinius Pollio 647
397	— Augustus 177, 204
405	— Domitian 184
439	— Lateran 649
92	— Trajan, on the Aventine 517
303	Palaces, modern: Caffarelli 265
	— the Capitol 263, 272
	— of the Conservators 264
	— Medici 647
	— of Paul II., or "di Venezia" 315
	— of Paul III. 160
	— of Sixtus IV. 95, 6 6
	— of Urban VIII. 14
	— of Urban VIII. 408

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Graffiti	194, 690, 704, 722	Lararium on the Palatine	196
Gregory I., S.	181, 247, 669	— in villa of Asinius Pollio	688
— II.	675	Lares, worship of	688
— III.	676	Lateran Baptistery	658
— V.	419	— Triclinium	683
— VII.	202, 248, 420, 483	Lateranus, Plantius	702
— XI.	10, 421	Legends of :	
— XVI.	38	— S. Agnes	300
Guiscard, Robert	248	— Ara Coeli	273
Grotto (so called) of Egeria	590, 693	— the Death of Pan	655
Grottos, or Antra	721	— the Roman Capitol	272
Hadrian	413, 629	— the Castle of S. Angelo	417
Haruspices	649	— S. Gregory the Great	469
Helena, S.	363	— S. Maria Maggiore	660
Heliogabalus	159, 195	— S. Maria del Popolo	406
Heraclius, Greek Emperor	200, 240	— Martyrdom	300
Hercules, worship of	210, 612, 719	— S. Sylvester and the Dragon	241
Heretics, punishment of	701	— Tarpeia	261
Hermes, Author of the "Pastor"	351, 373	Legion, the "thundering"	486
Hierarchy, Christian	369	Leo I. S.	199, 665
History, Early Roman	70	— III. Emperor	675
Honorius, Emperor	306, 308, 700	— III. Pope	680, 683
Honorius I., Pope	671	— X.	110, 703
Horace	148, 230, 252, 403	— XII.	37
Hospice of Pilgrims	535	Leonardo da Porta Maurizio, S.	314
Ignatius, S., of Antioch	299	Leonine City	101, 701
Innocent II.	420, 427	Leto Pomponio	12
Invocation of Saints	368	Liberius, Pope	532, 549, 600
Island of the Tiber	618, 715	Libius Severus	198
Januarius, S.	331	Libraries: Palatine	179, 192
Janus, his reign and worship	213	— Ulpian	467
Jerusalem, conquest of	434	Ligorio, Pirro	13
John XXII.	703	Livius Andronicus	408
— XXIII.	425	— Titus, the Historian	73, 75
Julian, Emperor	244, 525, 657	Louis VII. Emperor	421, 703
Julius Cæsar	215, 266, 270, 518	Lucan	270
Julius II. Pope	110, 125	Lucius Verus	483, 487
Kings of Rome	167	Lucius II.	262
Lacus Servilius	139	Ludus Trojæ	513
Ladislaus, king of Naples	702, 704	Lupercal, cavern of	163, 719
Laocoon, group of	539	Lupercus, Latian Deity	720
		Luther	16
		Mamertine Prisons	150, 212
		Manes, worship of	404
		Marcella, S.	370
		Marcellus	408
		Marcus Aurelius	191, 293, 478, 651

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Marcus Aurelius, writings of	479	Obelisk of: the Lateran	119
Marmorata, wharf on the Tiber	130, 721	— the Vatican	116
Marriage and Divorce	173	— on Monte Citorio	121
Martina, S.	303	— on Piazza of S. Maria Maggiore	118
Martyrdom, represented in Art	374	— on Piazza Navona	120
Martyrs of the Amphitheatre		— on Piazza del Popolo	118
(Colosseum)	285, 298	— on the Pincian Hill	122
— under Nero	295	— on the Quirinal Hill	122
— number of	295, 297	— on the Tiber Island	620
— honours paid to	339, 373	— in Villa Mattei	124
Mary, the Blessed Virgin, in Art		Octavia, sister of Augustus	408, 633
264, 279, 350, 661, 704		— wife of Nero	187
Matuta, worship of	610, 719	Orosius, Historian	438, 443, 487
Mausoleum of: Augustus	407	Ostia	137
— C. Cestius	389	Otho III.	419
— Hadrian	413, 415		
Maxentius	319, 554, 723	Pantomime, Dramatic	496
Mithraic Worship	641, 698	Paganism, decline and suppression of	644
Mithras	639	Palaces, ancient : of Asinius Pollio	687
Monuments of: Eurysaces and		— Augustus	177, 204
Atistia	393	— Domitian	188
— P. Bibulus	397	— Lateran	683
— Nero	405	— Trajan, on the Aventine	557
— the Sempronii	429	Palaces, modern: Caffarelli	265
— Sulla	92	— the Capitol	263, 272
— Sulpicius Maximus	395	— of the Conservators	264
Mosaics, Christian		— Madama	537
343, 351, 355, 361, 364, 659, 660, 663		— of Paul II., or "di Venezia"	315
— Heathen	560	Palatine Hill	160
Museums: of the Capitol	127, 696	Pantheon	95, 56
— Christian, of the Lateran	129, 365	Panvinio, Onofrio	14
— of the Tabularium	255	Paschal II.	406
— Christian, of the Vatican	364	Paul, S., Apostle, at Rome	187, 192, 543
Mystery Plays	312	Paul II., Pope	108
		— III.	701
Names, mystic, of Rome	548, 715	Pelagius II.	668
Nero	185, 543	Penates, worship of	688
— "Golden House" of	186, 188, 537, 542	Pepin, King of France	677
Nerva	190, 459	Perpetua, Martyr	304
Nicholas V.	108, 701	Persecution of Christians	295, 482, 543, 569
Niebuhr	45	Pertinax	185, 190, 710
Novendialia, or Feriæ	388	Peter and Paul, SS.	151
Numa Pompilius	166	— represented in Art	348, 662, 663, 667
Nymphæa	693, 721		
Nymphæum of Alexander Severus	586, 590		

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Peter, S. at Rome	155	Relics from the Temple of	
Petrarch	8, 202, 278	Jerusalem	443
Philip Neri, S.	535	Religion, ancient, in Rome	
Pius I. S.	323		173, 639, 651
— II.	697	Ricimir	198
— V.	112	Rienzo, Cola di	254, 263, 278,
— VI.	32, 34, 426		410, 421, 635
— VII.	33, 35, 127, 315	Ritual, Christian	343, 669
— VIII.	39	Roma Quadrata	168
— IX.	129, 316, 329, 711	Romulus	77, 79, 164, 220
Placidus, Martyr	302	Roscius	500
Platina	12	Rostra	219, 230, 239
Plautus, M. Accius	216, 502	Sacrament, the Eucharistic	
Plebiscite at Rome	280		366, 669
Plutarch	173, 612, 633, 654, 719	Sacrifices	268, 475, 652
Pollio Asinius	687	— Human	717
Polycarp, S.	481	Sallust, Crispus	691
Pontiffs, Heathen	647	Salii, College of	169
Popes, temporal power of		Sarcophagus (so-called) of	
— Court of	676, 678, 684	Alexander Severus	383
— titles of	683	— of Constantia	361
Porta (or gates), ancient:	679	— of Hadrian	427
— Appian	703	— of S. Helena	361
— Asinaria	702, 706	— of Junius Bassus	360, 369
— Latina	703	— of Scipio Barbatus	391
— Maggiore	583, 702	Saturn, worship of	211
— Metronia	703	Saturnalia	212
— Pinciana	702	Saviour of the World, repre-	
— Ostiensis (or S. Paolo)	704	sented in Art	345, 347,
— Salaria	84, 706		348, 663, 673, 684
— Tiburtina	586, 702	Schola Xantha	234
Porta (gates), modern:		Sculpture, antique	145, 318, 438,
— S. Giovanni	702		447, 465, 475, 485, 488, 560
— Pia	706	— funereal	383
— del Popolo	705	— coloured	466
Portico of the Argonauts	132, 715	Sebastian, S.	201
— of Livia	716	Secretarium Senatus	230
— of Octavia	130, 633	Senate	533, 568, 603
Prayer for the Dead	368	Senate House	227
Prætorian Camp	136, 709	Seneca	480, 504, 651
— Guard	185, 709	Septa Julia	322
Priesthood, Heathen	647, 716	Septizonium	113, 194, 201
Prima Porta	130	Sessorium, palace	588
Prisca, S.	303	Seven Fatal Things of Rome	
Procopius	201, 705		170, 216
Prudentius	297, 305	Sibylline Books	180, 181, 579,
Pyrrhic Dance	408		638, 717
		Sibyls	218
Recitations, public	192, 469, 531	Sidonius Apollinaris	464, 467
Relics	152, 599	Sieges of Rome by: Alaric	198

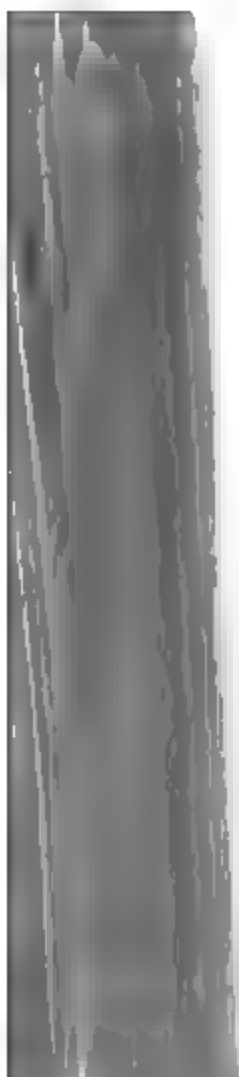
	PAGE.		PAGE.
Sieges of Rome by: the Constable		Temple of: Jupiter Capitolinus	
Bourbon	15, 111, 262, 424	177, 178, 180, 204	
the Gauls	221	Jupiter Feretrius	259
Genseric	199, 271	Jupiter Stator	166, 189
Totila	533	Jupiter Tonans	270
Vitiges	581	Jupiter Tragicus	124
Sixtus II.	332	Marciana (or of Neptune)	638
IV.	109, 697	Mars Ultor	182, 453
V.	112, 202, 472, 484, 573	Minerva Medica (so-called)	592
Slavery and Slaves	366, 413	Mithras	639
Spectres	184	Pallas	456, 459
Stage, the ancient	467, 494	Peace	442, 444
the modern	525	Piety	613
Statius	144, 159, 456	Romulus (son of Maxen-	
Statue of: Augustus	130	tius)	242
S. Bruno	575	Saturn	210
Constantine	246	the Sun God	686
Domitian	144, 229	Tellus	453
Hercules	522	Trajan	468
Marcus Aurelius	229, 283	Vejovis	284
S. Peter	665	Venus and Cupid (so-called)	592
Pompeius	521	Venus Libitina	376
Sulla	267, 387, 523	Venus and Rome	628
Symbols: Christian	344, 367, 659, 671	Venus Victrix	513
Heathen	384, 387	Vespasian and Titus	233
Tabularium	254, 276, 567, 715	Vesta	167, 178, 212, 221, 610, 695
Telemachus, Martyr	309	Virtue	179
Temple of: Æsculapius	487, 620, 715	Terentius Publius	502
Antoninus and Faustina	229	Theatres	500, 524
Apollo Palatine	177, 178, 180, 204	of Balbus	509
Augustus	182, 184	of C. Curio	499
Castor and Pollux	144, 216, 226	of Marcellus	510
Ceres and Proserpina	616	of Pompeius	513
Claudius	186, 625	Scaurus	499
Concord	222, 231	Theodoric, Ostrogothic King	200, 311, 701
Cybele (Magna Mater)	175, 646	Theodosius the Great	244, 305, 306, 657
Fortune	173, 608	Thermae of: Agrippa	536
Hercules	611, 719	Antoninus	98, 558
Hope	614	Constantine	567, 571
Isis	622	Diocletian	567, 571
Janus	212, 245, 443	Nero	587
Julius Cæsar	141, 214	Titus	537, 541
Juno Moneta	259	Trajan	363, 538, 544
Juno Sospita	613	Tiberius	181
		Titus	440

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Trajan	146, 190, 271, 460	Views of Rome	85, 712, 713
Trinity, the Godhead, repre-		Vigiles (Fire Brigade) Stations	
sented in Art	346, 672	of	130, 690
Triumphs	238, 262, 568	Villas, ancient, of Livia	130
University of Rome	110	— Maxentius	554
Urban II.	420	— Sallust	691
— VIII.	95, 604, 701	Villas, modern, Albani	126
Vacca Flaminio	15, 264	— Borghese	126
Valley of Fgeria	591	— Ludovisi	126
— of S. Vitale	697	— Mattei	589
Varro Terentius	260	— Montalto, or Peretti	136
Vatican Museum	125, 128	— Wolkonski	430, 594
— Palace	87	Virgil	376, 403, 408, 687
Venantius Fortunatus	469	Viterbo	451
Venus, worship of	632	Vopiscus	467, 699
Vespasian	188, 268, 443	Vulcanal	209
Vestal Virgins	167, 221, 649	Walls of Rome	100, 167,
Vestments, ecclesiastical	348, 670		189, 636, 694, 698, 699, 707, 726
Via Crucis	314	Zacharias, Pope	676
Via Sacra	148	Zenobia	637
Victor III.	619		

ERRATA.

Page 81, line 15, *for* "nearly at" *read* "namely in."

Page 633, line 4, *for* "Ceneidum" *read* "Æneadûm."





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